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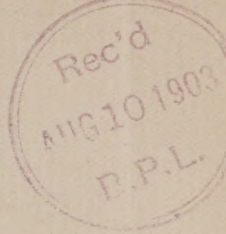


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"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."

—HEINE.

THE ARENA

VOL. XXIX.

JANUARY, 1903.

No. I.

THE GREAT COAL STRIKE AND ITS LESSONS.

I. THE INDUSTRIAL BATTLE AND THE PUBLIC.

THE recent coal strike was a most impressive lesson in economics—a sort of economic surgical operation performed upon the pocket nerve: the most vital kind of object-lesson. It has given new force to several important thoughts. One of them is that private monopoly of the necessities of life is a sin against civilization and humanity, and that industrial power is a public trust. There was a time when even the Government was thought to be a proper subject of private monopoly—the private property of a King or a few aristocrats, to be managed according to their will and for their private benefit. We have left all that, but industrial interests vaster than the political affairs of populous cities or even whole States are still monopolized by a few for their private aggrandizement. The people know now that political power is a public trust, and the time is coming when *every* power, whether it be religious, political, industrial, or personal, will be regarded as a trust for humanity—an opportunity not for conquest but for service.

A little girl who was in church for the first time, after the contribution box had passed through the pew in which she sat, leaned over to her mother and whispered: "Mama, how much did you get? I got a quarter." The monopolists of our day are like that little girl; they mistake an opportunity to give for a chance to take. They have not

learned that it is more blessed to give than to capture. And the people have not yet discovered how to secure to the monopolists their fair share of the blessings of giving.

Another thought that has gained new vigor from the coal war is that the interests of labor, of capital, and of the public require some better method of settling labor difficulties than the strike or boycott. One of the marks of civilization is the settlement of disputes by judicial decision in place of combat. In the primeval age of barbarism all difficulties were determined by battle. We have learned to use the arbitration of a court of justice for all classes but two. Differences between nations and between employers and employed are still decided by the primitive method of conflict. All other cases have been swept within the circle of civilized methods. If two individuals or two corporations differ in regard to their rights, either may cite the other into court to have the matter determined by an impartial tribunal. If two States of this Union quarrel they must go to court and not to war, because forty-five States have agreed to that proposition and are ready to enforce it. If civilized nations would agree to a similar proposition in respect to international difficulties war would cease. If the people of this country would agree to judicial decision of industrial disputes, strikes and lockouts would soon be curiosities of a by-gone age. One country, New Zealand, has extended the principle of judicial decision to disputes between labor and capital, and *has* thereby abolished strikes and lockouts. And there is really no more sense in allowing a corporation and its employees to fight out their differences in the public streets than there would be in permitting two corporations or two States to do the same.

The industrial battles and sieges we call strikes have no justification in principle and are only justified in fact because no better method has yet been provided by which labor may secure redress of grievances. The better method is an Arbitration law. Arbitration is the right and the duty of all concerned. A refusal to arbitrate is a sign of arrogance, passion, or in-

justice. If the workers are willing to arbitrate it should not fail because the owners refuse. If the owners are willing to arbitrate it should not fail because the workers refuse. And even if both these parties feel pugilistic the Public has a right to insist on a peaceful judicial solution subject only to the condition that proper provision be made for securing a fair tribunal.

Industrial war is based on the same principle as an appeal to arms. It aims at decision by force instead of intelligent investigation of the justice of the case. If war is right, then it is an unjust discrimination against individuals, States, and corporations to deny them the privilege of settling their difficulties by battle. If, on the contrary, judicial decision is the true principle, then it is an unjust discrimination against employers and employed to deny them the protection of this high principle to the same extent as other parties who have disagreements. Justice to labor, to capital, and to the public requires arbitration.

The recent coal rebellion has drawn attention with tremendous emphasis to the interest of the public in labor difficulties. If important elections had not approached, or we had had a less vigorous and independent President, the strike might have lasted all winter and lifted the emphasis several octaves higher. But there was enough to make it very clear that there should be some way of compelling the submission of such cases to arbitration. And this is not the only lesson we have had. The strikes of Chicago, Homestead, Brooklyn, Cleveland, etc., were also very impressive in their teaching. But the lessons come so far apart that the impression of one grows dim before the next arrives; and so there is not sufficient cumulative effect to reach the motor muscles. One might think that a sensible person would need no painful lessons to make him wish to put judicial decision in place of conflict all along the line. But the fact is that the Public is not as yet a very sensible person.

Some of the ways in which the public is interested in labor disputes are as follows:

1. The public has a vital interest in peace and order. Strikes often lead to disorder and violence. The public has a right to object to proceedings that make it necessary to call out the soldiery and place whole districts under military law. The

public certainly has an interest in anything that requires an exercise of the police power and an expenditure of public energy and public money.

2. The public has a vital interest in justice, and that never was and never can be secured with any reasonable degree of certainty by wager of battle.

3. The dependence of industries is such that the stoppage of one impedes and imperils other interests involving perhaps the property and living of millions of citizens who surely have a right to object to such interference with their business.

4. The whole body of consumers of the product affected by a strike have a direct interest in it, quite as important in many cases as the interests of the strikers or the employees. It is elementary law that a railway has not right to discontinue the trains the people need, and it is equally clear, though not yet a part of the common law, that a coal mine has no right to discontinue the supply of coal the people need, so long as there is any coal in its veins that can be worked at a cost the people are willing to pay.

5. The public has an interest in the struggles of labor to improve its condition, because such improvement means better citizenship.

6. And, on the other hand, the public has an interest to see that the demands of labor do not go so far as to limit productivity, discourage enterprise, or interfere unfairly with individual liberty. A tyranny of trade-unions would not be any more desirable than a tyranny of capital.

On the whole it would appear that the interest of the public in labor difficulties is a larger interest than that of either of the combatants. At any rate, it is quite sufficient to justify the public in insisting upon arbitration and judicial settlement.

The third and last thought to which I will refer is that values are not created by capital alone but by the three factors, labor, capital, and the public. If either labor or the public were lacking, values would vanish. The value of a mine or railway is the joint product of labor, capital, and the public, and the direction and control should be in a body representing all three

elements. At present the direction is left to one factor, capital, the least important of the three. Money is given the precedence over humanity. The dollar is put above the man instead of the man above the dollar. The control of the mines, railways, etc., ought not to be left to any one partner, but should be placed in boards of directors representing all three partners. This can be done through courts of arbitration, or coöperative industry, or public ownership. Establish a Mining Board of three members—one chosen by capital, another by the workers, and the third by the public—and let them determine wages, hours, prices, etc. Or hand the mines over to the miners to be worked coöperatively under public regulation, as France has done with one of her coal mines. Or establish public ownership and operation of the coal business, as New Zealand has recently done, with appeal boards to determine questions that may arise between the Government and the employees.

Some may be frightened by such proposals, thinking they are "aristocratic." But that depends on the intent behind the proposal. If a Boston man starts for Albany intending to go to Chicago, his journey is Chicagoistic. But if he starts for Albany, intending to stop there or go to Rochester or Buffalo or some other place, not intending to go to Chicago, and wouldn't be seen there on any account, the journey is clearly not Chicagoistic.

Socialism, according to the dictionaries, means the government ownership of all the means of production and distribution. If a man who wants that proposes public ownership of coal mines, the proposition is socialistic so far as he is concerned. But if I propose public ownership of coal mines, the proposition is not socialistic so far as I am concerned because I do not want the Government to own all the means of production and distribution.

The competitive system, with its conflicts and waste and injustices, must go. But the Coöperative Commonwealth that will take its place can be best attained, I think, not by the public ownership of all the means of production and distribution, but

through voluntary coöperation in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, with public ownership of monopolies, especially the great monopoly we call Government, the public ownership of which through direct legislation, direct nominations, proportional representation, and civil service reform is essential to real public ownership of anything else: public ownership, so far as necessary to protect the people from monopoly or secure the due diffusion of vital services, such as education, fire protection, etc., and spontaneous association and federation the rest of the way. I desire the coöperative commonwealth, but with as much voluntary coöperation and as little legislation as practicable. Maybe you call *that* Socialism, too? Very well; I do not care what the name is so long as we know exactly what the idea is. But I prefer to call it Mutualism, so as not to mix it up with the very different thing that is usually meant by Socialism. There is no conflict between individualism and mutualism. It is only a question between aggressive individualism and coöperative individualism. An ennobled manhood, under perfect liberty, must naturally and necessarily express itself in coöperative institutions, just as an imperfect manhood naturally expresses itself in competition and conflict.

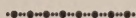
There is great confusion in our civic thought to-day. We are in the Irish bull age of economic and political discussion. The emerald orator says: "All down the stream of time we see the footprints of an Almighty hand;" and again, "I smell the rat, but I shall nip him in the bud." Much of our economic thought belongs in the same class with these unsteady flights of entangled oratory. On the idiotorial pages of some of our newspapers, and even in the works of leading economists, there are statements that out-bull any bit of bovine humor ever perpetrated by Mr. Dooley or any of his countrymen.

Let us get our ideas clear of the fog, and deal with civic questions on their merits without prejudice or resistance, as we would deal with opportunities to make paying investments. Making better institutions is quite as important as making money. It is all-important in the manufacture of manhood

and civilization and is even a vital factor in money-making itself. The lack of international arbitration has cost us 700 millions in the last five years for the wars with Spain and the Philippines. The lack of industrial arbitration has cost us a hundred millions or more in the last few months. The remediable defects of government entail enormous losses. And the lack of coöperation is costing us billions of dollars every year. Let us do what we can to persuade the Public to use his power of observation and reflection, and establish laws and institutions that will hold industrial power a public trust as well as political power, secure the management of business as well as civic affairs in the interest of all the people, and make it so disagreeable for men of selfish, aggressive monopolistic disposition that they will conclude "it would be money in their pockets if they had never been born," till at last the world shall become so uncongenial to such spirits that they will refuse to be born at all.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.



II. OUR REAL MASTERS.

THERE have been many strikes; but somehow this coal strike has thrown a limelight across our civilization. And really all we need is to see: men are not ill disposed but rather dull and indifferent. So, when all men get a real glimpse of truth much has been gained.

We have had a glance at the Feudal State; it seems like a vision of the past. The miner toiling under the lord; held to the soil like an English villein, just living and serving; his children running their little lives in the same master's mold. It is hardly even a benevolent feudalism. Mr. Baer is no sham baron; he has learned his noble lesson as lord of the Phila-

delphia & Reading RR. Co.: a fine type of feudalism, honest, brave, virile, the kind to which the servile instinctively doff their hats. We can hear his armor clank when he declares that the rights of the laboring men "will be cared for by the Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country." When the section of humanity over which God has given him jurisdiction protests against his particular kind of care he answers, quite regally, "The duty of the hour is not to waste time negotiating with the fomenters of this anarchy, but to do as was done in the war of the rebellion—restore the majesty of the law," etc. Let the powerful care for the weak, and if the weak are not satisfied put them down by force. We can almost see this Duke of Alva lifting his jeweled sword, with its motto, "accipe sanctum gladium munus a Deo," etc.

But a not less interesting figure and even more significant is his "ludship," Sir John Jackson, who administers justice in the United States Court for the Northern District of West Virginia. When the leaders of the dissatisfied men are haled before him at his command he describes them in his published opinion as "vampires that live and fatten on the honest labor of the coal miners." "May I not respectfully ask the question," he continues, "whether it is not time for our lawmakers to consider the question whether freedom of speech should not be so restricted by statutes as to suppress seditious sentiments? Are communism and anarchy, and all the dire evils which follow in the train of such people as you, who are preaching the most detestable heresies and doctrines, to be protected by the Constitution of the United States? No; never, never, never!" Then Mother Jones, who pleads for justice to the miners, gets from his "ludship" a significant lecture. "I cannot forbear to express my great surprise that a woman of the apparent intelligence of Mrs. Jones should permit herself to be used as an instrument by designing and reckless agitators in accomplishing an object which is entirely unworthy of a good woman." "There are many *charities* in life which are open to her, in which she could contribute largely to mankind in distress." "It would have

been better far for her to follow the lines and the paths which the All-wise Being intended her sex should follow." Yet on this very day of writing Mr. MacVeagh is solemnly cross-examining Mr. Mitchell on the proposition that it is wrong to criticize the judges for their decisions. It will be perceived that his "ludship," like Mr. Baer, does not hesitate to expound the policy of the All-wise Being; and he is as ready to encourage charity as Mr. Baer doubtless is to do it. They are sincere too; they do not know that the gulf between charity and justice is wide and unfathomable.

These are merely sidelights on the Pennsylvania and West Virginia situations.

What a weird, almost demoniac response came to these medieval sentiments of Baer and his "ludship!" It quite shifts the scene and changes the characters. Baer was not concerned with the public; his "ludship" was trying to teach wisdom to the strikers.

But up rolls a voice of thunder from multitudes who were not parties to the contest at all—strange and inconsequential: "We challenge your right to make us freeze." While Mr. Baer is claiming property in the rights of men, men come in claiming rights to his property. Thousands who are quite indifferent whether the miner is under Mr. Baer's heel or not are all at once protesting that he must use his property to keep them warm. New and startling claims, quite contrary to what feudalism has painfully preserved through the centuries. Very sudden, too; the fire goes out, we shiver, and lo! we find that the owner of the coal mine owes us heat.

The next thought seems so plain now (but oh, how heterodox it seemed before we shivered!): "Why should Mr. Baer and a few like him lock up from us the bounty of God; why should they even own it?" "If all men need coal, why should not all men own the coal?" "Why should we, then, not take this precious store and use it for the good of all?"

Men have been teaching this very thing for years, who, by the way, did well to keep out of his "ludship's" path. Parties and leaders who taught it seemed dangerous in the columns

of the feudal press. Just a shiver and even we are startled by the public's demands. In the twinkling of an eye a great truth comes home to millions of men who have been sneering at its prophets. All thanks to Mr. Baer, who has turned prophecies and hopes into realities.

But this is not the greatest of Mr. Baer's services. Has he not also taught us the difference between genuine and bogus strenuosity? He surely has an article that is real; for he faces the President of the United States with defiance. His strenuosity is not vented upon defenseless animals or feeble nations, but is whetted on the leader of the greatest nation on earth. A king of industry pitted against the President of a Republic! It is a fake contest; the President looks at the king and his legs shake. One of them is said to be ailing, but the well one shakes too.

If this nation does not from this scene in the White House learn who was master in the ceremonies, and who played the coward, then instruction is in vain. If any American admires the strenuosity of the leader of this great people, who grows limp at the defiance of a railroad president, he must indeed be a—well, not to be too severe—a Republican newspaper editor. Imagine the reception that Mr. Baer would have received from Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, or Abraham Lincoln. I for one citizen feel that the majesty of the nation suffered when its President humbly swallowed the defiance of this property-owner.

The President stated truly that the three parties to the situation were the operators, the miners, and the general public. The operators had Mr. Baer, and the miners Mr. Mitchell—both stanch champions; how pitiable was the defense of the general public!

Here again the fine adjustment of the feudal system is in evidence; it does not operate *against* the lord. The President of the United States has at his command all the powerful machinery of the Department of Justice. An Attorney-General is the law officer of the Government, with subordinates and marshals in every district. The two State Governors who

were involved in this contest had similar powers and like attorneys-general; yet not a move was made in any court. We find, however, that in the case of the *U. S. vs. Haggerty*, in which his "ludship" spoke as above quoted, Reese Blizzard, United States District Attorney, appeared in favor of a rule for contempt against the defendants. It was the same in the Debs case at Chicago—the Attorney-General and his district attorneys rushed troops and judges against the strikers, but none appeared in their favor.

It is true that Mr. Morgan finally took alarm at public sentiment and vouchsafed to the President the appointment of a tribunal of arbitration. But it is pitiable that the whole machinery of government stood still while public indignation beat against Mr. Morgan.

If the President had instructed the Attorney-General to proceed for the relief of the public by asking the courts to appoint receivers to operate the mines, the very act would have forced the impudent operators, not to arbitrate, but to settle with their miners. If the President had summoned Congress in extraordinary session and demanded immediate action, his mere summons would have solved the difficulty.

A Congressional committee found and reported in 1893 that the miners were under monopolistic control; no fact is more notorious. The arrest of Mr. Baer and his associates for violation of the statutes of the United States (1893, chapter 647) against unlawful monopolies would have restored some confidence that the law applies to the strong as well as the weak. Governors Stone and Odell had like powers; but apparently the machinery of justice has been thrown out of gear by Mr. Baer's and Mr. Morgan's touch.

The Boston *Herald* lapsed one day into this explanation: "While equity proceedings have been resorted to in defense of the interests of the public when labor is involved, there is decided hesitancy to apply the same remedy when treating of evils due to corporate or capitalistic disregard of public rights." It was this same hesitancy that afflicted President Roosevelt and his Attorney-General: it was as effective as a refusal.

Mr. Baer, railroad president, faces sec. 5, art. 17 of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which forbids common carriers from engaging directly or indirectly in mining. The State has the right of eminent domain to take the mines, and may cancel the charters of the railroads and mining companies by an act of the legislature; but Governor Stone had only troops with which to meet the problem.

The real masters of the governments and people have been disclosed in this affair; and in the light of the revelations it is not strange that Mr. Baer was bold, the President humble, and the people were dependent upon Mr. Morgan's caution.

It is not to be wondered at that the present arbitration commission appears to be sitting at the trial of miners and of trade-unionism, rather than vindicating in advance the right of labor to organize for its own defense.

Some day we may hope for public officers who will "restore the majesty of the law" by enforcing it for the weak as well as the powerful. But so long as the feudal defiance finds the implements of justice without hands, we shall have these woful struggles between monopoly and labor, with the chances always in favor of the former.

GEO. FRED. WILLIAMS.

Boston, Mass.



III. STILL A DEMOCRACY.

THANK Heaven, we are still a Democracy! The result of the recent coal strike has demonstrated this. A Democracy is a government in which the people, the common people, actually rule. The issue raised in the coal strike, thanks to the clear-sightedness of John Mitchell and the strength of the men in living up to his advice, was not between order and disorder; it was not as to the employment of union or non-union men; it was not, save incidentally, as to who should own or operate the coal mines, or the price to be charged the public, or the rate of wages, or any of those matters. The issue was, Shall differences between employers and employees be settled by arbi-

tration between men or organizations chosen by each side as their delegates or representatives? The coal mine operators said they would settle with the men individually; the miners said that such settlements were no settlements, and wanted arbitration. This issue, being kept clearly before the public, won the people to it, and it became the issue at stake. On this issue the people won, and the coal mine operators and railroads were beaten. This proves that we are still a Democracy.

Beyond all question, this is a government by law and not by ukase, edict, or decree. Even law-breakers recognize this when they strive to hide their law-breaking by hypocrisy. The monopolists recognize it when they strive to control legislatures. The power that makes the laws governs the land. Legislatures enact laws in our country. The power that controls legislatures really makes the laws. Who or what is that power?

On matters not involving large financial interests, such as laws against petty thieving, violence, assaults, etc., our legislatures usually exercise common sense and give us fairly good laws. An honest lobbyist, sincerely advocating a measure of this character, is sure at least of a courteous hearing before a legislature and can frequently get his law passed. Thus temperance organizations have repeatedly lobbied through valuable educational laws, but have at once encountered a stone wall when their desired laws antagonized a large financial interest such as the brewers'. But these laws fall naturally into two classes: those punishing crime (the criminals in our land are less than one-half of one per cent. of the population; hence, these laws directly concern very few people), and secondly unimportant measures. The whole of this class of laws rarely concerns directly the average man.

On a few great questions on which the people are nearly unanimous, the legislatures and executives obey the people—sometimes honestly and willingly, sometimes unwillingly; but with fear and trembling do the politicians obey the people on the great questions on which the public mind is made up. These questions are few and rare, but immensely important when they do arise.

On the great intermediate class of laws and public questions, the financial interests of our country control our legislatures and really make the laws—and thus govern the land. This they do either by coarse bribery or more frequently by subtle influences and the social “pull.” A legislator comes from the upper class—from the people who have money. His friends are interested in various enterprises. It seems to him the most natural thing in the world that laws should be passed that would benefit his friends; hence, without any open corruption on his part, he votes for laws benefiting only a small class.

This great intermediate class of laws and executive acts embraces more than nine-tenths—in fact, I think it might be said that at present it embraces more than ninety-nine per cent.—of the public business of importance. On this public business depends the welfare of the country. These laws and acts are so numerous and important that often earnest men can see no others, and despairingly say the country is wholly governed by the financial interests and that instead of being a democracy we are a plutocracy complete and thorough.

At times this seems true. Then along comes a great occasion, like this coal strike, that stirs the hearts of the people, and their influence dominates. Politicians rise up and hasten to do their bidding. “Divine right” corporation presidents find suddenly that the scepter has slipped from their grasp, and that the politicians who have always bowed to their nod no longer obey them, but obey a mightier power. Aghast, they realize that there is such a power—stronger than that of money—and that we are still a Democracy.

To the earnest soul who has down-heartedly felt that the chains of a new slavery, an economic despotism, were being welded closer and firmer, the ending of this coal strike comes as a breath of fresh air in some stifling dungeon. He, too, realizes that on great things this is still a Democracy; hence, if the people can be educated and awakened on the lesser but tremendously important public affairs, this can be made a complete Democracy, and that will be a long step toward the kingdom of heaven on earth.

The average man, who generally accepts what is, with a deadly apathy, has had developed in him by the events of this coal strike a realization of two facts: first, the closely-knit and wonderfully strong organization of our economic rulers and their fewness and autocratic temper; second, that when the people are aroused they can rule our rulers. The average man has had brought home to him that this is still a Democracy with latent powers largely unknown and usually unused, and that he is one of this great social organism with individual rights and individual duties. He has begun to grasp the idea of the social consciousness, and never again will he be quite one of the "dumb, driven cattle" that he has been.

All honor in this strike to three parties: First, honor to John Mitchell, the leader who led and yet obeyed. At the proper time, he never failed to give his carefully thought out opinions and the reasons for them; and his advice was almost invariably good advice, appealing to the higher nature of the men yet withal far-sighted and shrewd; but on the one or two occasions when it was not followed he was democrat enough cheerfully to accept his people's will and sink his own and serve his men. Honor to John Mitchell, who was always ready to sink his self, his future, his personality, if thereby he could serve his men; who was the most important servant and not the boss of the miners' organization; who worked patiently day and night at innumerable details; who knew when to hold his tongue and when to speak; but who, above all, was clear-sighted to choose the impregnable fortress of arbitration, and strong to hold that fortress and not allow either the hot-heads among his friends to draw the miners out of this fortress on to the defenseless ground of violence and disorder, where the miners would have surely been beaten, or on the other hand succumb to the insidious but strong forces of social and business influence and corruption.

Secondly, honor to the men who struck; to the rank and file who, down in the valley where they could not get the inspiration of a wide outlook, hung together so firmly and nobly, and above all because they preserved the peace and would not, save

with rare exceptions, do violence. Turbulence, disorder, anarchy was the battle-field that the railroads wished. There they could have beaten the men. If there had been any considerable amount of disorder it would have been magnified (the little there was was grossly exaggerated), the public sympathy alienated, and the strike would have been a failure. Yet to eager men the mere sitting still with folded hands is far harder than action, even if injudicious.

Thirdly, honor to our courageous President, who, though he must have realized the political necessity that lay on him and the Republican party for action, sincerely strove to end the strike peaceably and succeeded.

I come very near including a fourth party in this honor list—President Baer of the Reading railroad. No single utterance did so much to clarify and enlighten the public mind as to the attitude of the employers as his "divine right" letter. It showed the public the autocratic, monarchic temper of the coal railroad heads. It was a colossal blunder from a tactical standpoint, but one that only a thoroughly sincere and honest man could make. Baer believed what he wrote at that time. Possibly he does not believe it now, but that is immaterial. That letter did more service to the miners than any single utterance of Mitchell or of any one else.

What are the lessons of the strike? Three.

First: Every workingman should not only belong to his trade organization but be active in it. Without an organization, this strike could not have taken place. With a new or weak one it would soon have degenerated into disorder, and then sure failure.

Second: Let every man, particularly every workman, cherish the ballot. To the average man it often seems as if he usually had a choice of evils, and that there was not much use in voting. But let him never give up the ballot. Its indirect effects are marvelous. Do you suppose that Quay and Stone in Pennsylvania, or Platt and Odell in New York, would have striven to end the strike if there had not been a strong probability that their party would have been beaten at the

polls if something definite had not been done? Not at all. Even Roosevelt might have been a shade less eager, and he certainly would not have had the vantage-ground with the politicians of his own party, if the miners and their sympathizers had had no votes. Let the workingmen cleave unto their ballots, and use them as discriminatingly as possible.

Third: If on an occasional great thing, such as this coal strike, the people can have their way, they can have it on the individually lesser but in the aggregate far more important public affairs of daily interest. The great middle class of laws that I have spoken of as being manipulated in the interests of the small wealthy class can be made in the interests of the whole people, if the whole people only wish it and know their power. Of the three essentials for this, the desire to have public affairs done in the interests of the whole people, the knowledge how to do this and the knowledge of their own power to do it, the mass of the people already have the first—vaguely perhaps, and vitiated by the many special favors given to special classes; but they do desire “equal rights to all and special privileges to none.” The second essential—how to accomplish this—can only be settled as each case comes up by methods adapted to that special case; and these methods will largely have to be learned by experimenting and numerous failures. The third essential—the knowledge of their own power—has been most emphatically taught the people by this coal strike. This knowledge I place as the greatest benefit of the coal strike to the public. Direct Legislation, the Initiative and the Referendum, is the instrument through which the power of the people is to work. It is the means by which power can be applied. It is the megaphone by which the voices of many individuals may be gathered into one—into the voice of the social organism, tremendous and overpowering, issuing commands that will be obeyed. And then instead of saying hopefully, but with only a limited application, “Still a Democracy,” we can exult in a thorough Democracy.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

East Orange, N. J.

IV. THE STRIKE AND THE CONSUMER.

THE vital issue raised by the coal strike and the scarcity of coal is, whether it is right that the price of coal to the consumer shall be fixed arbitrarily by either mine-owner or mine-worker. Our civilization has been built up on the assumption that commodities will be supplied in proportion to the demand and at about the cost of production. We have been rudely awakened to the fact that the price of coal has been far in excess of the actual cost of mining and transportation, that the only limit to exactions from the consumer is his ability to pay, and that he may be brought to terms by the simple device of entirely shutting off his supply of heat.

The price of most commodities is fixed by competition. Where competition is free, if profits become excessive or the price of labor unusually high in any field, capital will seek investment and laborers seek employment in that field until the normal level is reached. If it were not for monopoly this process would always take place, to the general benefit. But in the case of coal the railroad companies have bought up vast tracts of coal lands, which they hold out of use for the purpose of restricting production and thereby raising the price to the consumer of the coal they do mine, and of diminishing the chances of employment and thereby lowering wages.

This brings us to the consideration of a fundamental question scarcely touched on in the public press. That is, What constitutes rightful property?

If the coal mines are rightfully the property of the present owners,—if coal still in the earth, to which human labor has not yet been applied, can rightfully be the property of any individual,—then the coal barons are entirely right in their strenuous contention that “there is nothing to arbitrate.” If the unmined coal is their rightful property, then they may either mine it or leave it in the earth for so long a time as they choose. That which belongs to a man he may use as he pleases, so long as he does not trespass upon others in such use; and he may

certainly refuse to use it at all, or demand whatever price he chooses for allowing others to use it.

But there is an essential difference between certain forms of what is now considered property. Natural resources and opportunities, the raw materials of the universe by which and from which we must live, cannot rightfully be the subjects of absolute ownership; and though some of them must of necessity be individually possessed in order that they may be used, the community has a right to dictate the terms of such possession, and those terms, to be just, must be such as will give the possessors no advantage over their fellow-men by reason of such possession.

This is the doctrine that Henry George proclaimed. The Single Tax is simply a practical method of equalizing the advantages of locations and resources of differing values in accordance with these principles.

The production of coal is artificially limited by the railroad corporations that have come to own or control 90 per cent. of the anthracite coal land. They are enabled to hold much of this land out of use because of the very low assessments of unused coal lands. In many instances land worth a thousand dollars an acre and upward is assessed at its surface or farming value of two or three dollars an acre. Merely to increase assessments under present laws would not be an adequate remedy, since it would so increase the amount of the assessment roll that the tax-rate would fall to a low point.

But an assessment at full value, and a tax upon that value equal to that levied upon other forms of property, would force a great deal of idle coal land into use. The production of coal would increase and the price of coal would fall until the price to the consumer would simply be the cost of mining and of transportation, while the increased demand for labor would raise the miners' wages. The value of coal lands would of course decline as the price of coal went down, until the poorest mining land needed to supply the demand for coal would have no value. The only value that would then attach to coal lands would be due to the relative ease of extracting coal. In short,

the abolition of the present power of monopoly to levy a tribute amounting to at least half of the retail price of coal would both lower the price of coal to the consumer and increase the wages received by the worker.

At present transportation is a very important factor in the price of coal. The railroads in the anthracite region have arbitrarily fixed freight rates at a point where the individual operators were unable to compete with the coal-mining railroads; many individual owners have been forced to sell their holdings to the railroads, and the few who remain are subject to railroad dictation as to the amount and price of their output. How complete is the power of the railroads, and how enormous the tribute they exact, was told by Thomas P. Fowler, president of the New York, Ontario & Western Railroad, who testified in 1900 that if an independent road, whose construction he was opposing, was built into the mining region, "anthracite coal would be a drug on the New York market at two dollars a ton."

No permanent solution of the coal problem can be had until the private ownership of railed highways is abolished, and every one is privileged to haul coal or to have it hauled at equal rates. When these highways are open to all, and the monopoly value is taxed out of coal lands, it will neither be necessary nor desirable for the Government to go into the mining business.

Under free conditions, if mine operators refuse to pay fair wages, or overcharge for coal, or attempt to restrict production, other men will go into the business of mining coal; for there will be plenty of unused coal lands available. It would be possible, too, for the miners to form coöperative associations and go into the mining business for themselves. And the possibility of this would tend to keep up wages.

The coal question cannot be satisfactorily settled until the entire problem of land and labor is equitably adjusted. So long as economic injustices continue, to remedy one injustice will only intensify other injustices.

BOLTON HALL.

New York.

V. VIOLENCE AND ARBITRATION.

ALL that some good people could see in the coal strike was the violence of a few of the strikers or their friends. The only question for them was how to put an end to the disorder. This is clearly an unreasonable frame of mind. If an issue exists between two great sections of the community it is foolish for us to be diverted from our efforts to settle it by the irrelevant fact of the bad behavior of an insignificant number of the parties on one side. On the contrary, if an issue takes so firm a hold of men's hearts as to lead to violence, there is all the more reason for probing it to the quick. But, aside from this obvious truth, it was abundantly proved that more crimes of violence occurred in the anthracite region before the strike began, and that as a rule the strikers had been remarkably peaceable throughout.

Those who condemn most severely the men who had recourse to violence might well indulge in the sensation of putting themselves in their places. Fancy yourself engaged in a great struggle for the improvement of the condition of your class. You are apparently upon the point of success when other men of your own class come in and bring to naught all your endeavors, which in a large sense were for their benefit as well as your own. Perhaps you would not throw a brick at them. But if you did, I should say that of all kinds of murderous violence it was the most excusable, and that the workman who, short of starving his family, was willing to take the bread out of your mouth and dash to the ground the hopes of his own fellow-workmen was the meanest and most contemptible of men. And let us remember, too, that the oversupply of the labor market was the result of the importation by the coal companies of large numbers of foreign "cheap" laborers in excess of the demand, and also of their monopoly of the coal fields, vast portions of which are purposely kept unused.

Mr. Hewitt went a little deeper than those who merely criticized violence. He "viewed with alarm" the building up of a

great labor monopoly that would dominate the land. There would be force in this argument if the labor monopoly were the only one appearing above the horizon. It is almost inconceivable that a man of ability discussing the coal strike from the point of view of monopoly should ignore the coal and transportation monopoly that lies at the root of the trouble; yet this is precisely what Mr. Hewitt did. I clip the following fable from *Life*, as it seems to sum up the situation in a few words:

"Once upon a time a Righteous Citizen witnessed a Combat between a Big Man and a Small Boy. The Big Man laid about him mightily and smote the Small Boy hip and thigh, who upon the Tip of his Toes could not reach the Big Man's waistband.

"'Hold,' cried the Righteous Citizen, as the Big Man proceeded to sit down upon the Small Boy. 'It is not a Fair Fight! The Small Boy is hitting the Big Man below the Belt!'"

Mr. Hewitt sees nothing but the monopoly of labor, which at worst is a feeble imitation of the monopoly of coal lands and railway privileges. He talks of the danger to a "free market," as if the miner had had a free market since the combine spread its tentacles over the anthracite region. In the name of logic he must either attack all monopolies, and the coal ring among them, or else approve of the principle and withdraw his animadversions against the attempt to monopolize labor.

For my part I am opposed to all monopoly, but I believe that it is better for the public to have the field occupied by two jealous rival monopolies than by any one all-powerful one. As soon as the labor trust is strong enough to supplant Wall Street in the control of courts and legislatures, I shall be ready to join Mr. Hewitt in a crusade against it; but such a possibility seems a long way off. And if, which is much more likely, capital and labor in the best organized industries come together and patch up a lasting truce for the purpose of fleecing the public and dividing the spoils, then also I shall be prepared to take part in a campaign against the twin tyrant. And it is evident, is it not, that a permanent understanding between capital and labor, *so long as either of them has a monopoly*, would work injury to the public? So long as monopoly exists—that is, the arbi-

trary power to fix prices—it is unwise to desire a durable peace between capital and labor. .

For this reason, so long as the foundation of monopoly is untouched, arbitration must be more or less of a makeshift. It means, however, the gradual substitution of conflicts of argument for conflicts of brute force, and eventually we may expect to have monopoly itself—the banking monopoly, the transportation monopoly, the tariff monopoly, the coal monopoly, the land monopoly—submitted to some kind of peaceful arbitrament. Meanwhile we must remember that the arbitration of lesser questions can never be a finality, and that the victory of the principle in the late strike is rather a victory for good manners than the settlement of any fundamental issue.

Three important points were, however, established by the strike: First, that the mining of coal is not a private matter between employer and employed. Logic will require us to extend this principle to all industries that involve monopoly. Second, that workmen have a right to select their own spokesmen and representatives. An employer is “treating with his own men” when he receives their agent, whether such agent be the head of a labor union or not. And third, that when there is a serious dispute between large bodies of men there is always something to arbitrate.

On this last head Mr. Hewitt laid down the rule that there are questions that a man cannot properly consent to arbitrate. I have not his argument before me, but I think he said that if a man comes into your house and offers to arbitrate the title of it with you, you are bound in honor to refuse. Now, it so happens that the law requires you to arbitrate this very question with any one who chooses to raise it. Anybody who wishes to can serve you with a writ of ejectment, and you are obliged to try the question of the title of your house in court, and if you have a good title the prospect does not frighten you. The people who object to arbitration are usually those who are aware of some defect in their title. There are various ways in which a man can force you to arbitrate your right to your wife or your children before judge or jury as the law now

stands. What are the cases that a man cannot honestly arbitrate? Surely only those that might require him to do a dishonorable act; and to yield up your rights after a frank examination into them is not dishonorable. Mr. Hewitt's idea seems to be that we cannot be expected to arbitrate when we are sure we are right. But those are precisely the questions that a man can consent to arbitrate with the least risk, for if he is certainly right it will be easy to convince the judge of it. It is when we fear we are wrong that we have most reason for rejecting arbitration.

The real grievance in the coal regions lies far deeper than the questions on the surface that are bandied between operators and miners. The facts are that the life of a miner is a miserable and grimy life, in the mine and in his home. Mr. Hewitt so described it in 1884. He then said: "When I saw that men who worked a whole day away from the light of heaven, and who took their lives in their hands every time they entered the pit, are housed in hovels such as the lordly owners of the mines would refuse to stable their cattle in, then I felt that something was wrong in the condition of the American laborer." Mr. Hewitt was right, and there is still something wrong in the condition of the American laborers; and the fact that they rise up against it, even with violence, is a sign that the spirit of John Hampden and Patrick Henry is not yet extinct. The "Christian men" like Mr. Baer, who, with the backing of the Bishop of Central Pennsylvania, wish to be allowed to dole out small doses of justice as if it were charity, are on the old reactionary side with Laud and Strafford and Lord North, and the world will not stand still for them. It is indeed sad that the only quasi-official declaration of the Church should have sunk so far below the level of public and secular opinion and should have consequently fallen impotent and discredited from the lips of the narrow-minded prelate who pronounced it.

The plain facts of the coal trade are that coal that costs the mine-owners and railways \$1.87 at New York sells there for \$5 and \$6 a ton in ordinary times. This enormous profit, with a small deduction for the retail dealer's commission, goes into

the pockets of the monopoly, and the taking of it is as much a crime as if the flesh and blood of the miners and breaker-boys were minted into coin. It is money screwed out of the wretchedness of fellow-men, and it would be as honorable to draw enormous profits from small-pox hospitals or from the necessities of plague-ridden communities. It is intolerable that the growth of great fortunes should be fertilized by human misery.

The weapon that makes this exploitation possible is monopoly. The commission that President Roosevelt has appointed should go to the root of the matter and point out how this monopoly can be destroyed and every workman assured the full value of his labor. If it cannot be done without public ownership of the mines and railways, public ownership will have to come. Mr. Roosevelt deserves the highest praise for his courageous and successful intervention. What a grand tribune of the people he would make if he could only get the idea out of his head that we can become great by taking away other peoples' liberties and that big battle-ships are more valuable to a nation than big ideas! His greatest predecessors, Washington and Lincoln, made their reputations on the side of freedom, and, if his heart were only sufficiently touched with the new age-spirit of human brotherhood to appreciate the practical slavery of the great mass of wage-earners to-day, he might take the lead in a cause beside which those of our Revolution and Civil War dwindle into insignificance. One of the greatest opportunities for strenuous life that were ever offered to man lies open before him, and it is sad to think that he will probably fail to see it.

ERNEST H. CROSBY.

Rhinebeck, N. Y.

THE PREACHER AS A LEADER OF MEN.

“ALL the world loves a lover,” said the greatest prompter of philosophic thought that America ever produced. The statement contained in the quotation is possibly true, yet some allowance must be made for Emerson’s fondness for epigrams. But the lover does not exist because the world loves him. If the world were perfectly indifferent to him, as may be the case, he would love just the same. He loves because the object of his love exists. Loveliness demands the lover. It beckons him with a thousand hands; it smiles upon him with a thousand eyes. Likewise humanity with ardent entreaty invites the preacher. The thousand voices of the soul of Humanity, crying as one voice out of an aching void, into the desert of the Unknown, “Tell me how,” or “Tell me why,” have produced both the prophet and preacher, and the false prophet and impostor. The former, prompted by love and a desire to serve, dug into the heart of God, where he read the message of truth revealed; the latter, prompted by selfish ambition and a desire to rule, forged his message of deceit out of the falsehood of his own soul. The former read the message of truth, reflected it from his soul’s clear mirror, and threw it a beacon-light upon the path of men; and it guided them to an altar having the inscription, “Love to God is Service to Men.”

Upon this altar no blood was sprinkled, and from it no smoke arose. Wreaths of sacrifice called self-denial crowned its top; the flowers of fraternity bloomed about its base and filled the air with their fragrance. The light of Truth illumined all the scene and made it holy. Man worshiped there, and loved his brother there, and felt no loss of paradise. It *was* paradise. The latter drew his message from the fire of self-love in the forge of bigotry, and as he drew it forth it glowed like red iron in the night—and it took the form of a sword. Men followed the sword, for they were in darkness and the sword was

gloved. They followed it gladly, for, like a will-o'-the-wisp, it led them back into their native marsh of superstition. There it took the form of a serpent, and glided under an altar having the inscription, "Love to God consists in Binding the Thought of Men."

Revelation, Inspiration, Orthodoxy, Inquisition—these words were inscribed about the altar's base. No fragrance was there, for the altar stood under the shadow of the upas tree of hate. There was no light upon the altar, but smoke curled from its gloomy top and blood was sprinkled upon its steps. Man bound his brother there, and called it worship; and oftentimes there he burned his brother for thinking some of God's lesser thoughts after Him. Men stood in the presence of this altar and disputed the question, "Where was the ancient site of Paradise?" But it seemed not to occur to their gloomy minds to discuss the question, "How shall we build a present paradise?" Blind guides and sightless followers! They also debated the question, "Where is Hell?" and knew not that they stood within its portals.

Humanity, like sheep, follow a leader; and while the religious principle, or even superstition, remains an element in the nature of man, neither the true prophet nor the false prophet will lack followers. Moody will have his converts, and Dowie will have his dupes. In addition to these two classes of followers, there must be mentioned another class—who are not less religious and love God not less because they love Him more intelligently—who will follow Fiske "Through Nature up to God." And these, aided by the many religious sidelights that necessarily fall upon their paths, will reach their desired destination none the less surely because they choose to travel a road of thought that is not so well beaten—neither is it so hard, and dry, and dusty—as many another line about which for centuries has been heard the cry, "This is the only way to God."

There exist to-day at least three classes of hearers, which may be named the crazy, the credulous, and the critical.

To the first class belong the fanatics, of narrow scope but

great nervousness, who become the victims of every new "Second Christ" or "Second Elijah" that may appear.

The second, or credulous class, constitute the average following of the average preacher, and compose the larger part of the membership of present-day Evangelical churches. In matters not religious, this class could not generally be called credulous, because, in matters not religious, their thought has not been bound. But in religion they have been taught that "unbelief is sin." And this principle thus expressed has been a crown of thorns that priestcraft, Protestant as well as Roman, has pressed with fiendish delight upon many an intellectual brow, to the agony of many a soul who loved God not less than did the priest, but with a more discriminating and therefore a worthier love. Limited space forbids a lengthy discussion of this topic; but priestcraft needs to be reminded that, possibly in the sight of God, *apistia*, or lack of faith, representing a negative condition, an absence of spiritual force, may be deplorable, while unbelief existing as a positive mental state, the result of mental exercise in the effort to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good," may be commendable.

The critical faculty exists as a light in the soul, not as a shadow—the claims of monks, medieval and modern, to the contrary notwithstanding. This may be heresy, but it will have to become orthodoxy if the Church is ever to have the sincerest support of that element most powerful in the intellectual life of the world, and known as the critical class. But hitherto the Church has waged war against this class as if the analytic mind, the mark of highest civilization, were conclusive evidence of darkest heathendom.

A large part of the old-fashioned sermon is argumentative, the effort being to establish proof of religious dogma and convict the unbeliever for unbelief of the same. Ninety per cent. of such sermons, subjected to such analysis and rebuttal as every argument in a court of law must stand, will break down most ridiculously. Under such circumstances, the hearer will learn that he can enjoy himself more if he ceases to be critical and becomes credulous. Consequently, he learns, consciously

or unconsciously, to chloroform his critical faculties before the sermon begins, and thus escapes the cruel and unusual punishment meted out to some men of analytic mind whenever they hear a conventional minister.

The critical class is the frugal class, and time is also the object of their frugality. This class is not much given to church-going; but it is not the class that never went. They ceased to attend religious service only after they had wearied of wordy disquisitions barren of spiritual force. They left the church in which they had been reared as men who had sought to find a spiritual leader and had found an intellectual automaton, who in the early days of his ministry had been effectually discouraged from trying to think any thought that Wesley had not spoken or Fletcher written in the days when doctrine was founded or cast. These men, who left thus disappointed, are not themselves natural leaders, or we would have a thousand schools of so-called free thought where there is now one. Disappointed as those who came seeking figs and found only leaves, these same men, every one of whom honors God and loves Christ, are hoping that the time of figs may yet arrive. They expect a time to come when Christianity will throw off her mummified wrappings and become a force in the social life of the age rather than a factor in its metaphysical speculations. The preacher who can sympathize with this element, and lead it, will utilize the mightiest social force to-day unused.

What do these men want to hear? They want to hear the truth as much as does the most ignorant sinner on the mourners' bench. But there is this difference—they can discern a claim unsubstantiated, and the ignorant sinner cannot. Preach principles and their application, and the critical class is the first to be interested. Christian principles are moral axioms, which the deepest thinkers comprehend most fully. Only an ignorant asks that an axiom be proved.

"Tell us how to apply the teachings of Jesus for the salvation of this world!" is a cry that comes from this age as loudly as it has ever come from any age since Peter said, "Lord, to whom shall we go, for thou alone hast the words of life?" And

that preacher is on the way to largest service and truest leadership who will announce: "I have done with dogma; I delve in its dust no more; I will tantalize no thoughtful mind by contending for an irrational tradition; but henceforth my aim shall be Christianity so applied that the largest possible multitude may have largest life, in this world and in the world to come." And in the providence of God the time may not be beyond the horizon of this generation when even the Evangelical Church shall welcome, and recognize his call to preach, that student who comes confessing: "Brethren, I have sought to learn from the Man of Galilee; I have prayed for a pure heart, so that I might see God; I have not burned the midnight oil to study an ancient book and weep over its pages, nor do I believe it all infallible; but I have walked where my brethren walk so that I might know the weary way they toil, and oft with tear-blinded eyes have I beheld where the son of man toils up new Calvaries, bearing his cross to-day; and I have lain with one ear upon the bosom of Humanity, where I have heard it whisper its hopes and groan forth its yearnings, and while thus I lay I have listened also to hear the voice of God. And I have heard until my heart is bursting with a message unto men." When Orthodoxy no longer—

"From the grave of the old prophets
Steals the funeral lamps away,
To light the martyr fagots
'Round the prophets of to-day;"

—then even the Evangelical Church may welcome such a one with a warm hand. And then only will the most thoughtful and earnest thinkers feel perfect confidence in the highest intellectual and moral leadership of the preacher.

OTTO L. DREYS.

Detroit, Mich.

THE DIVINE QUEST.

(*Number Four.*)

FUNDAMENTAL FRATERNAL MOVEMENTS OF THE PRESENT.

I.

THE revolutionary period whose physical expression reached its climax in the closing decade of the eighteenth century had not only overthrown the absurd "divine right of kings" fetish and sounded the knell of absolutism throughout all western Europe, but it also emancipated the brain of millions of people from the bondage of superstition and reverence for ancient but oppressive customs, practises, and usages by which classes had enslaved the masses, and which often chained reason in the prison-house of fear.

It was a new world that emerged from the revolutionary baptism of blood and flame. Science, religion, music, philosophy, and literature felt the generous sap of new life. The winter time—the long winter time—of superstition and oppression had been broken up, and civilization hailed a new day. Humanity had taken one more upward step in its slow and halting ascent.

At length in France—the storm center of the European revolution—the "Man on Horseback" appeared, and the democratic aspirations were arrested in many ways as they were arrested in the English revolution that ended the reign of Charles I., after Cromwell assumed dictatorial power. But, though to outward seeming Napoleon's ascendancy marked a violent reactionary movement, in many respects the Corsican conqueror contributed to the demolition of the old order. The overthrow of dynasty after dynasty broke the spell that chained millions of minds, and in some cases—as, for example, in the conquering of Spain—it led to the great revolutions under

Bolivar and San Martin that liberated the Andean nations of South America from Spanish rule; while in many of the monarchies overthrown by Napoleon the very destruction of the old régime gave new life and power to the friends of liberty, fraternity, and justice. And, though the revolutionary movement had been outwardly arrested, the undercurrent of new life flowed on until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when revolutionary agitations became manifest throughout western Europe. These not infrequently found outward expression in open revolt, but for the most part a general educational agitation and social ferment extended for almost a quarter of a century, culminating or finding physical expression in the revolutions of '48 on the Continent, and in the rise of Chartism in England.

It was not, however, in the violent and turbulent expressions of this period of revolt that the social unrest and the deep, unsatisfied yearnings of the age for wider freedom and juster conditions were most strikingly manifested. The colleges were rife with the spirit of democracy as never before. In literature the movement known as Romanticism assumed commanding proportions. It was "a protest against literary servitude," and under the leadership of Victor Hugo it exerted a modifying and salutary influence upon literature and was preëminently a cry for freedom and truth—for the freer and more untrammelled expression of the ideal.

Following upon the heels of Romanticism came Richard Wagner, a mighty child of protest and son of progress, who waged war against the conventional opera because it was at once artificial, soulless, and corpse-like, possessing neither potency of life, growth, nor inspiration. In arraiguing the opera Wagner said, "It ignores the needs of the soul and seeks to gratify the eye and ear alone." Like Victor Hugo, the young musical master encountered a storm of abuse, calumny, and ridicule, and like Hugo he was exiled from his fatherland because of loyalty and active service in behalf of democracy.

The literary and musical revolution was eclipsed by the marvelous discoveries made in the field of physical science

and the wonderful strides taken by inventive geniuses. A great wave of humanism also swept over Europe; while in the domain of social science and economics great herald voices of progress—forerunners and prophets of a new epoch, champions of a freer, juster, and more fraternal order—were heard on every hand. In the United States the prophets of progress addressed their attention especially to the overthrow of slavery, but in Europe social conditions engrossed the attention of many of the noblest thinkers. There, it is true, there was no chattel slavery, but the revolutions had failed to enfranchise the proletariat, and the condition of the millions was pitiable in the extreme.

One of the earliest and most powerful of these prophet souls was the Italian philosopher and patriot, Giuseppe Mazzini. He more than any other individual awakened a noble discontent in the Italian mind and created a passion for union that ultimately found expression, though not in the way the great philosopher desired. Mazzini more than any other man broke the ancient spell of superstition that made progress toward democracy and fraternalism well-nigh impossible. His activity in behalf of democracy led to his banishment in the early thirties, and most of his exile was spent in London, where he labored incessantly for the association of the human units into a great brotherhood of workers; and his teachings have exerted a profound influence over the more progressive and conscientious element throughout Christendom. He was in a large way a voice crying for essential Christianity—for justice and brotherhood in the wilderness of reactionary and egoistic thought. He was an iconoclastic prophet of progress who failed to form or found any distinct revolutionary school, but his masterful thought and teachings did much toward furthering the sentiment in favor of Christian Socialism in England and of coöperative and social progress there and elsewhere.

The revolutionary agitation of the first half of the nineteenth century found expression—as has been frequently the case when great altruistic and humanistic waves have swept over the brain of civilization—in two groups of phenomena:

one superficial, violent, and explosive, and the other silent, profound, far-reaching, and fundamental in character. The former was evidenced in the various sporadic and premature revolts and revolutions and the incendiary agitation of the second quarter of the century, which reached a climax in the Continental revolutions of 1848. These revolutions, ill matured and wanting in bold and masterful leadership, were followed by violent reactions in which the egoistic, selfish, and despotic spirit of the ruling classes found expression in savage and brutal deeds. Great numbers of the noblest sons of Europe were slain or imprisoned. Some escaped by timely flight. Others were exiled. Among the latter were Mazzini, Richard Wagner, Karl Marx, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and later Victor Hugo.

These men happily bore with them the torch of democracy and the lamp of progress. Had they shared the fate of their less fortunate comrades, the world would have been robbed of much of its richest treasure in vital literature, in music, and in social, economic, and political philosophy, embodying the ideals and aspirations of altruism and true democracy.

It is not our purpose further to consider the fascinating and suggestive history of the superficial and explosive aspect of this revolutionary epoch, as the more profound and far-reaching movements that issued from the agitation challenge our consideration in that they embody the altruistic as opposed to the egoistic, the democratic as opposed to the imperialistic, the spiritual and idealistic as opposed to the materialistic and selfish movements in civilization to-day.

II. THREE GREAT PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Several great movements, more or less fundamental and revolutionary in character and dominated by the altruistic or fraternal spirit, sprang from the social, political, and philosophic agitation of the first half of the nineteenth century and the quickening of moral and mental impulses, the principal among which are: (1) Socialism, scientific and Christian; (2) the

philosophy of Henry George, known as the Single Tax on Land Values, and which also comprehends the popular ownership and operation of natural monopolies; (3) voluntary co-operation for the mutual benefit of producer and consumer.

These movements, it will be observed, though representing the socialistic and individualistic theories, are all dominated by the fraternal spirit. All aim at juster and more equitable conditions for all the people. The two representative philosophic theories—those of Socialism and of the Single Tax—alike aim to exalt the interests of the people above those of classes and groups, equal rights for all and special privileges for none being the animating ideal of each school; though beyond the common ownership of earth and of natural monopolies there is little in common in the working theories of these two schools.

Socialism and the Single Tax philosophy deal with the fundamentals of political and social economy, while the coöperative movement is, of course, preëminently economic and in its earlier stages relates primarily to the units rather than to the State or to society at large.

III. SOCIALISM.

In the year 1835 a society known as "The Association of All Classes of All Nations" was founded, with the distinguished philanthropist and social reformer, Robert Owen, at the head. It was at this time that the word "Socialism" was coined. From England the term crossed the Channel and was quickly employed as a happy name for a new school of reformers, among whom Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen were then the most conspicuous representatives. Their social ideals and theories were, however, very different from the elaborate philosophy of Scientific Socialism, which was later developed by Marx, Lasalle, and other leading thinkers. The older movement was marked by the presence of an autocratic spirit radically unlike the ultra-democracy of present-day Socialism. It was a tentative step—the attempt of great and good men, animated by a

noble altruism, to abate the injustice and social anarchy by the substitution of justice and fraternity where greed and might held sway.

After the movement of Mr. Owen began to wane, Christian Socialism arose in England. The master spirits of this appeal to the conscience and sense of justice in the Church were Frederic Dennison Maurice, Canon Charles Kingsley, and Mr. Ludlow. These able scholars and exalted spiritual leaders insisted that, rightly understood, Socialism was "only Christianity applied to social reform." The Christian Socialist movement reflected in a positive way the ideals, spirit, and faith of Mazzini, and, though it failed at the time of its promulgation to arouse the Church as its leaders had hoped, it has exerted a marked influence upon many of the noblest conscience-guided thinkers of the last fifty years, and perhaps its influence is more potent to-day than ever before.

It was not, however, in England that Socialism was destined to find its greatest exponents. Marx, Lasalle, Engels, Rodbertus, and Liebknecht—all men of great ability, some of them profound thinkers, and each alike overmastered by a passion for justice for all the people—were the master minds who formulated and elucidated the philosophy of Scientific Socialism, which is assuming such commanding proportions in almost every civilized land.

Of the coterie Karl Marx was the most profound philosopher and masterful spirit. Owing to his bold and able teachings in behalf of social progress, he was compelled to leave Germany, and later, through German influence, was driven from the Continent. In London he devoted his talents to the elucidation of his great work, "Capital," in which he endeavors "to reveal the law of the economic movement of modern times." Marx appealed to the workingmen of all nations to unite. He strove incessantly to promulgate the great social philosophy that he and his illustrious co-workers had reduced to a scientific system, and that he held must inevitably become the next step in the evolutionary history of society. He pointed out that the slavery of the masses had given place to serfdom, and

serfdom in turn to wagedom—a still more modified form of dependence or slavery; after which, he held, there would come the association of all for all, or a Fraternal State, based on the great underlying ethical verities, and which should supplant the aristocratic, imperial, and unjust governments that had preceded it.

Though all great revolutionary movements are the subject of abuse, ridicule, and misrepresentation from the unscrupulous, the prejudiced, and the ignorant, probably no economic or political philosophy has been the recipient of more persistent, deliberate, and inexcusable misrepresentations than Socialism. On this point let me give the words of the eminent Thomas Kirkup, M.A., whose masterly discussion of Socialism in the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* should be carefully read by every American who is too busy to peruse the works of the Socialistic authorities and who sincerely desires to obtain an intelligent knowledge of the subject. In referring to the misleading charges made against Socialism, Mr. Kirkup observes:

“Still more objectionable, however, is the tendency not unfrequently shown to identify Socialism with a violent and lawless revolutionary spirit. As sometimes used ‘socialism’ means nothing more nor less than the most modern form of the revolutionary spirit with a suggestion of anarchy and dynamite. This is to confound the essence of the movement with an accidental feature more or less common to all great innovations. Every new thing of any moment, whether good or evil, has its revolutionary stage in which it disturbs and upsets the accepted beliefs and institutions. The Protestant Reformation was for more than a century and a half the occasion of national and international trouble and bloodshed. The suppression of American slavery could not be effected without a tremendous civil war. There was a time when the opinions comprehended under the name of ‘liberalism’ had to fight to the death for toleration; and representative government was at one time a revolutionary innovation. The fact that a movement is revolutionary generally implies only that it is new, that it is disposed to exert itself by strong methods, and is calculated to make great changes. It is an unhappy feature of most great changes that they have been attended with the exercise of force, but

that is because the powers in possession have generally attempted to suppress them by the exercise of force."

Perhaps nowhere has Socialism been more deliberately and wilfully misrepresented than in the daily press of the United States and in the mouths of political demagogues and other special pleaders for plutocracy. They have incessantly represented it as synonymous with anarchy, although all but the most ignorant of their number could not have helped knowing that anarchy and Socialism stand at the zenith and nadir in political economy; and this is merely typical of the baseless falsification that has marked the systematic attacks on Socialism during the last quarter of a century. Of the essence of Socialism, Mr. Kirkup says:

"The central aim of socialism is to terminate the divorce of the workers from the natural sources of subsistence and of culture. The socialist theory is based on the historical assertion that the course of social evolution for centuries has gradually been to exclude the producing classes from the possession of land and capital and to establish a new subjection, the subjection of workers, who have nothing to depend upon but precarious wage-labor. The socialists maintain that the present system (in which land and capital are the property of private individuals freely struggling for increase of wealth) leads inevitably to social and economic anarchy, to the degradation of the workingman and his family, to the growth of vice and idleness among the wealthy classes and their dependents, to bad and inartistic workmanship, and to adulteration in all its forms; and that it is tending more and more to separate society into two classes,—wealthy millionaires confronted with an enormous mass of proletarians,—the issue out of which must be either socialism or social ruin. To avoid all these evils and to secure a more equitable distribution of the means and appliances of happiness, the socialists propose that land and capital, which are the requisites of labor and the sources of all wealth and culture, should become the property of society, and be managed by it for the general good. . . .

"Socialism, in fact, claims to be the economic complement of democracy, maintaining that without a fundamental economic change political privilege has neither meaning nor value. In the second place, socialism naturally goes with an unselfish or altruistic system of ethics. . . .

"Socialists refuse to admit that individual happiness or freedom or character would be sacrificed under the arrangements they propose. They believe that under the present system a free and harmonious development of individual capacity and happiness is possible only for the privileged minority, and that socialism alone can open up a fair opportunity for all. They believe, in short, that there is no opposition whatever between socialism and individuality rightly understood, that these two are complements the one of the other, that in socialism alone may every individual have hope of free development and a full realization of himself. . . .

"Socialists believe that the present economic order, in which industry is carried on by private competitive capital, must and ought to pass away, and that the normal economic order of the future will be one with collective means of production and associated labor working for the general good. This principle of socialism is cardinal and fundamental. . . .

"Socialism, in short, means that in industry, in the economic arrangements of society, the collective or coöperative principle shall become normal or universal, that all who are able should contribute to the service of society, and that all should share in the fruits of the associated labor according to some good and equitable principle. In such a condition of things the noblest field for ambition will be in the service of society—an ideal which is already partly realized in the democratic State. It is in this fundamental sense that J. S. Mill declared himself a socialist. It is in this sense also that Albert Schäffle, one of the first living authorities on economics and sociology, has, after long years of study on the subject, come to the conclusion that 'the future belongs to the purified socialism.'"

And Victor Hugo, in his brilliant volume of literary criticism entitled "William Shakespeare," has this to say about Socialism:

"The transformation of the crowd into the people—profound task! It is to this labor that the men called Socialists have devoted themselves during the last forty years. The author of this book, however insignificant he may be, is one of the oldest in this labor. . . . If he claims his place among these philosophers, it is because it is a place of persecution. A certain hatred of Socialism, very blind but very general, has raged for fifteen or sixteen years, and is still raging most bitterly among the influential classes. Let it not be forgotten

that true Socialism has for its end the elevation of the masses to the civic dignity, and that, therefore, its principal care is for moral and intellectual cultivation.

"The first hunger is ignorance; Socialism, wishes, then, above all, to instruct. That does not hinder Socialism from being calumniated, and Socialists from being denounced."

It has been urged that Socialism discourages patriotism, because it insists on that which is in fact higher and nobler than patriotism—the solidarity of the race, the brotherhood of man. It discourages national and racial hates; it opposes war and standing armies; it is uniting the wealth-creators of every civilized land under a single standard, with a single aim—that of securing to each and every individual the rightful fruit of his own toil and to all units in the State immunity from even the fear of starvation or neglect in time of age, sickness, or misfortune. Always and everywhere it demands the extension of education. Universal and compulsory education is one of its slogans. It demands "the prohibition of labor of children and of all women's work injurious to health and morality."

In regard to the attitude of Socialists toward religion and the family relation, Mr. Kirkup observes:

"Socialism has been and still is very frequently associated with irreligion and atheism. The same remark applies to Continental liberalism, and partly for a like reason: the absolute governments of the Continent have taken the existing forms of religion into their service and have repressed religious freedom. On religion as on marriage socialism has no special teaching. . . .

"It enumerates no special doctrine on the relation of the sexes. In common with other social reformers, socialists generally advocate the equality of the sexes and the emancipation of women; they object to the mercenary element so common in marriage; and they abhor prostitution as one of the worst and vilest of existing evils, believing, moreover, that it is a necessary result of the present distinction of classes and of the unequal distribution of wealth."

Socialism is radically democratic. No body of people is more insistent on the introduction of the initiative, referendum, and imperative mandate than the Socialists. They believe in

industrial and political democracy, and they would carefully guard against the possibility of oppression or corruption through bureaucracy by the universal adoption of those measures which Switzerland long since formulated and successfully introduced to meet changed conditions and the present-day demands of democracy.

The Socialists believe that the logical course of events renders the victory of their philosophy inevitable; that as freedom was the key-note of the democratic revolt in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and the opening years of the nineteenth, so the combination of all for all, or Justice and Fraternity, shall be the key-note of the oncoming revolution. They hold that with the discovery and utilization of steam and electricity, with the march of nineteenth-century invention and scientific discoveries, came the age of combination; and they point out the vast saving achieved by union or coöperation as seen in the trusts and great corporations, and the ease and facility with which governments and society collectively handle great concerns, as seen in the post-office and the common schools. But they insist that the benefits of combination shall not serve to create a soulless and arrogant plutocracy, which shall corrupt government in all its ramifications while exploiting labor and oppressing the masses, but rather that the blessings of combination or coöperation shall become the beneficent heritage of all God's children.

IV. THE SINGLE TAX.

The followers of Mr. Henry George are the chief representatives of the individualistic wing of the great altruistic movement in the present-day political life of the Anglo-Saxon world, and as such call for special notice, since, next to Socialists, perhaps no body of radical reformers has been more systematically and unwarrantably misrepresented than they.

The land philosophy of Mr. George, if apparently Socialistic up to the point of demanding public ownership of public utilities or natural monopolies and the common ownership of the land

(on the ground that it, like air and water, is a vital and common gift of a common Father to all His children), is beyond these points radically individualistic. The land reformers, while demanding equality of opportunity, rendered possible by the abolition of all special privileges, are equally insistent on the widest freedom in political, economic, and social relations compatible with the fundamental or basic ethical verities.

The chief distinguishing demand of the land philosophy of Mr. George is that all revenues shall be raised by a single tax on land values—not on land, mark you, but land *values*, apart from or exclusive of improvements. This tax should ultimately equal the full rental value of the land. Thus the State would receive for the common weal or the community all the land value, but the landowner would have free from taxes all his improvement, or that which represents the labor expended on the land. It would abolish all other direct taxes as well as all the indirect taxes that now in various forms, but chiefly through the tariff, raise the prices of so many of the commodities that people have to have, and that with the direct taxes are so oppressive to the poor and so onerous to those in fairly comfortable circumstances.

The Single Taxers would urge nothing violent or revolutionary in the introduction of their reform. Titles would remain as they are, and the end would be brought about gradually by simply annually, or every few years, increasing the rate of taxes on land values, until finally they were equal to the whole rental value of the land. The only tax would be on the value of the land; *i.e.*, it would be levied on the common gift of the Creator to His common children, plus the enhanced value created by the community as a whole.

This reform is urged on the double plea of sound ethics and practical wisdom. It is at once just and expedient, first, because it conforms to the strict demands of justice in that it places all the children of the State on a plane of "natural equality in all save their own abilities." Says Mr. George:

"The right of property does not rest on human laws. It rests on natural laws—that is to say, the law of God. The

man who catches a fish, grows an apple, raises a calf, builds a house, makes a coat, paints a picture, constructs a machine, has, as to any such thing, an exclusive right of ownership, which carries with it the right to give, to sell, or bequeath that thing. But who made the earth that any man can claim such an ownership of it, or any part of it? Since the earth was not made by us, but is only the temporary dwelling-place on which one generation of men follows another; since we who find ourselves here are manifestly here with the equal permission of the Creator, it is manifest that no one can have any exclusive right of ownership in land, and that the right of all men to land must be equal and inalienable. There must be an exclusive right to possession of land for one to reap the product of his labor. But this right of possession must be limited by the equal right of all, and should therefore be conditioned on the payment to the community by the possessor of an equivalent for any special valuable privilege thus accorded."

Secondly, on the ground of expediency it is urged that it would be the easiest possible tax to collect. It would do away with a great army of tax-gatherers and other officials, which the present system requires. It would thus give the treasury a far larger proportion of what is levied than is now realized. "It would," says Mr. George, "abolish all taxes that necessarily promote fraud, bribery, perjury, and corruption, since land lies out of doors and cannot be hid or spirited away, and its value can most easily be ascertained of all values. This tax could be collected with the minimum of cost and the least stress upon public morals." Furthermore, according to Mr. George—

"it would enormously increase the production of wealth, by the removal of the burdens that now weigh upon industry and thrift. If we tax houses, there will be fewer and poorer houses; if we tax machinery, there will be less machinery; if we tax trade, there will be less trade; if we tax capital, there will be less capital; if we tax savings, there will be less savings. All the taxes, therefore, that we would abolish are taxes that repress industry and lessen wealth. But if we tax land values, there will be no less land.

"On the contrary, the taxation of land values has the effect of making land more easily available by industry, since it makes it more difficult for owners of valuable land, which they them-

selves do not care to use, to hold it idle for a larger future price. While the abolition of taxes on labor and the products of labor would free the active element of production, the taxing of land values in taxation would free the passive element by destroying speculative land values and preventing the holding out of use of land needed for use. If any one will but look around to-day and see the unused or but half-used land, the idle labor, the unemployed or poorly employed capital, he will get some idea of how enormous would be the production of wealth were all the forces of production free to engage.

"The taxation of the processes and products of labor on the one hand, and the insufficient taxation of land values on the other, produce an unjust distribution of wealth which is building up in the hands of a few fortunes more monstrous than the world has ever before seen, while the masses of our people are steadily becoming relatively poorer. These taxes necessarily fall on the poor more heavily than on the rich; by increasing the prices, they necessitate larger capital in all businesses, and consequently give an advantage to large capitals; and they give, and in some cases are designed to give, special advantages and monopolies to trusts and combinations. . . .

"The taxes we would abolish fall most heavily on the poorer agricultural districts, and thus tend to drive population and wealth from them to the great cities. The tax we would increase would destroy that monopoly in land which is the great cause of that distribution of population which is crowding people too closely together in some places and scattering them too far apart in other places. Families live on top of each other in cities, because of the enormous speculative prices at which vacant lots are held. In the country they are scattered too far apart for social intercourse and convenience, because, instead of each taking what land he can use, every one who can grabs all he can get, in the hope of profiting by the increased value, and the next man must pass farther on. Thus we have scores of families living under a single roof, and other families living in dug-outs on the prairies afar from neighbors—some living too close to each other for moral, mental, or physical health, and others too far separated for the stimulating and refining influence of society. The waste in health, in mental vigor, and in unnecessary transportation results in great economic losses which the Single Tax would save."

The above will give the reader the central claims of the land reformers' social philosophy. We next wish briefly to

refer to the third great altruistic economic movement of the present.

V. VOLUNTARY COÖPERATION.

We have so recently discussed at length the coöperative movements of the Old World in *THE ARENA* that at present we will merely summarize in the briefest possible way the results and present status of coöperation.

In 1843, when Chartism was approaching its flood tide and all England was stirred by the Anti-Corn Law and Free Trade agitation, a small band of poor weavers in Rochdale organized a coöperative enterprise that has since become known as the Rochdale Coöperative Movement. For almost a quarter of a century the struggle was severe. The little bands of workers were hampered by lack of means, and frequently the movement seemed destined to failure through unexpected reverses. It was, however, an effort in alignment with the current or trend of the age, and, after it became sufficiently powerful to buy, sell, and manufacture on a large scale, its growth was phenomenal. Other coöperative societies soon sprang up, and the idea took root all over Europe; and it is now becoming a world-wide movement.

In England there are 1,648 coöperative societies, the volume of whose business last year amounted to over \$400,000,000. The profits distributed among the coöperators amounted to over \$45,000,000. These societies own and operate great factories, wholesale and retail stores, ocean steamers, and various other business enterprises by which they are able to compete with the greatest competitive and egoistic combinations.

In Ireland there are over 400 coöperative associations.

In Switzerland there are over 3,400 societies, with a membership of over 12,400 and representing over 500,000 coöperators. Thus one-sixth of the population are coöperators.

In Germany there are over 17,000 coöperative societies, of all kinds, with a membership of over 2,000,000. In Belgium there are over 1,000 such associations. In Austria there are

5,092 societies, doing an annual business of \$17,100,000. In Hungary the coöperative societies of all kinds number over 1,500. In France there are 5,239 such associations. In Italy there are more than 4,390 coöperative societies, with a combined membership of 968,000. In Spain there are 263 coöperative societies. In Sweden there are 324 such associations.

In Holland there are 1,915 coöperative associations of all kinds, with a total membership of about 350,000. These societies handle over four-fifths of all the milk products of the kingdom and three-fifths of all the pork products, while they also export annually about half a million dollars' worth of eggs.

In America the cause of coöperation is moving forward upon several different lines of advance. The Rochdale Coöperators have a number of societies. In the State of California alone they have a large wholesale store with over fifty retail stores, and their growth in other sections is quite promising. There are in California also a number of coöperative fruit exchanges.

In the East the Coöperative Association of America, with headquarters at Lewiston, Maine, is carrying forward the coöperative work along lines somewhat different from the Rochdale system. Another large and flourishing coöperative movement has its headquarters at Kansas City, Mo. It is known as the Western Coöperative Association, or the People's Trust, and was founded by Mr. Walter Vrooman, the originator of the Ruskin educational movement of England and America. This last association has in connection with it the Ruskin College of Trenton, Mo., a flourishing educational and industrial institution.

At the present time it will be noted that two great forces are fighting for mastery throughout civilization. One is animated and dominated by the old egoistic, aristocratic, and despotic spirit that under many forms—as, for example, absolutism, imperialism, limited monarchy, oligarchy, plutocracy, and hereditary aristocracy—has oppressed earth's millions in the past, hindered the march of progress, and prevented the realization of the dream of human brotherhood.

The other force is dominated or controlled by the altruistic spirit. It is working for a larger and nobler expression of human life. It makes for brotherhood, and more or less clearly the various altruistic movements are working for the realization of the Fraternal State. The Socialists, the land reformers, the coöperators, the advocates of public ownership of public utilities, and all others who place the interests of the common weal above the interests of a few or the success of class, party, or private corporations, are consciously or unconsciously furthering the advent of the New Democracy—the Coöperative Commonwealth.

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DISPOSITION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

IT has been asserted that the pledges made by our various military, naval, and diplomatic representatives to the Filipinos were purely unofficial. Whether they were or not does not affect the case, inasmuch as an unofficial pledge was given by the Chief Executive of the nation, the President of the United States.

President McKinley's proclamation of Dec. 21, 1898, pledged the Filipinos "benevolent assimilation." When this term is analyzed it will be seen that it means nothing less than incorporation into the body politic—in short, annexation.

The term *assimilation*, as physiologically applied, means the conversion of nutriment into the fluid or solid substances of the body by the processes of digestion and absorption. To assimilate, says Webster, is "to change an appropriate nourishment so as to make it a part of the substance of the assimilating body." In its general application, he says, *to assimilate* is "to appropriate and transform or corporate into the substance of the assimilating body."

Now, what are the processes necessary before nourishment can be appropriated so as to make it a part of the assimilating body? They are digestion, absorption, and respiration. The food, which at first was foreign substance, becomes the agent that repairs and builds up the assimilating body. It becomes "flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone." But in this process the change is not all on the side of that which is assimilated. The assimilating body is also changed by the character of the substance assimilated. The purity of the blood, the strength of the muscles, the quality of the brain, the tension of the nerve, the texture of the skin, the temperature, and even the moral nature are strongly influenced by that which is assimilated.

Our late President pledged to the people of the Philippines "benevolent assimilation," which necessarily means that the

Philippine prey must be captured by the great assimilating body, and devoured—ground to powder by the military force composing the strong teeth of that body; that Filipino mince-meat must be moistened by saliva of superior brand—spat upon, if you please, the mouth of the big assimilating body fairly “watering” at the prospect of an Oriental meal. Down the American esophagus the mass must go—swallowed by the assimilating body.

Next it must be churned about in the stomach of that philanthropic body and acted upon by the famous American gastric juice, secreted and furnished by the American press glands. This fine pulp must be passed through the Taft pylorus into the American duodenum, to be acted upon by the various superior fluids, notably American gall, after which the political villi will dip down into the Filipino-American chyle; the American lacteals and other absorbent vessels, represented by our speculators, will get in their part of the assimilating process; the legislative lymphatics will remove worn-out Filipino parts, which have done their duty and for which the assimilating body has no further use; and finally the refined emulsion, when mixed with American blood, will pass to the heart of the nation, whence it will be pumped through the American arteries to all parts of the assimilating body, building up the new America. However, when it enters the American veins it is not in a fit condition to nourish the tissues. The blood itself is not perfect. The whole must be purified and its tone improved before it enters the arterial system. To effect such a change it will have to be brought in contact with the air from the political lungs of the assimilating body.

In this process of assimilating the Filipino, the American people must accept the change that will be wrought in the national body by the very nature of the case. As the advocates of the Philippine war tell us, “we have assumed a great responsibility.” I venture to predict that before the 10,000,000 Filipinos, including the semi-civilized tribes of the interior, the fierce Mohammedans of Jolo and Mindanao, and the native Christians, are assimilated, the United States will have

had several centuries of frightful indigestion. And after the benevolent work shall have been accomplished, what then? We will scarcely recognize the nation because of its Oriental diet, so foreign to our American system. We will find ourselves Malayed Americans, even as they shall have become Americanized Malays. It remains to be seen how far the change will improve either.

Is any one blind enough to believe that the Filipinos are willing to be put through the painful and humiliating process described, with the result of losing their individuality, their nationality, and even their identity? Is it fair to compel them to do so? Would the American people accept the change, could they be heard instead of a subsidized press? The benevolence of the plan becomes evident when we consider the philanthropic spirit that a nation must exert to endure centuries of national indigestion and heart failure, to run the risk of an occasional attack of appendicitis, to change its form and spirit and sacrifice its nature upon the altar of "benevolent assimilation."

Yet, wise or unwise, this is what our late President pledged the American nation to do. Are the advocates of the Philippine war ready to redeem the pledge of their late chief and annex the Philippine Islands and admit them in due time to the glorious sisterhood of States? If they are not, there is not the ghost of an excuse for continuing the struggle. It is true that the war is practically over—for campaign purposes; true that President Roosevelt says that, "loosely speaking, the war is over." There is not the slightest doubt as to the looseness of the speaking, when we consider the Moro situation, and also that there are still bands of "insurgents" in the mountains almost throughout the archipelago; that the people are nursing their natural resentment, which our methods of death and devastation and plunder have wrought, and that they are already dissatisfied with the system of partiality and spoils and tyranny under which the so-called "civil governments" are administered; also, that a large standing army is a necessity.

If they do intend to fulfil the pledge, a declaration to that effect in plain English would doubtless greatly hasten the work

of assimilation begun. Let Congress pass a solemn resolution declaring our attention to admit the Philippines into the Union, and carve new States therefrom, "as soon as possible according to the principles of the Federal Constitution," and that in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion, as we did in the case of Louisiana. Under such an arrangement the people could not as now be "held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on the presentment or indictment of a grand jury," nor be deprived of the right of trial by jury, instead of being still under the old civil code of Spain, as General McArthur testified before the Senate Committee. They would not be deprived of freedom of speech and of the press and of nearly every guaranty of our bill of rights, as they now are by the infamous sedition laws in force in the Philippines. There could be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime."

But the Imperialists hold up their hands in horror at the mere thought of annexation. "Impossible!" they say; "these Malays can never be assimilated with our free, enlightened nation, thus becoming one with it. Benevolent assimilation would endanger the health and character and life of the Republic. It would interfere with and disarrange our national system." What! Is there any task too great for "American enterprise" and "American energy"? Will the great American nation "falter" when its pledge has been given? Will it "prove false to its sacred trust"? Will it "shirk its responsibilities" and "ignore its solemn obligations" and forget its "high destiny," because of a griping stomach?

Well, then, if the pledge cannot be fulfilled, as claimed, what should those responsible for the war and responsible for the pledge do? Can a substitute be offered, fair to the Filipinos and honorable to us—a substitute that will absolve us from our "assimilation" or annexation pledge? There is but one equivalent therefor, and that is *independence*. President McKinley declared to the Filipinos that our desire was to guarantee them "in every way possible the full measure of individual rights and

liberty that is the heritage of a free people." Independence is a "possible" way; it is also a wise and satisfactory way.

Was that pledge of the nation's late Chief a subtle fabrication to deceive the trusting Filipinos? We may conclude *that it was* if those who largely controlled his policy fail to redeem either the letter or the spirit of the pledge—if instead they adopt a colonial policy. Was the pledge given in good faith? Was it the overgenerous expression of a kindly disposition, of a noble impulse? Then Mr. McKinley's friends and followers, out of respect to his memory and in justice to a suffering people, will redeem the spirit of the pledge by tendering the only substitute that will insure the Filipinos the "full measure of individual rights and liberty that is the heritage of a free people"—Independence.

REBECCA J. TAYLOR.

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A UNIQUE LABOR EXPERIMENT.

THE experiment of which I wish to speak is the "Zeiss Foundation," at Jena. It came into existence in 1896, on the occasion of the fiftieth-year jubilee of Karl Zeiss's world-renowned house of optics, founded in the autumn of 1846 and to-day the largest and most important of its kind in the world. Having developed out of a small mechanics' workshop, the institution now employs about 800 workmen at fairly high wages.

In 1875, when Abbe—professor at the Jena University, and then lecturer on mathematics and physics, and the discoverer of the microscopic theory—joined the house as a partner, K. F. Zeiss, who had always treated his staff justly and kindly, began his series of regulations for the benefit of his workmen with the creation of a sick-insurance club, which all the assistants, then about sixty, were obliged to join, yet to which the firm but seldom gave additional grants of aid, so that it was mostly maintained by its members. At the end of 1884, in consequence of an imperial law of that year, it was transformed into a mutual relief society, guaranteeing a sick pension of 75 per cent. of the wage and a sum at death of M. 50. The contributions of members were, as a preliminary, fixed at 1.8 per cent. of the fixed wage. The firm merely contributed the prescribed third, but left the administration of the institution entirely to the insured workmen. In 1892 the firm raised its contribution considerably, and thus made it possible for an important increase in the activity of the society to take place. It undertook the responsibility for five-eighths of the then appointed payment of 3.2 per cent. of the wages and salaries.

On the 3d of December, 1888, the founder of the house died, and immediately thereupon a pension statute was published that granted to the participants a legal and if necessary an actionable right to the moderate sick and old-age pensions, and likewise for their widows and orphans considerable aid. Ac-

cording to the sum total of the fixed salary, and the number of years of service completed by the workers, the maximum of individual income that can be reckoned on is M. 80 to 120 a month for workmen and M. 100 to 160 a month for foremen, office clerks, and other assistants. The full pension begins at the end of the sixty-fifth year, and after the completion of a service of at least thirty years.

For the upper officials appointed by special contracts, the fixing of the yearly salary capable of carrying with it a pension is reserved for agreement in each case. But a man who has passed his fortieth year when he enters the firm's service is excluded from all claims to a pension. The pension to which every widow who is not more than twenty years younger than her husband is entitled until her remarriage amounts always to four-tenths of the invalid pension which the deceased husband has drawn, or which would have been his due at the time of his death if he had been an invalid. The claim of the surviving children to a pension lasts until the completion of their fifteenth year and is ruled to be two-tenths of the invalid pension. Yet to widows and children together not more than eight-tenths of the sum the deceased man could have claimed as a pension can be granted. If the deceased man had not married until after his forty-fifth year or if he enters when in a condition of infirmity or evident illness those he leaves behind are excluded from all claims to pensions. Toward the pensions granted, the legal old-age or invalid allowance is reckoned to the full amount, because the payment of the collective insurance contributions is undertaken by the firm. Any other claims on a pension from public funds, as well as all regular incomes earned by personal work, are reckoned to the half amount. Emigration and also condemnation under adjudication of civil rights result in loss of pension. Yet in the first case two years' payments of the pension are granted as a compensation.

The next proof of Abbe's friendly disposition toward workers found expression in the statute known as the "labor contract," which he published after consultation with representatives of

the workmen (1892). Therein on the one side the general duties obligatory on the workmen are reduced in extent to those absolutely necessary in the interests of the business, and on the other side definite limits are drawn, in the interests of the workmen, to the administrative power of the business managers in order to prevent completely the arbitrary grinding of the operatives. While work is carried on in the glass manufactory nine and a half hours in the winter and in the summer ten hours, exclusive of intervals of rest, in the optical workshops the working day is only nine hours including the two pauses of two hours. This working time is not only the workmen's duty but also their right; therefore, the firm must, except in case of business interruption, either allow the work to go on for this length of time upon all working days or pay the full wage so long as the period of fourteen days' notice has not expired.

The labor statute also requires that the opportunity to work and the reward of those who undertake it must not be arbitrarily shortened. For hours of overwork and work performed on Sundays and holidays, an extra 25 per cent. of the wage for regular time or piece work is allowed; yet no one is bound to perform such extra work. The labor contract fixes no punishments for any kind of fault. No deductions may be made from the earnings due to the workmen except to indemnify the firm for any damage of which they are guilty; and the claim for indemnification is only valid when the person in question, or in case of dispute the trade tribunal, acknowledges the same.

The fundamental idea of all the arrangements of the Jena firm in the interests of its staff was that the rights of labor are to-day very unequal for the two partners, employers and employees, and therefore are in need of correction. For this reason the firm always tries to impart to its regulations for the benefit of labor a foundation of justice, which should as far as possible exclude the possibility of an arbitrary change unfavorable to the workmen and should make the position of the latter secure so far as it is feasible to do so. The disposition and principles of Abbe and his partners were a guaranty that in their life-time nothing would be changed; but how would it

be if their successors should hold different opinions, or if the prosperity of the firm should diminish—which even in the case of so good a business as this is not impossible—and in consequence the funds necessary for the satisfaction of the claims for pensions, etc., should fail? For the purpose of preventing these two possibilities, and at the same time to insure the future prosperity of the enterprise, the proprietors of the business, by the exercise of great self-denial and self-sacrifice, resolved upon an economic experiment that in a high degree is interesting, ideal, full of promising results, and that is indeed unique. This experiment was the creation of the “Karl Zeiss Stiftung.”

In 1889, K. F. Zeiss's son, Roderick, retired from the management of the business. Abbe, who now remained the only *spiritus rector*, on the first of July, 1891, changed the whole undertaking into an independent, unalienable Foundation, and his own position as chief into that of an appointed member of the board of business managers. The constitution of the Foundation, containing all the authoritative maxims and orders for the carrying on of the business, underwent in the course of five years several far-reaching amendments, which were published in their final form on October 1, 1896, on the occasion of the above-mentioned jubilee of the optical workshops.

The institution was placed under the protection of the State government of Weimar; that is to say, the *Cultus Department* was intrusted with its representation as a corporate body, yet without the State being able to influence in any way the business or the management, or being responsible for the liabilities of the Foundation. The entire business passed over to the latter. K. F. Zeiss's heir and the family of Abbe were satisfied with a portion of the capital bearing fixed interest; and the former in addition had a share in the profits of the business for four years.

The constitution declares that every new enterprise of the Foundation acquired or established in the future is to be carried on according to the same principles as the older undertakings; further, that these must be permanently carried on, and that each must be independent, having its own property and busi-

ness capital, and must be under the administration of its own board of directors, who are bound to follow the rules of the constitution. The duties, the nature, the privileges, the composition, etc., of the board of directors, as well as the precautionary measures referring to their work, are strictly prescribed. The governing body of the institution is represented in these existing businesses by a permanent commissioner, to be nominated by it, whose duty and right it is to overlook permanently the trade management of these businesses and watch over the uniformity of their dealings with the constitution. For this purpose, in all the more important acts of the business management, the commissioner is bound to coöperate by giving advice or a final decision. His sphere of action, his pay, his relation to the boards of directors and the governing body—all are laid down in detail and with much prudent circumspection.

The resolutions of the constitution concerning the position of the workers give abundant testimony of a practical and humane spirit; these Abbe has emphasized as the most important part of the constitution and as the outward consummation of his whole life's work. In these his principles, long before put into practise, and which have so well proved their value, are definitely embodied. With regard to this point, Professor Pierstoff remarks:

"He wishes here, as he shows, to amend the public proletarian rights granted by the imperial statutory law relating thereto, by giving workmen and all employed a better legal standing; and he wishes especially to bring into disuse that public statutory right by granting and guaranteeing more extensive rights than are contained in it. An amelioration of the condition of dependent workmen, without an attempt at the same time to raise their legal position, is, in his eyes, however, useful and meritorious. Such endeavors may be, from the point of view of the social interests of the nation, merely deceptive show. Only a fundamental change of the rights of workmen in relation to the employer and his *organs*, the exclusion of all arbitrariness on the part of the employers in their dealings with workmen, and the exclusion of the dominant influence of a one-sided consideration for the profit of the employer, does he esteem fitting in the higher interests of the nation and state."

Before all else, the constitution will insure to the workers personal and political independence by defining as accurately as possible the staff's position in the way of duty and service toward the firm, the institution, and the authorities; and thereby it rigorously aims at limiting the relationship to points of industry and trade. In accordance with this, on the appointment and promotion of persons, no considerations of creed, nation, or political partizanship are influential; but the work done by the candidates, their capacity and good conduct, are alone taken into consideration. Outside the service no one may be directly or indirectly prevented from exercising any individual or civil right. Just as little is it permitted to the leaders to restrict those belonging to the firm in the representation of their own interests so long as this representation does not entail a violation of the law or of the duties undertaken by them in the contract.

Every workman or assistant over eighteen years of age has a right to a leave of absence of twelve days in the year. If the men who take this leave of absence are more than twenty years of age, and have been at least one year in the service, the fixed time-wage that they draw is continued to them for six days' leave of absence yearly. To men belonging to the business who are called to official work in the public service, leave of absence must be granted, if desired, for the sake of this work. During the continuance of such leave of absence those who have taken leave continue to draw the time-wage or salary due to them so long as a corresponding indemnification is not paid to them from the public purse. The fixed time-wage is also always granted for legal holidays that fall in the labor week, because by these holidays the workmen are deprived of the opportunity of labor *against their own will*. The additional wage payment of 25 per cent. fixed by the labor statute for over-work or holiday-work done by contract with the society is the minimum standard. By the fixing of a high additional payment a guaranty is given that such additional work shall be only called for by the directors of the business in urgent cases.

Of great importance are the rules that prevent the lowering

of wages below the level once attained. By these rules a fixed wage drawn for more than one year cannot be diminished even when the work-day may have to be permanently or temporarily shortened. With respect to pensions and annuities, an increase of the monthly rate of 20 to 25 per cent. is promised as soon as possible, and likewise the beginning of the service time qualifying a man for a pension, in the eighteenth instead of, as at present, the nineteenth year of his age. In this matter we meet with many other regulations favorable to the workmen.

Of still greater importance than these extensions of the rights of pension are those enactments which refer to the dismissal of the workers, and which constitute an absolute novelty in the province of the rights of labor. First, they deal with nothing less important than the fact that workmen entitled to allowances can only be dismissed for a decrease of their labor power, not arising from their own fault, if the pension or allowance at that time theirs, according to the statutes, is granted to them. In earlier times the firm, as any other firm, had the legal right to dismiss any workman, not an invalid, at its own pleasure after fourteen days' notice, and the people had only to thank the fairness of the chief that this did not take place, and that they did not thus lose their right to an allowance when on sick-leave. The statutes of the institution now make it impossible that in future the staff should be dependent on the conscientiousness of the business directors; and thereby for the first time the pension statute became a really legal instrument for securing the claims in question. Secondly, they deal with the question of the so-called indemnification for dismissal, the highest of the advantages devised by Abbe for his staff. Pierstoff writes on this point:

"It is an acknowledged fault of the free notice labor contract that it enables the employers at any time according to the momentary state of trade to engage any quantity of labor power they may choose, so far as it is at all available, and then to discharge it after a longer or shorter period without troubling about its future fate, and without any further obligation than that of paying the wages due according to the amount of work

done. This possibility, alas! is from the motive of their own profit, not seldom practised by employers to the injury of their workmen, and the State itself has hitherto not shrunk from acting in the same manner; and thus, in misapprehension of its higher duties, it has put the social and political points of view below the financial. In opposition to this, the businesses carried on by the Zeiss Institution, in acknowledgment of a higher moral standard of duty, have at all times followed out the business policy of not hiring, as a regular thing, more workmen than can probably be employed by them permanently. In order to insure, as much as possible, the continuance of this social trade policy for all future time, a regulation has been hit upon, perfectly unknown in the universal social practise hitherto, and which appears well fitted to hinder effectively that wrong from arising in the sphere covered by the enterprises of the Zeiss Foundation. I mean indemnification for dismissal. Thus all officials, assistants and workmen, who have by contract a right of notice in case of dismissal from service through no fault of their own, have a legal right to a larger or smaller cash indemnity. In this way dismissed workmen find it easier to wait for and seek out a favorable opportunity of work in another place, and still more, the merely temporary engaging of increased labor power is checked. The individual workman does not acquire this claim to an indemnity until after a period of altogether three years passed in the service of the institution on the completion of his eighteenth year. . . . The indemnity for dismissal is in every case equal to at least half a yearly wage or salary. For those belonging to the business who are entitled to a pension it may not amount to less than the total sum of the old-age pension to which they have a right for a period of time equal to the fourth part of the expired time of service to be reckoned."

For special acts of service of any kind outside the usual day's work, as, for example, improvements, inventions, etc., a just portion of the profits obtained by them is allowed to the persons concerned. In order to equip the institution for the fulfilment of its important and just obligations toward the staff, as well as for its other tasks of public usefulness and technical trade duties, the statutes provide very large reserve funds, which are collected from the surplus gains of the business and from other revenues.

Since 1893 a further regulation has existed in the optical

department, to the effect that savings are to be received from apprentices and younger workmen with a payment of 5 per cent. interest. Abbe does not seem to value very highly profit-sharing on the part of the staff, although he by no means despises its advantages. On this account he did not introduce it at once into his Foundation, but took into consideration the possibility of its introduction in case the general business conditions and the state of the reserve fund would permit it. It is laid down in the constitution that in case of its introduction the profit-sharing of all the servants of the Foundation shall be relatively equal in proportion to their wage or salary, and that every employee shall be entitled to a share. The members of the board of directors are the only persons excluded, in order that they may remain protected from the suspicion that they might, for their own advantage, try to fix the fluctuating shares received by the servants of the business at the expense of the regular salaries or wages.

Although the new statute, which took into consideration the introduction of profit-sharing later on, did not come into force until October 1st, 1896, yet the board of directors of the optical workshops had resolved for the first time on the occasion of the jubilee to make to the body of workmen and officials of the business under their authority additional payments in proportion to their wages, as a share in the profits, and that to the amount of 8 per cent. This was for the business year expiring in the autumn of 1896. The glass works joined in this measure, with the modification that only to the day-laborers the total amount of a month's wage should be allowed; to the workers by contract, having regard to the amount of the contract payments at that time holding good and out of all proportion to the day-laborers' wages, only the sum total of a week's pay should be granted.

On the introduction of profit-sharing the following principles were acted upon in the optical workshops in calculating the shares to be granted to the staff: Of the yearly profit shown by the balance sheet, which according to the resolutions of the statute is to be reckoned without regard to the amount of busi-

ness capital, in percentage of the sum total of the wages and salaries, the first 9 per cent. is deducted beforehand for the reserve fund, and then 7 per cent. as the estimated reserve necessary for future pension liabilities, and 2 per cent. as a cover for the dismissal indemnities to be paid in the future. In case the remaining net profit does not exceed 20 per cent. of the wage and salary account, it falls to the Foundation as a super-profit; but if the whole profit exceeds the amount of 20 per cent. of the wage and salary account, one-half of the surplus is divided, in the manner described above, among the officials and workmen. These claims count as legal, although the duty of submitting the accounts and books to the staff is in no wise formally acknowledged.

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LABOR AND THE TRUSTS.

HOW few men are yet fully awake to the momentous questions that now confront the nations? We have reached not only the end of a century but the end of an age. Old conditions have gone, and new conditions have come; but these find the world not yet ready to receive them. Questions regarding the relationship of the nations, involving their very lives, have pressed to the front and demand immediate solution. Other questions equally vital, and vastly more far-reaching and difficult to answer, concerning relations between the rulers and the people, will soon become exceedingly serious.

The great century that has just left us rounded up the nations of the earth in a close corral—then quietly stole away and left them to adjust themselves to the situation as best they may. Every nation now stands confronted with every other nation, and the world waits for a leader. So rapid have been the changes and so sudden the culmination that statesmen are dazed. They see that old methods are utterly inadequate, and fear that new ones are hazardous. Specters rise before them, and they hurry to enlarge armies and build battle-ships. But this cannot stay the world's mighty movement. The conditions created by the greatest of all the centuries cannot be frightened away by the tramp of marshaled hosts nor shattered by shots from battle-ships. The nations are now brought together in quarters *too close for war*. Peace and amicable intercourse will soon be the only conditions of national life. The trend is away from destructive competition, and the nations must be borne along with the tide.

The war-cloud that so recently hung over the nations, threatening the whole earth with a deluge of blood, appears to have broken. The hearts of all good men have been so long sick of the shameful barbarities enacted in recent wars, and by the world's most cultured nations, that they will be slow hereafter

to encourage wars of conquest. Every interest of mankind pleads for peace. Economic progress, enlightened reason, enlarged humanity, and quickened justice all deprecate war. The "owners" of the earth's resources are fast taking possession of the governments of the world, and will not long tolerate a system so foolishly expensive as war. They are likely soon to find means of preventing such a waste of their wealth.

Putting aside, then, the question of international adjustment that appears to have more than one possible solution, we yet have the supreme question of the relation of the Man to the State. Upon the justice of this relation rest the lives, or all that gives value to the lives, of a great majority in every nation.

Modern discoveries and inventions, with the use of machinery and improved methods, have added immensely to the importance of this question. By the assistance of the great forces of Nature, added to associated effort or aggregated capital, one man can now produce as much, in many lines, as fifty men could seventy years ago. Only a few men, relatively, are now required to do the work of the world. Hence, man, as an animal, has now very little value. Fifty years ago we used to say that every able-bodied immigrant was worth a thousand dollars to the State. Negro slaves were often sold for more than that, although the purchaser was obliged to feed, clothe, and lodge the slave, and to care for him in sickness and in old age. One might perhaps now give away a few choice lots—if law would permit the ownership—but would have to shoot inferior grades, as they would not be worth their feed, with added doctor's bills. In many lines of work, three pounds of coal per day will replace a man. We have abolished chattel slavery—only to change to a system of cheaper labor and less responsibility. It is economy, not morality, that has moved us.

No government on the earth is based on moral justice—not even as a distant ideal to cheer the future hope. All have features that are fundamentally wrong and cruelly unjust—features that naturally and necessarily work inequality and oppression. While the worst government is, perhaps, better than none, the best we have leaves much to be desired. A just

government would give to all its citizens *equal opportunities*. It would give to no one any special privilege. In this enlightened age it would give to every normal child an average training of the mind and the hand. All should learn to read and to work; and then all would start on the journey of life with equal wealth. Thus launched, each one should contribute an equal amount to the State, and be free to create, and to accumulate, by any honest method. But no one should receive, by gift or inheritance, an amount that would raise his wealth above that of the average citizen. If any one would have more than this, he should himself accumulate it. The man who inherits more than an equal share obtains a special privilege that gives him an undue advantage. If he inherit a million, he is given the portion and power of a thousand of his fellows. And with this immense advantage he may multiply his power by ten, or by one hundred. And if he can bequeath this fearful power, so that it may roll on down the ages, the evil cannot be reckoned; while if this advantage be used to acquire title to lands, or mines and forests, and these be kept out of use or their products held beyond the reach of them who need them most, the evil becomes appalling.

These are the conditions that confront us now. The fountain from which flows life's whole support has been made private or corporate property, and *is being walled in*. The coal mines are taken, and we now pay more to make large dividends on their watered stocks than we do to support the State. The forests and farming lands are held in large blocks, and millions of acres more that are mortgaged will be absorbed. And companies are now spoken of to obtain control of the water that alone makes possible the cultivation of eighty or one hundred million acres in the West.

There is no power in any State to arrest this movement. In allowing the prime sources of production to become private property, rulers have virtually lost the power to govern. Since the people must look to the *owners* of the natural sources of food and shelter, they become *the vassals of the owners*. Owning the supplies is owning all. The owners of the earth must

always, in the last analysis, be its real rulers. The contention that laws may be made to restrict their action is a delusion. *They* will always make the laws—or will interpret them. It matters little what is the outward form of government, whether republican or monarchic, limited or absolute; the difference to the average man may be very little. In every monarchy there is a power *behind* the throne; while in the democratic form the average citizen is very far from his rulers.

We may as well accept the situation. This movement is not likely to stop until all the possibilities of production are held as vested rights, and *God's title to the earth wholly extinguished*. When this is all complete, the sovereigns will employ perhaps one-half the workmen and professionals. And they will, doubtless, often pay liberally for good service. But there will be yet a very large contingent of the people left out. The question then will be, "*What are these to do?*" When the Creator has been duly notified that His pauper children here are trespassers on private property, the situation will be serious.

It is no part of the writer's purpose to urge on the fight against associated or combined action. This is the correct method, and it cannot be put down. Nor is it desirable that it should be put down. The competitive system is a cut-throat system, and once abandoned should never be revived.

The trusts and combines have made no departure except in methods. They are doing by more effective methods only what the whole world has done and approved for ages. It has always been a natural crime for a few to monopolize what God and Nature clearly meant for all. But the practise is so old, and is so thoroughly bred into the marrow of our civilization, that it would require a century of moral culture to make any headway against it. Our work must be done *now*. It cannot be delayed until the people are educated up to a higher morality or a more ethical religion. The survival of every species depends on its ability to adapt itself to environment.

The industrial classes must unite—must pool their interests. They should not do this to make a fight against any other interest, but simply to make their own work more effective by mov-

ing along the lines of least resistance. The way has been plainly suggested by the great success of associated capital. Men of no great wealth have combined their holdings and their efforts, and have worked a complete revolution of the economic world. They have increased their own fortunes beyond all former dreams. They have added immensely to the powers of production, transportation, and travel. They have brought men to the immediate presence of their friends in other States and other lands. They have brought the choicest fruits of every clime to all the markets of the world, and have added many luxuries to even the average life. They have so increased their power that if they choose to act in concert they can practically *rule the world*.

But, after all, these men have no monopoly of their methods. If the people could only see their opportunity, and the necessity for united work, they would not hesitate to act. And when a proper start has been made there will be little doubt of success. The advantage of coöperative labor over individual effort will very soon be felt. Still, some mistakes will undoubtedly be made at first in the choice of leaders. Some incompetent men will, almost as a matter of course, get into places of more or less responsibility; and, worse still, dishonest leaders may in some cases get control. We have so long been trained to regard craft and cunning as business accomplishments that honesty is a shade below par. Our religious teachers have seldom condemned these successful methods. The great associations that have so transformed the world have not made all men honest. In dealing with their own members they have, as a rule, given worthy examples of justice and honor; but outside of that they have often reaped where they have not sown, and gathered where they have not strewed.

Still, we need have no fears. Coöperative industries will soon develop successful leaders. The great necessity of the hour is the *organizer*. We want men that can bring order out of chaos.

It would appear an easy matter for Labor leaders to unite their forces into a complete productive body, in place of de-

tached factions making war upon employers and fellow-workmen as well. But their purposes are too narrow. They appear to have no thought beyond an effort to force their wage up above its value as measured by supply and demand. Employers unite to hold the wages down. The workmen's chosen method is to drive other workmen off the field—then dictate the terms. Employers resist this by force of law or of arms, or they suspend the work and starve the workmen.

This is a state of war, and it has in the city of Chicago alone, during the last few years, called out a larger army than we had engaged in our war with Spain. The losses to the workmen and to the city aggregated thousands of dollars every day. And the full extent of the privations and prolonged anguish that have pressed upon a hundred thousand hearts can never be known. All this loss was without gain of any kind, because the purposes of the associations were fundamentally wrong. If the unions had been formed to *do the work* that was wanted, there could have been no trouble. The building trades made the most destructive fight—because they were divided *against themselves*. They should have, under a single management, a completely equipped building corps, including all the trades required—architects, contractors, stone and brick masons, carpenters, plasterers, plumbers, painters, and decorators. They should own building materials, such as the lumber in the standing tree, the stone in the quarry, the clay in the earth, and the fuel to burn it into brick. They should have mills and machinery, so as to do all work by the most improved methods. And they should have a bank to adjust their finances. When thus equipped and organized as a corporation, they would have no strike or lock-out.

But, important as it surely is that an association formed to work a special line should include all its branches, this is still but one feature of our present needs. Some lines of work are temporary. The building interests, for example, must lose much of their activity in another generation. Substantial buildings will take the place of wooden structures, and once erected may last for centuries. In our country the present rapid increase

in population cannot continue for many years. And unless we make some new departure, or learn to store the summer heat for winter use, our millions must burrow in the ground, as fuel will be beyond their reach.

To provide against this possibility, people must combine in corporations to own and make productive some part of Nature's ample gifts. Companies must do the work that an ideal State would do. They must keep the line open to the base of supplies, and as far as possible give *opportunity* to every member. They must claim all the protection the laws afford, and must work for amended laws where these give less than justice.

As an illustration, suppose a joint stock company chartered for coöperation and mutual gain. Make the capital \$1,000,000, divided into 10,000 shares of \$100 each. And suppose the shares are taken by a thousand members, and paid up in cash or real estate. Then *run the business on the trust method*. Such a company should include in its holdings at least ten thousand acres of productive land, also forests and coal to supply the needs of several thousand persons. The land should be worth half a million, and the machinery and urban homes about as much. This amount of property would command capital to put present industries on an improved basis and to develop new enterprises and new methods when such were desired. The management and the dividends could be easily adjusted when these came to be seriously considered. In most cases, perhaps, members would still occupy their farms, mills, and factories as before, restricted only by some prudent rules.

This combined and mutual effort is not only a natural social order, but is now a necessity. The powerful combinations already here will sweep the earth like conquering hosts until all human activities are gathered in. Average men, without organization, can no more stand against this systematic movement than a mob against an army. They must *combine*, or go down; and they must combine *now*, while they retain their holdings. Delay is not only dangerous but surely fatal. It is a delusion to think that individuals can hold their lands and homes against these powerful corporate forces. Their multiplied millions will

crush individual effort. Increased expenses, higher taxes, and smaller earnings will bring the inevitable result.

Men who are able *leaders* can now render inestimable service and win lasting fame. The times are ripe for this movement. We want, in America, a hundred such combines, as here suggested—not as rivals, but as allies, to supplement one another in an effort to give to our progress a broader channel and a more humane tendency.

E. S. WICKLIN.

Chicago, Ill.

NEEDED POLITICAL REFORMS.

(Number Three.)

PRIMARY ELECTION REFORM.

NONE is more important, none is making more rapid progress, none is of deeper significance, than the movement for reform of the primaries; yet none is more difficult of definition. It means different things to different men. It is a different thing in different places. It is peculiar in that it is confined to the United States. The caucus, out of which the primary election has grown, is not exclusively American; but the primary, as a method of party government, is purely and typically American.

It is interesting to know that only in America do we find general and widespread dissatisfaction with the manner and practice of party government. The American primary, however, is conceded to be a permanent feature of our political institutions. Suggestions looking to its abolition and a return to the earlier oligarchic party forms that still prevail in other countries are seldom made and obtain little support. The evils must be cured or mitigated, but the primary itself will be preserved and developed.

By "primaries" we usually understand the nominating function performed by the general body of voters in a political party; yet the definition is inexact. Nominations are usually made, not at the primary itself, but in a convention, the members of which are chosen at the primary. And furthermore, from the primary is derived, more or less directly, the party organization, the authority of the committees and officers that hold nearly absolute sway over the party during the intervals between the primaries or conventions, and have already, in nearly all States, a recognized legal existence with powers that are partially described by laws. In a comprehensive sense, therefore, the primary is a periodic plebiscite of the members

of a political party, which either makes or provides for the making of party nominations and the management of the party in all other matters. Hence, the formulation of a definition of primary election reform must include, with the betterment of the methods of making party nominations, the improvement and safeguarding of the party's internal government.

It is important to remember, what many theorists unfortunately forget, that the first purpose, the first step, in primary election reform involves not merely State regulation of the making of nominations but necessarily and inevitably more or less specific regulation of the party machinery or organization. The second object of primary reform is of more vital consequence than the first.

A direct primary is a nominating election at which the candidates of a party or parties are chosen by popular vote instead of in delegate convention. The "mass convention" is really a direct primary, in its earliest and crudest form. With another old and familiar kind of direct primary, virtually the same as the "mass convention," the voting is done by ballot instead of *viva voce*. One polling place, usually a town hall, suffices for an entire county or other political division; while at the same time and place other business pertaining to party affairs is transacted in mass-meeting. This is the second stage in the evolution of the direct primary, and is found to-day in many rural districts.

By an easy and natural step we reach that which is regarded as the characteristic type of direct primary. Nominations are made by popular vote, polling booths being opened at convenient places as at regular elections, with precinct, ward, or township boundaries. The vote is tabulated and the result announced by the party committee, those receiving the highest total vote being declared the nominees of the party. Without the assistance or interference of law, party usage has made this the prevailing method of nomination in a great many farming counties of the North, and practically throughout the entire South.

But fraud and corruption have grown up with direct pri-

maries as well as delegate conventions; hence, the "direct nomination" as understood and contemplated in the primary election reform movement goes further and invokes the strong arm of the law to regulate the primaries and correct these abuses. This legislation may merely provide some simple safeguards, leaving the conduct of the primary in the hands of the party committee; or it may make the primary such another function of the State as the election itself. Indiana's direct nomination law is optional with the party committees. In Minnesota the law is mandatory, but does not include all nominations. In Mississippi it does.

Government in this country, as in England, has fallen upon the shoulders of parties. It is not Congress that rules in Washington, but the Republican party. And the party derives its leaders—the country its rulers—from the primary election; hence the logical deduction, now obtaining tardy recognition, that the primary is more important than the election. It is not merely the fountain-head of party, but of government itself.

The purpose of this movement is to legalize and safeguard the primary, securing to every citizen the right to express his will in all that pertains to the political party with which he chooses to affiliate. This generally accepted idea of the reform premises the preservation of political parties and their development to the point of highest efficiency.

One school of primary election reformers covertly aims at the virtual destruction of parties, through the breaking down of party lines at the primary. To this school are tentatively attached nearly all of the political independents; that is, the men without a party, the "mugwumps," and even many "transcendentalists," who now claim to be orthodox party men. But I do not regard as germane to its true purpose that which, despite its present vogue among certain agitators, has been demonstrated a most ignominious failure.

This is known as the "open primary." It would permit the voter to assist in the nomination of candidates of any party, regardless of his past or even intended future affiliations. Under the "open" primary system Democrats may vote for Repub-

lican candidates, or *vice versa*, as they did when Mayor Ames was nominated in Minneapolis at the first primary after the passage of the now celebrated Minnesota law. The following winter the Legislature extended the act to other parts of the State, but amended it by substituting the "closed" for the "open" primary. The "open" primary was an acknowledged and distressing failure.

Many different systems of primary election prevail, often side by side and in the same State. A plan that may be satisfactory in one locality is apt to work badly under apparently similar circumstances elsewhere. This condition develops endless antagonisms of opinion among the sincerest of men.

Direct nomination is undoubtedly successful under favorable conditions. It is as unquestionably a failure under others. We are still in the stage of experiment in this reform. Instead of trying to suppress the direct-nomination movement, it might be best to have it thoroughly tried. In no other way will the people be convinced. It is most probable that Wisconsin and Michigan will adopt direct-nomination laws next winter. The recent plebiscite in Chicago indicates that the Illinois Legislature may also do something in that line. Indiana is certain to pass a bill that will at least permit direct nomination by local option. Several other legislatures will be called upon to sanction or sacrifice direct-nomination plans.

It is a common error to regard the Minnesota law as the highest and most perfect development of the direct primary. This is far from the case. The North may never have a thorough and complete direct-nomination law. Mississippi is the only State in the Union that has an ideal direct-nomination law.

The South is the native soil of the direct primary. It has there a logical and necessary existence, the predominance of one political party making the primary the *de facto* election. The Mississippi plan will probably extend slowly throughout the Southern States, and may eventually find acceptance in the North; yet that is unlikely.

The Mississippi law absolutely abolishes all political party conventions, from the highest to the lowest. It provides even

for the nomination of candidates for United States Senators. We find, therefore, in one State at least, popular election of United States Senators, not by voluntary party primary, as in some other Southern States, but by a mandatory and constitutional State law.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to indicate that which I regard as essential to any good primary law, whether direct or delegate:

1. All primaries to be held under the forms of law, with regular boards, answerable not to party committees but to courts.
2. Permanent primary election precincts, with a maximum and minimum number of voters.
3. Some form of registration.
4. Rigid restriction of voting to members of the party holding the primary.
5. Australian system of voting.
6. Penalties for all possible violations of the purity of the ballot, but no penalties so severe that juries will refuse to convict.

Upon these cardinal points all friends of primary election reform should be able to unite. And if we obtain this much we shall have made a long step forward, whether it be by direct nomination or the proper regulation of the delegate convention.

EDWARD INSLEY.

Indianapolis, Ind.

NOTE.—There is no quarrel between Direct Legislation and these other political reforms. The Recall affects office-holders, not laws. It would do for office-holders what Direct Legislation would do for laws—make them always amenable to the public will. It is the same principle on another plane.

If Direct Legislation meant the abolition of representative government, there would then be no use for Proportional Representation, but Direct Legislation does not mean the abolition of legislatures and common councils. It does take away from them the ultimate power finally to exact laws, and in so

doing it makes the legislators councilors to the people, who are above suspicion. Hence, any method of securing better and more truly representative councilors is welcomed by advocates of Direct Legislation.

Again, Direct Legislation only concerns the making of the laws. The executive, judicial, and all other public servants will still have to be chosen or appointed. If bad or weak men are chosen to enforce the laws, evil will result. That our party machinery has developed so fast that frequently it is worked out of sight and control of the people is a fact so patent as only to need mention. This results in corruption and the enthronement of an irresponsible "boss." Surely, any reform that will give the people a surer power over their own servants will be welcomed by the friends of Direct Legislation.

Neither does Direct Legislation necessarily mean opposition to political parties. It will cure, we believe, the bitter partizanship that is such a bane to our politics. But if the party system that has developed so far in the United States can be cured of its partizanship and developed still further into an efficient means of government, we will welcome such development.

I may go still further and say that Direct Legislation has no antagonism to franchise reform, whether such reform means the extension of the franchise to women, as some advocate, or whether it means the limitation of the franchise by an educational qualification, as in Massachusetts and Mississippi, or by an educational and a property qualification, as in Rhode Island and South Carolina. Franchise Reform is outside of the sphere of Direct Legislation, and Direct Legislationists believe—some one way and some another. All we are sure of is that for its own affairs each community should have the power to fix its own franchise to suit itself.

The same is true of Civil Service Reform. If this will give us better minor officials, we want it. Also of the direct election of United States Senators, which is only the bringing of a small but powerful body of the people's servants into closer touch with the people—by their direct election by the people instead of by the legislatures.

Let us keep a clear distinction between these different reforms, remembering that no one of them is a political panacea and that good can be accomplished by all. And we feel sure that, if they are all clearly understood, the primacy of Direct Legislation as being the first political reform to be gained will be generally conceded.

ELTWEEDE POMEROY.

A PROFESSION THAT GREW RESPECTABLE.

A SKETCH.

BY ALBERT R. CARMAN.

The blinding Egyptian sun hung over the western desert. The smooth Nile lay a burnished background behind rows of tall palms. Up the long avenue of sphinxes slaves were carrying the litters of two courtiers who had been killing time for an hour or so watching the sullen and rebellious bondsmen from the land of Goshen laboring in the new city Pharaoh was building. Brutal overseers and armed soldiers pressed these unwilling slaves to their tasks; and the two courtiers had come away sooner than they had expected from the always fascinating sight of constructive labor performed by others, because even their not too sensitive feelings, inured to the ill treatment of slaves, had been painfully disturbed by some of the more disgusting details of this new policy of coercion. For it *was* a new policy. Many years before, Pharaoh, frightened by the growing strength of the Israelites, had decided to keep them down by hard work and then by the murder of their male children; but now a couple of agitators—two brothers—had arisen among them and actually demanded their liberation. To this Pharaoh replied by imposing impossible tasks upon them, and permitting their overseers to maim and kill them if they failed to maintain the murderous pace.

"You are idle," said Pharaoh; "or you wouldn't be thinking of freedom and a journey into the wilderness on the pretense of serving your God. I'll keep you busy enough to prevent such unsettling thoughts from entering your heads."

The two courtiers were just returning from seeing this drastic method of dealing with discontent in operation; and they were discussing the situation.

"Yes! Yes!" Ameni was saying; "it is not nice to look at, but it is the only way to deal with such people."

"Ach! But that poor devil with the hanging eye," responded Pentaur, with a shudder. "Cut out with a whip-lash. By the gods, the grisly look of him will be with me to-night in dreams!"

"You always were a sentimentalist—and a poet," returned Ameni. "But what would you do? We cannot give these people their liberty; for we must have slaves. And it is entirely their own fault that they are suffering. If they had been contented with the lot to which the gods called them, they would have been happy now, with their flesh-pots full, plenty of straw for their bricks, and just taskmasters enough to see that they did their work."

"Yes; but," said Pentaur, "did not the agitator, Moses, take up the cause of his people because of their great burdens?"

"Moses!"—and Ameni laughed in his beard. "Moses greatly wearies me. I remember Moses when he lived about the court and had as many slaves as any of us."

"Why did he go away?" asked Pentaur.

"That is a dark secret," replied Ameni, glancing significantly across at the other litter. "If dead men could tell tales," he went on, "you might learn what Moses was afraid of."

"You don't tell me!" exclaimed Pentaur. "I have heard whispers of it, but I did not believe it. Moses has so kind a face."

"That is a part of his stock-in-trade," sneered Ameni, "as a professional lover of his people. I tell you, an agitator is a bad man, wherever you find him."

"But his people really do have grievances," protested Pentaur.

"They've had more since he came," returned Ameni. "What he has done for them has been to double their trouble. Before he came they had bricks to make—but they had straw to make them with. Now—well, you saw to-day. But do you suppose Moses cares?"

"I should expect so," answered Pentaur.

"When you get to know more of the world, my sweet poet,"

returned Ameni, "you will learn that agitators like to see their followers in trouble—it keeps up their job of 'agitation' for them. If they got their grievances settled, the agitator would have nothing to agitate about; and he would have to stop posing as a 'little Pharaoh,' and work for his living."

"But what has Moses to gain in this case?" asked Pentaur.

"What has Moses to gain? What do you suppose brought him here? I learn that he was doing very well in the land of Midian—married the daughter of a rich priest there, and had a family. Yet he came on here and told the people to stop working and actually asked Pharaoh to let them go three days' journey into the wilderness. Of course, he'd have brought them back—of course!" And Ameni laughed.

Pentaur was silent.

"And, of course, he wouldn't have made himself king over them—of course not!" went on Ameni. "He has no ambitions—that meek man! Not an ambition! Let me tell you, my poet, if he had once been permitted to lead them off into the wilderness, it would not have been long until they would have been crying out for the flesh-pots of Egypt. Hard as their lot seems to be now, Pharaoh is a better father to them than they could be to themselves."

Pentaur laughed. "Your metaphors are getting a little mixed, Ameni," he remarked.

"Well! Well!" assented Ameni, smiling. "Perhaps. I often think too quickly for my tongue when I am talking of these heartless demagogues who stir up ignorant people for their own ends, bidding them make themselves equal with the highest, preaching liberty to slaves, and telling them that they would be better off if they left their masters and attempted to govern themselves."

"Well, I dare say," said Pentaur, musingly, "that agitators are often ambitious fellows. I'm really shocked at what you tell me about Moses."

"Oh, he's putting his head in a noose," shot out Ameni, in swift confidence. "You'll see him skurrying back across the Red Sea one of these days—if he doesn't drown in it."

"Only men of clean character should attempt to lead the people," said Pentaur; "men of irreproachable pasts."

"That's right!" said Ameni, heartily. "And such men won't. They are for law and order and good government—for evolution, not revolution. They know that the gods have only given Pharaoh wisdom enough to govern,—Pharaoh and a few advisers,—and they teach the people to be contented with their station in life, to fulfil their duties at the Temples, and to respect their rulers."

"And the people are, perhaps, as well off," mused Pentaur.

"Better! Look at these Israelites. They began to multiply too fast for their own good, when Pharaoh stepped in and stopped it. They would soon have had far too many mouths to feed for the amount of corn they could raise. But, if left to themselves, they would have done nothing—they would have let the growth go on. However, Pharaoh was wiser, and he stopped it. But they, instead of being grateful, began to grumble. Now, it is only idle men who grumble, and Pharaoh knows it. Keep a man busy enough and he hasn't got time to grumble. So Pharaoh kept them at it—and then this Midianitish agitator came along and stirred them all up again. But Pharaoh just applied his cure-all—he made them busier. And it has pretty well cured them already. When they came out from that last interview with Pharaoh they met Moses and Aaron, and they told them what they thought of them."

"But, theoretically, Ameni—not practically, I know, but theoretically," broke in Pentaur, "do you think that it is quite the best thing to have this division of people into ruling classes, lower classes, and slaves?"

"Entirely the best thing," replied Ameni, confidently. "Have not the gods called each man to his station in life? And are not the gods all-wise?"

Pentaur was silent again.

"It is blasphemy," went on Ameni, earnestly, "to criticize the provisions of the gods. And then is it not evident that so splendid a civilization as we have in Egypt could exist in no other way? We are now ruled by Pharaoh, his court, and the

priests. Who else could do it? You would not suggest that the *people* be called in to help rule the nation, would you?"

"Oh, no!" cried Pentaur, lifting a protesting hand. "I am not so absurd as that."

"I should think not," agreed Ameni, sententiously. "The people! What do *they* know of guiding the fortunes of a great nation? What do *they* know of lawmaking? They are children, whom the wise and the great care for—and far better than they could care for themselves."

"Do you suppose," asked Pentaur, "that the time will ever come when the people will govern themselves?"

"Never!—any more than the time will ever come when everybody will write poems like yours. We each have our work to do—some to command, some to serve; and it is only required of us that we do our best in our own spheres."

"But if the people were educated?" ventured Pentaur.

"That would be a fatal blunder!" cried Ameni, with emphasis, straightening himself in his litter. "Educate the people, and you make them discontented, rebellious, above doing their proper work, ripe for all sorts of sedition and treason. Look at this man Moses! Pharaoh's daughter took him from among these very Israelites and educated him. Did it make a good citizen of him, loyal and grateful to Pharaoh and ready to serve the State? Not a bit of it! These lower classes can no more stand education than a boy can stand old wine. His learning went to his head, as might have been expected; and, swaggering insolently about, he murdered a man and had to flee the country. And now he is back as an agitator—as a potential rebel! If he had not been educated above his station, he would have been making bricks yonder with his sweating brethren to-day."

"But wouldn't it be different if *all* were educated?" again ventured Pentaur.

"And all were free and all were equal?" added Ameni, with biting sarcasm. "Who would make the bricks then—you and I?"

"I could make bricks," put in Pentaur, sturdily.

"You are better at making poems," replied Ameni, smiling.

"But it is not only brick-making," he went on. "There are a number of necessary kinds of work that are very disagreeable, which no one would do if everybody were educated and there were no slaves. Yet we could not get on without having them done. The gods have provided for this; and society would stop if we disturbed the arrangement."

"But couldn't we *pay* more for the disagreeable tasks," asked Pentaur.

"That would not do it," replied Ameni, shaking his head decisively. "I will just prove it by one case. Take the 'paraschites'—the embalmers of the dead. There they live in the wretched hovels of their little village——"

Pentaur shuddered at the thought.

"—unclean and despised in the sight of all men, without friends or sympathy, alone with their grewsome tasks. You know that even now no one ever becomes a 'paraschites' voluntarily. The unhappy beings are born to their terrible trade. They have committed some fearful sin in a former existence that even deprived them of absolution in the nether world. So, after having passed through various animal forms, they now begin a new human course in the body of a 'paraschites.' They are the mud-sill of humanity, just escaped from among the beasts—the spawn of sin. Now, if this provision of the gods is to be upset, and men are not to be called to any particular station in life, and the 'paraschites' is to be free to give up his calling and come to the court, who will embalm the dead? And if the dead are not embalmed, how will we do without bodies in the nether world?" And Ameni smiled triumphantly at Pentaur.

The poet lay mentally crushed. There was no answer to this. To the Egyptian, not to be embalmed was to lose his chance of a life after death; but it was impossible to think of any man voluntarily taking up the unclean and accursed task of embalming.

"I am only a poet," said Pentaur; "and a poet has no business taking his dreams for realities."

* * * *

One day, in the year 1902 A.D., there lay, in his steamer chair on a vined veranda just out of New York, a poet; and a pleasing melancholy was on his soul, for the sable majesty of a great funeral had just passed. The strains of the "Dead March" from a little way down the street still brought to him the image of the slow-pacing black horses and the heavy funeral car and Mr. Arthur E. Stoneleigh, undertaker, sitting in stiff dignity on the seat of the hearse. He knew Stoneleigh very well—they belonged to the same club.

"It always seems to me," he said to himself, "that the undertaking business is a queer choice. But there's plenty of money in it, and lots of good fellows go into it. And they've made it a showy, well-dressed business, too. They used to think in Egypt that it was a terrible disgrace—but now Stoneleigh says that it is overcrowded. Make a business pay,"—and the poet puffed reflectively at his briar-root,—“and there are plenty to do it, and do it well.”

Then his mind went back to a poem he was working on—a sort of an epic, telling of the conquest of the world by a little group of nations where all the people put their minds into the "melting pot" and the ultimate wisdom that came out guided the government. He was just at the point where "the People's William," of Hawarden, England, began to rebuild a nation out of the abject fragments of a once splendid race, then crouching among the battered sphinxes and tumbled temples that lined the Nile.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

TWENTIETH CENTURY EDUCATION.

I. THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION.

Among the many great problems that are pressing upon the brain and soul of present-day civilization, none are as vital or fundamental as that of a full-orbed education that shall develop character and call forth the noblest fruits of the human soul. And in our judgment the most encouraging sign of the dawning days of the twentieth century lies in the numerous evidences of a general awakening on the part of the more thoughtful of our people to the necessity of radical changes in educational and scholastic methods.

The last quarter of a century witnessed great and far-reaching changes in popular educational methods, almost revolutionary in character and for the most part highly beneficent. These changes, however, while making the acquisition of knowledge as pleasant to the child as it was irksome under the old régime, and while greatly benefiting the pupil by stimulating his own brain instead of making him an echo of the thought of others, has failed in a large degree to achieve what should be the supreme object of education: that of the development of character—the awakening of the conscience to such a degree that duty and right become the guiding, molding, and shaping influences of life. This failure is nothing new. All systems of schooling in the past have fallen short of the goal in this respect, for the reason that the ideal of individual development of character, based on the ethics of Christ which recognizes the common origin of life, the brotherhood of man, and the rights, duties, and obligations imposed on the individual by the great law of solidarity, has been practically ignored.

II. THE FAILURE OF INTELLECTUAL TRAINING.

The failure of our educational system lies in the fact that, while we have trained the mind, we have not properly devel-

oped the moral sensibilities or the ethical side of life; hence, the former has become the dominant influence in the lives of a large proportion of the master-spirits in the various walks and callings of life. Such a condition always favors spiritual suicide, and its continuance develops into an eating cancer at the vitals of civilization. Whenever duty and right are subordinate to expediency, policy, or considerations born of selfishness and prejudice, the individual or nation so affected, having lost the sense of moral proportion, turns from the heights of progress and soon wanders down toward destruction. The change may be imperceptible to all not guided by the fundamental ethical verities; and frequently for some time after the nation or individual has faced the decline it is apparently on the highway of success. This is a fact to which history bears eloquent testimony. Perhaps no more striking illustration is found than in the decline of ancient Rome, whose blaze of outward glory and appearance of power deceived the whole outside world long after the vitals of the once invincible republic had been eaten beyond cure. Indeed, the hectic flush of death, the autumnal tint of outward glory, which frequently marks the arrogant ascendancy of egoism over altruism, is always mistaken by the short-sighted and superficial for a manifestation of health and vitality. Yet no fact of history or human experience is more obvious to the philosophic student of life than that the granite of moral verities, upon which the altruistic ideal rests and from which duty-guided character dominated by nobility of purpose is developed, is the only foundation that endures. In the failure to recognize this fact lies the supreme peril of our civilization.

III. SIGNAL FAILURE OF CHURCH-GOVERNED SCHOOLS TO MEET THE HIGH DEMANDS OF EDUCATION.

We hear much about our "godless common schools" from the enemies of popular education and religious sectarians. Yet it must not be forgotten that the failure to develop character, to nourish broad and noble impulses, and to stimulate the brain has been nowhere so conspicuous as in nations where the education of the people has been intrusted to the Church. Spain pays more than ten dollars to the State Church where one dollar is paid for outside education of her people. From the days when the in many ways wonderful civilization of the Moors was overthrown and the so-called Holy Inquisition became a domi-

nant factor in the State, the education of the Spanish people has been virtually in the hands of the Church. A comparison of the moral, mental, and industrial conditions with those of the people of other western civilizations will show that in proportion as freedom of thought and a liberal educational system, divorced from the Church, prevail have the people outstripped this once opulent and powerful people, which is truly typical of nations in which education has been delegated to the Church and where freedom of thought is placed under a ban.

Again, compare Russia with America. In the former the Church is only second to the Government in power, if indeed it is not more powerful. It directs education; it frowns upon liberty and free thought; and the fruits of this Church-dominated system are seen in the widespread ignorance of the masses, in the brutality, savagery, and despotism of the Government, and in the soul-blighting intolerance that excommunicates the noblest man and greatest prophet of modern Russia. No greater fallacy could be put forth than that of abandoning education to various religious faiths.

IV. THE SHORTCOMINGS OF PRESENT EDUCATIONAL METHODS.

And yet in our own country the chief element of weakness in our school system lies in the failure to develop the moral or spiritual side of life; and the question is often asked, How is it that with our splendid public educational system, with the multiplication of books and the blossoming of churches on every hand, the greed for gold, the passion for gambling, the low ethics in the business world, and the sufferings of millions through injustice on the part of those who have had the benefit of the finest intellectual training and who are pillars in the various churches, are such distinguishing features of present-day civilization in America? How is it, it is further asked, after a century and a quarter of allegiance to the principles of free government and the constant warfare against the whole idea of imperial rule or wars of subjugation and of governing peoples without their consent, that the United States suddenly belies all its professions, and from the position of moral leader of free peoples proves recreant to her trust by becoming a deserter to the camp of imperialistic powers? How is it that so marked has been the sudden fall of the Republic that it is now a crime to read our own Declaration of Independence in islands over which floats the flag of the United States?

The cause of these alarming and disquieting phenomena lies in the fatal flaw in our educational system—the failure to give moral or ethical education the same emphasis that is bestowed upon intellectual training.

In our effort to make popular education purely secular and not to arouse any religious animosity, we made the grave mistake of leaving the ethical or moral development of the child to the Church and the home. Thus the school system failed properly to inculcate the important theory that duty should dominate life; that reverence for justice and the rights of others should become an integral and governing principle in daily intercourse with others; that a jealous guarding of liberty should ever be one of the chief concerns of the citizen; that love and sympathy should go forth to all, and especially unto the weak; and that honor, honesty, and right-mindedness should overmaster craft, cunning, and the desire to acquire aught not earned. The intellect was marvelously trained, and the masses became more mentally acute than the people of any other nation; but unhappily they lacked the ennobling influence of moral enlightenment, and the popular ideal of success changed from nobility of character, springing from fidelity to justice, freedom, and human brotherhood to that of the acquisition of wealth. A man's success came to be largely a question of the dollars and cents he had acquired; and, with this lowering of the national ideal, greed, avarice, and a brutal disregard for the rights of others marked the lives and deeds of many regarded by the false standard as most successful. As observed before, our schools had trained the intellect, while leaving to Church and home the task of developing character, or the moral side of life.

The Church, however, had been engaged in compassing land and sea for proselytes, in fighting over dogmas, creeds, and forms, and in theorizing concerning another life. True, she perfunctorily taught the luminous ethical doctrines proclaimed by Jesus and his apostles, but they were as a rule made secondary to the theological dogmas with which she was concerned; and the spirit of controversy rife on every hand was destructive to moral growth. Churchianity largely took the place of Christianity, and the amazing spectacle was seen on every side of the pillars of churches reaping from fifteen to thirty per cent. in rentals from wretched lodging-houses in the slums of the great cities, or building up great fortunes by mercilessly crushing out all competitors through secret compacts with

transportation companies, by grinding down the wages of men, and by employing little children in great factories under conditions that blighted their lives while crowding out of service men who were striving for an opportunity to earn a livelihood.

And side by side with these phenomena, so amazing in the light of the solemn teachings of Jesus, appeared a public sentiment that witnessed still further to the fatal moral lethargy of the nation and found expression in the glorification and almost deification, by Church and press, of these great moral criminals whenever they endowed religious or educational institutions, builded libraries, or otherwise doled out a moiety of the wealth that equitably belonged to the toilers, who unhappily had received a pittance scarcely sufficient to support their families. The cry of the children robbed of the rights of childhood, the sighs of overburdened womanhood, the hopeless and wistful gaze of sturdy manhood as it approached age with no provisions for the time when the hand should lose its cunning, not only made no impression upon the men whose abnormal wealth rose as a result of the pitiable conditions of their brothers, but press and pulpit alike were little moved by them. The Church had compromised with the spirit of materialistic commercialism. She had failed, as had the school, to make the development of noble character a subject of supreme concern.

And in the home parents were struggling to support their families, to give their children a schooling, and to maintain the religious sect to which they belonged. They looked to the school and the Church properly to educate the children; and thus again through short-sighted neglect and oversight the child missed the moral direction and guidance that would have been more powerful than aught else if it had been wisely employed by teaching and life at the fireside. Hence, the twentieth century has dawned with the spirit of commercialism rampant; with wealth and station more than worth and character as accepted criterions of success; with moral lethargy in Church and nation; but with everywhere manifestations of an awakening in the educational world.

V. THE SUPREME DEMAND OF THE PRESENT.

Moral development, industrial training, and intellectual schooling—this threefold education must be made the education of the future. A supreme duty confronts parents and teachers to-day. The moral verities must be placed in the

ascendency if our nation is to be made in any true sense a leader in the van of progress. Character—a high, noble, true manhood, grounded and rooted in love of truth, justice, and human sympathy: this must be made the supreme object and aim of twentieth century education.

* * *

THE FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT OF THE PRESENT.

Though to the superficial observer the political outlook in the United States never presented a more bewilderingly perplexing or complex aspect than to-day, no thoughtful man, if he be fairly conversant with the history of Western civilization since the fivefold revolution that marked the advent of Modern Times, can fail to recognize beneath the surface a titanic struggle—greater than that which preceded the overthrow of Charles I. or the downfall of the Bourbon throne—between the two fundamental and essentially antagonistic theories of government. It is the spirit of democracy combating the spirit of despotism—the ideal of political equality arrayed against the ideal of the divine right of rulership or the mastery of an individual or class over the masses. It is the extension, on the soil dedicated to freedom, of the old conflict of which Eliot, Hampden, and Pym were the advance couriers, of which John Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau were the philosophic prophets, and of which the American and French Revolutions were the volcanic expressions.

There is little new about the reactionary spirit that is to-day struggling to bear the Republic away from its ancient moorings, that sneers at the Declaration of Independence and the lofty political and ethical ideals of the Revolution, while on every hand seeking to supplant rugged republicanism with the spirit of ancient aristocratic and monarchic governments and to substitute special privilege, or rather class supremacy resulting from special privilege, for equality of opportunity and equal and exact justice for all, which was the triumphant battle-cry of the great Revolution.

Indeed, this reactionary spirit appears from time to time, changed in form only. At one stage it is the divine right of the throne. Again it is shifted to a titled or hereditary aristocracy. Then again it is the divine right of property or the aristocracy of wealth that insolently assumes superiority. And the sophisti-

cal special pleading used to defend and sustain the divine-right idea, whether it relates to throne, aristocracy, or the communism of capital, is substantially the same.

The conflict, therefore, is essentially the old battle of privilege and arbitrary rights *versus* democracy. The dominant ideal of the former is power and wealth; that of the latter, freedom and justice. One is preëminently selfish and egoistic; the other is altruistic. The one seeks the mastery of the masses, both politically and economically, and the exaltation of the claims of property over considerations of manhood; the other would so meet the exigencies of changed conditions that the ideal of democracy—namely, government of, by, and for the people—should be realized as completely as the revolutionary statesmen of America and Europe planned; while they would abolish all special privilege and secure for society the wealth, benefits, and blessings accruing from public utilities and natural monopolies, to the end that justice, freedom, and equality of opportunity might become living realities in government instead of empty phrases, and that the mastery of man through class laws, special privileges, and the evasions of the fundamentals of justice should cease.

Herein lies the real conflict. It is the battle of privilege, or the rights of the few against the spirit of democracy or republicanism—the struggle of the dogma of the divine right of capital or of the classes over the fundamental rights of humanity—the warfare of the reactionary spirit of despotism against the spirit of progress.

Below the confusion that prevails on the surface of the political sea, below the swift-swirling eddies and the turbulent waves lashed hither and thither, albeit the sky above is serene and clear, we find the profound and basic cause of the commotion—the clashing of two mighty and mutually exclusive currents: the one making for the glory and the other for the gloom of civilization; the one seeking to turn back the hand on the dial, the other seeking the supremacy of free institutions and the happiness and prosperity of all the people through justice and loyalty to the ideal.

Only by keeping this fundamental fact in view will it be possible for the student of history to understand present political conditions, fairly to judge of the conflicting claims of party and of faction, or intelligently and judicially to estimate the probable trend of events.

EXTENSION OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS.

The government of Emperor William, after extensive experience in governmental ownership and operation of railways, has found public ownership so much more satisfactory than private ownership that it has determined to take over five of the principal lines remaining in individual control, thus leaving but two lines operated by private corporations.

This socialistic move on the part of the Prussian government is greatly distressing the editors of daily papers that are under the control of great railway corporations and other beneficiaries of public utilities that are owned and operated by corporations instead of the public. They see in this progressive step on the part of the German government another illustration of the irresistible trend of enlightened statesmanship throughout civilization toward public ownership and operation of all natural monopolies.

The true friends of our great Republic, while admiring the wisdom and statesmanship thus evinced by the Emperor William, feel humiliated at the spectacle of the United States becoming a camp-follower in the march of progress and enlightened statesmanship by remaining a prey to predatory bands who are acquiring annually millions upon millions of dollars that rightfully belong to society or the nation at large.

While New Zealand is awakening the admiration of intelligent patriotism and lovers of free government the world over; while Australia is forging to the front; while Switzerland, who carries the shekinah of democracy in the Old World, is successfully owning and operating her public utilities; while the great municipalities of Great Britain are taking over the public utilities and in most centers successfully combating the systematic attempts of Mr. Morgan and Mr. Yerkes to re-enslave and plunder English cities as the monopolists of our country have long since enslaved and plundered our municipalities; while Germany, after experimenting with public and private ownership side by side, decides in favor of national ownership of her railways, and while public ownership of public utilities is being extended in almost every civilized nation, the United States lies helpless in the hands of small groups of overrich individuals whose enormous acquirements enable them to purchase or control the great opinion-forming organs of the nation, as well as to fill the halls of legislation and government

in its various other ramifications with docile and willing servants.

Nothing is more humiliating to the robust spirit of democracy than the wretched and pitiful sophistry, the childish puerility and absurd alarm cries of editors in the employ of those who are year by year plundering the producers and consumers as well as the national government—the latter through the excessive charges for the mail service, which are out of all proportion to those paid by express companies.

This is one of the crying scandals of the age. The enormous traffic returns that are necessary to pay dividends on watered stock or fictitious values, interest on bonds, and excessive salaries to favored officials, represent the extent of the plunder of the people. Every dollar taken from the people in excess of legitimate and reasonable returns on actual investment, and reasonable salaries and operating expenses, is a part of the price the people are paying to the commercial barons for listening to their sophistry instead of demanding the governmental ownership and operation of these arteries of national life.

Happily there are numerous symptoms that indicate that the long sleep is drawing to a close. The people are beginning to think and to agitate as they ever do before a great onward evolutionary step. From evidences on every hand we believe the hour is approaching when the nation will demand in tones of thunder the public ownership and operation of all public utilities.

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THE DEGRADATION OF THE ARMY THROUGH THE WAR OF SUBJUGATION.

I. COMMERCIALISM AND MILITARISM FATAL TO REPUBLICANISM.

For ten years THE ARENA has persistently and consistently opposed the rising spirit of militarism, as it has opposed the aggressive advance of plutocracy, persuaded as we have been that the presence of these two baleful influences was inimical to democracy and diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles of our Declaration of Independence and the government that rose as the tangible embodiment of the age-long dream of justice, freedom, and fraternity. Many of our readers will remember that in 1894, in a paper on "Fostering the Savage in the Young," we pointed out the rise of a baleful military

spirit coincident with the domination of wealth over the commonwealth, or the supremacy in the State as well as in commercial life of the dollar over manhood—of the few over the many; the mastery of small groups or classes over the millions;—a success only rendered possible by fundamentally unjust conditions, due largely to law-created special privileges and other fostering aids by government.

The modern egoistic commercialism and militarism belong on the same low plane. They are devoid of the influence of high ideals, which alone give life, permanency, or true glory to civilizations, nations, or individuals; and where they prevail nations pass into decay and death, though frequently their entrance on decline is marked by what to the superficial is a burst of transcendent glory, power, and dominion. This seeming brilliancy, however, is always the hectic flush that speaks of death at the vitals; it is the glory of the autumnal forest upon whose foliage the spirit of death is resting. Witness the Macedonian empire the hour before its decline. Witness Imperial Rome, drunken with wealth and power, clothed in extreme splendor, but festering and corrupt at heart, stricken with mortal disease and reeling downward to death. If history is of vital value to the race, its value lies in its lessons; and we know of no more solemn or impressive truth than is found in the inevitable doom that has overtaken every civilization and nation that has persistently turned from the vision of the ideal to the worship and exaltation of material wealth and military glory. No democracy can long survive when the materialism of the market or the dream of empire through subjugation rides in the chariot of Freedom, dedicated to justice and fraternity.

II. WARS OF CONQUEST FOSTER NATIONAL DEGENERATION.

At the present time we wish to speak especially of the fatal influence of wars of conquest on individual and national life. War at best is savage and brutal, and only when men fight for the defense of home or for some noble truth or cause does the potency of high ideals awaken the nobler sentiments in the soul to such a degree that the aroused brute nature may be held in abeyance, and on every hand the white flower of true heroism and humanity may bloom even in the midst of death and carnage.

In wars of conquest and subjugation, however, this saving influence of the ideal is absent. Man is no longer stirred on the

higher plane of his being. There is activity in the brain centers, it is true—frightful activity; but that activity is all upon the lower plane of the emotions, where the lust for blood, the lust of the beast, and the lust of greed are rife. Here the soldier becomes the automaton, obeying the orders of those higher in rank, although this obedience at first outrages all his inherent sense of right, justice, and humanity, or, in other words, his noblest heritage and possession. Later the higher nature or conscience becomes hardened or anesthetized. In the midst of an atmosphere reeking with hatred, avarice, and lust, the soldier's brain too often becomes inflamed. He sees so much needless slaughter, so much wanton waste of property that represents the hard toil and privation of many anxious lives, so much inhumanity and excess on every side, that his ideal of justice and love becomes obscured, and he in turn is brutalized—while respect for law and discipline becomes less and less. It is the falling away of manhood from all that is best and most divine in its being—a loss irreparable at once to the individual and the nation.

III. STARTLING REVELATIONS MADE IN THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE'S ANNUAL REPORT.

The recent annual report of Judge-Advocate General G. B. Davis reveals a lack of discipline and a general tendency to moral degradation in our army of subjugation in the Philippines well calculated to startle all thoughtful Americans, while illustrating how wars of conquest corrupt manhood and poison a people in its most vital being by destroying high ideals and polluting the moral nature. According to the report of General Davis dealing with the forces in the Philippines, one person out of every twenty in the service was tried and convicted during the last year. What anti-imperialist, even, among the brave and noble band of champions for freedom, justice, and human integrity—whom the brutal defenders of the present war of criminal aggression have declared should be hanged—has ever made a charge against the army so damning in character as the cold, brutal facts found in the late report of the Judge-Advocate? Out of every twenty persons in the service, one has been tried and convicted during the last twelve months. Think of it, fathers and mothers who have sons fighting against the spirit and letter of the Declaration of Independence in the tropic islands of Oceanica!

It must also be remembered that this humiliating record does not include the great number of unpunished criminals guilty of fiendish abuses and outrages, referred to in the recent revelations of the Hon. Moorfield Storey, in which are found explicit, specific, and circumstantial accounts of a great number of cases that have never been noticed by the Secretary of War or the army of subjugation.

Something of the spirit of reckless lawlessness and the absence of discipline in our army in the Far East may be gleaned from the fact that there were 477 convictions for larceny, and this does not include, as the *New York Nation* aptly observes, "several hundred other cases involving robbery or larceny or attempts to commit them." There were 65 convictions for murder, manslaughter, or attempts to commit manslaughter. Almost a score of soldiers were convicted of rape or attempts to commit rape, and 760 were convicted of drunkenness on duty. Over 1,000 soldiers were punished for desertion, and 2,645 were dishonorably discharged. And these convictions, it should be further observed, occurred under the present easy-going military régime, which has proved itself so conspicuously blind to the crimes of soldiers and officers who have committed appalling deeds of brutal savagery against the weak and defenseless enemy.

It is true, as the *Nation* points out, that there has been one new crime added by the military authorities, namely, "disrespect to the memory of President McKinley, for which four men are languishing in jail, just as men are punished in Europe for *lèse-majesté*." But, as only four men have been convicted of this new crime, it does not perceptibly modify the alarming record of lax military discipline and moral disintegration shown so glaringly in even the records of officials notorious for indifference and blindness to crimes against humanity and lawless spoliation, when practised against those fighting for their homes and native land. Moreover, the facts brought out in the official record of convictions merely hint at the moral degradation of military life in distant lands when no ideal sustains the soldiers. Returned volunteers from the Philippines tell horrible stories of the spread of gross sensualism and the ravages of disease due to drink, excess, and license among our soldiers; and their grim and ghastly recitals are only a repetition of the history of other armies of spoliation, of conquest and subjugation, especially of armies that operate far from home and that seek to crush the small peoples of earth.

The moral degeneration and essential lawlessness expressed in the report of the Judge-Advocate, in the startling recital of crimes and outrages by Mr. Moorfield Storey, and in the tales of moral enervation and triumphant lust repeated by soldiers returning from the unhappy islands where America is seeking to imitate the despotisms of Europe, clearly prove that our nation is already beginning to reap some of the bitter fruits born of our turning from the principles and traditions upon which our Republic was builded, and abandoning the ark of the covenant of Liberty at the behest of short-sighted, sodden, materialistic commercialism. Nations no less than individuals cannot commit moral crimes and escape the results of their wrong-doing.

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HOW MONOPOLIES PLUNDER THE PEOPLE.

In a recent issue of his widely circulated journal, Mr. Wayland called attention to the enormous sum realized by the capitalists who control the pin and needle trusts in this country, as revealed by the recently published census reports of the United States Government. The facts given indeed afford so startling an illustration of the manner in which wealth is being rapidly concentrated in the hands of the few under the present régime of monopolies and trusts, that it is well calculated to awaken easy-going optimists out of that moral lethargy which is ever one of the most deadly perils of free government.

According to the official report it appears that the production of pins and needles in the United States for the year 1899 amounted, in the value of the finished product, to the enormous sum of \$32,738,439; while the cost of production amounted to only \$2,254,492, or less than \$30,000,000 below the factory value of the products. Mr. Wayland's summary of the report reveals at a glance the almost incredible profits accruing to the trusts on these two little articles. It is as follows:

Materials used, mill supplies, freight, and fuel.....	\$972,570
Salaries of officers and clerks.....	126,754
Wages	939,846
Taxes, rent, and other incidentals.....	215,322

Total cost of production.....	2,254,492
Factory value of products.....	32,738,439

When we remember that the pin and needle trust is but one of a mighty brood of monopolies that hold labor on the one hand and the consuming public on the other absolutely in their grasp, we can easily understand how inevitably present conditions are working to establish a plutocracy in which an ever-narrowing group of individuals is becoming so rich as to be at once a deadly menace to free government and the complete masters of economic conditions throughout the Republic. The phenomenon presented emphasizes afresh the contention of social reformers throughout France and America: that political equality and industrial inequality must inevitably result in a capitalistic feudalism or an aristocracy of wealth that, though less tangible,—because it operates under the cloak of republicanism,—is nevertheless as oppressive and frequently more insolently arrogant and essentially brutal than an aristocracy based on the dogma of hereditary rights. Moreover, no thoughtful citizen of the Republic can fail to realize the alarming fact that this rapid concentration of wealth on the one hand is despoiling the millions on the other, and is more or less rapidly wiping out the middle class: the home-owners of the land—a fact that the rapid increase of tenant-farming given by statistics further corroborates.

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MONOPOLISTIC OPPRESSION AND EXTORTION ONLY POSSIBLE THROUGH GOVERNMENTAL SUBSERVIENCY.

Nothing is more evident to thoughtful men and women than the fact that the American people are being held up and robbed by the trusts, through the connivance of the Administration and the dominant party in Congress.

Every attorney-general since the appointment of Mr. Richard Olney by Mr. Cleveland has been a trust attorney or a railroad and corporation lawyer. Mr. Olney at the time of his appointment was an attorney for the Whisky Trust, and as such had filed nine demurrers in Boston, claiming the Anti-Trust law to be unconstitutional. He was also attorney for some great railway lines at the time when he was selected by President Cleveland to enforce the Anti-Trust law and the Interstate Commerce act. Since his appointment there has been no attorney-

general who was not thoroughly acceptable to the trusts, railways, and corporations.

Mr. Knox was winning a princely income as a corporation attorney at the time of his appointment; and, after all the flourishing and the promises of aggressive action against the Beef Trust that were made by the Administration organs, it was noticeable that the only thing that the Beef Trust feared—namely, criminal prosecution under the Anti-Trust law—was most carefully avoided by the attorney-general; while the lawless coal railroad magnates, who held up the whole American nation for five months by refusing to arbitrate, were not proceeded against by either Attorney-General Knox or the Republican administration of Pennsylvania, although, even according to the testimony of former Attorney-General Olney, they were “the most unblushing and persistent of law-breakers.” Mr. Olney further made the following indictment of these law-breakers, whom Attorney-General Knox professed to be unable to proceed against:

“For years they have defied the law of Pennsylvania, which forbids the common carriers engaging in the business of mining. For years they have discriminated between customers in the freight charges on their railroads, in violation of the Interstate Commerce law. For years they have unlawfully monopolized interstate commerce in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Indeed, the very best excuse and explanation of their astonishing attitude at the Washington conference is that they have violated so many laws, for so long and so many times, that they might rightfully think they were wholly immune from either punishment or reproach.”

Mr. Knox was reported to have expressed doubt as to Congress having it in its power to do anything of substantial benefit in curbing the rapacity and the unjust and aggressive oppressions of corporate greed. And President Roosevelt, doubtless acting on Mr. Knox's suggestion, advocated the impossible and unready remedy of a constitutional amendment to curb the admitted evil.

Among eminent and authoritative lawyers and statesmen not in the employ of or beholden to the trusts and corporations, and outside of Administration circles, there seems to be little or no doubt as to the ability of Congress thoroughly to curb and control the trusts, if Congress desires to do so. Perhaps the strongest and clearest presentation of this case that has been recently made was given the public in Professor Parsons's ex-

tremely lucid and able paper on the trusts in the November ARENA. This contribution has called forth high praise from authoritative sources. The following extract from a personal letter to Professor Parsons from Chief Justice Walter Clark, of North Carolina, well reflects the sentiments of authoritative legal and judicial opinions when unbiased by corporate influences:

"I write to thank you for your able article in November ARENA. It demonstrates clearly that trusts can be controlled. You will do the public a great service if you will see that it has wider circulation. THE ARENA is doing a fine work, but its circulation is too restricted for the service it is capable of rendering mankind."

Justice Clark has served as Associate Justice on the Supreme Bench of North Carolina for the last fourteen years. Eight years ago he was renominated for the position by the Democratic, the Republican, and the People's parties and unanimously elected. This year the Democratic party nominated him for the office of Chief Justice. He was, however, bitterly opposed by the American Tobacco Company and other parties representing special privilege. An independent Democrat was nominated to oppose him, and this nomination was indorsed by the Republicans. The campaign, which was one of the bitterest that have been waged in recent years, has resulted in the election of Justice Clark by over 70,000 majority. Before his elevation to the Supreme Bench Judge Clark had served for five years on the Circuit Bench of his State. We mention these facts as indicating the position of this great jurist and the value attaching to his opinion on this question.

Every day reveals the fact that the lines between the people and the champions of special privilege are being drawn closer and closer, while evidence is not wanting that indicates the general awakening of the public mind to the fact that the Government at the present time is largely the creature of corporate power. When once this fact is clearly understood, it is very doubtful whether the enormous wealth of the corporations will avail in withstanding the public reaction.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

COME WITH ME INTO BABYLON. A Romantic Historical Novel.

By Josiah M. Ward. Illustrated, cloth, 440 pp. Price, \$1.50.

New York: The Frederick A. Stokes Company.

The valuable work of George Ebers in familiarizing the general readers of Germany—and to a certain degree those of America and other lands—with ancient Egypt, through his interesting and historically accurate novels, has long since been recognized. And now comes an American author with a romance of ancient Babylon that is worthy to rank with "Uarda" or "An Egyptian Princess" by George Ebers.

In this novel the strong romantic interest is only equaled by the vivid picturing of the ancient Orient in the days of Babylon's splendor and Nineveh's doom. The story is quite as strong and perhaps even more historically accurate than "An Egyptian Princess," which, as the reader will remember, also deals largely with Babylonian life, while it is also free from the tragic gloom that envelops Eber's masterpiece.

Mr. Ward opens his story in Babylon, at the time of one of the great religious festivals in which licentious revels eclipse the wanton excesses of certain notorious Grecian cities at the time when Bacchanalian orgies were at their height. The romance turns on the escape and succor of the heroine who had been dedicated to the supreme god, Bel, and on the theft of a priceless amulet worn on the image of the deity. At this time Nineveh had long been invested by the hosts of Babylon and Media. Its downfall was approaching, and the hero, one Prince Talmai, after numerous thrilling adventures in the Mistress of the Euphrates, sets out for the seat of war. The strong arm of the priesthood, well-nigh all-powerful at that day, is extended to crush him. Happily he comes under the protection of the powerful house of the Egibi, the Rothschilds of the age, whose moneys are loaned to all the royal houses throughout the various nations of the Orient and whose power, though less ostensible, is well-nigh as great as that of the priesthood.

The descriptions of Babylon, of Nineveh, and the surrounding countries are given with the greatest minutiae and with strict adherence to historic data. They are not, however, presented in a tedious or wearisome manner; while the atmosphere of that far-away civilization, as we apprehend it from Herodotus and other historians as well as from sacred writers, is preserved in an eminent degree. The reader

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston Mass.

feels that the author has come *en rapport* with those mighty but long-vanished despotisms of the semi-historic past to such a degree that he has been able faithfully to reflect the passion, the strength, the luxury, the glory, the wantonness, the rude valor, the superstitions, and the savagery of the hour, that marked the downfall of the Queen of the Tigris. The thousands who read this book will gain a knowledge of this ancient civilization that has hitherto been a sealed book; and the fidelity of the author to the verities of history gives a great value to a story that is of thrilling interest to lovers of romantic historic literature.

CHARLES KILLBUCK. An Indian Story of the Border Wars of the American Revolution. By Francis C. Huebner. Illustrated, cloth, 315 pp. Washington, D. C.: The Herbert Publishing Company.

A special interest attaches to this novel on account of the hero being an Indian; and the historic pictures are drawn from the viewpoint of a chieftain of the Delaware tribe of Indians. The volume purports to be the memoirs of Charles Killbuck, one of the councilors and the brother of the chief of the Delawares during the American Revolution. The Killbucks, as well as Captain White-Eyes, Captain Pipe, and other leading characters in the story, were important personages in the border wars west of the Alleghanies during the trying and dark days of our struggle for independence.

The author has evidently been at great pains to acquaint himself with every trustworthy historic source of information obtainable; and his knowledge of the legends and traditions of the once great tribe also enables him to enrich and embellish the romance with little-known and highly interesting matter relating to a once mighty race whose glory was already rapidly vanishing even at the time with which the story deals.

At the breaking out of the War of the Revolution the Delawares were located west of the Alleghany Mountains, having previously departed from their well-beloved hunting-grounds in the east. They had come largely under the beneficent influence of the Moravian missionaries; many of them had accepted the Christian religion, and others even of the chieftains and councilors, who had not embraced the strange new belief with its lofty demands and its denunciation of war or the taking of human life, had nevertheless been greatly influenced by the teachings of the missionaries. Among this number were the great old chieftain, Ne-ta-wat-wes, Captain White-Eyes, and Charles and John Killbuck; while Captain Pipe led the warlike wing of the tribe.

After the war broke out the British commander at Detroit made liberal offers to the Indian tribes to go on the war-path against the Americans. This novel deals with the struggle of the English and American wings of the tribe, and with the stirring and bloody days of the war as experienced west of the Alleghanies. The author has

woven into his romance a charming love story, in which the hero, Charles Killbuck, and the Moravian Indian maiden, Benigna, are the leading actors. He also introduces the Acadian Evangeline into the story, whom, it will be remembered, Longfellow refers to as having lived at the Moravian Mission. In our story Evangeline falls ill at the mission, and after some months' delay sets out to join Washington's army in the hope of finding her lover. She is accompanied by Charles Killbuck and several white persons. The meeting with Lafayette and Washington forms one of the most interesting chapters of the story, which from first to last is well written, wholesome, instructive, and unique. It is a valuable acquisition to our literature.

HOLIDAY TALES: CHRISTMAS IN THE ADIRONDACKS.

Containing "How John Norton the Trapper Kept His Christmas" and "John Norton's Vagabond." By W. H. H. Murray. Illustrated. Printed on deckle-edge paper. Bound in plain cloth. Price, \$2.50. Guilford, Ct.: The Adirondack Publication Co.

"Among the hundreds of short stories you have read, is there any one you regard with special interest?" inquired a friend recently, when the short story was the topic of conversation. I replied that to me no tale of the simple life was at once so fascinating, so delicately poetic, so instinct with the finest humane spirit—in a word, at once so interesting and uplifting—as Mr. Murray's "How John Norton the Trapper Kept His Christmas;" and what was more, I had never heard or read a more ennobling sermon.

For many years it has been the custom in my home to read this story aloud each Christmas afternoon or evening. Indeed, it has come to be a feature of the Christmas day, and all members of the home circle look forward with pleasure to the reading. Whenever friends have inquired for some beautiful short story for a gift, I have invariably advised them to purchase this book, feeling that it was a tale that could not fail to delight any one; and I have never known a reader to be disappointed in the story.

During the last year or two, however, several friends have tried in vain to secure the book, for it was said to be out of print. To these, and to all indeed who love the humane, the beautiful, the pure, and the wholesomely interesting in fiction, it will be a pleasure to learn that Mr. Murray has brought out this story together with its companion, "John Norton's Vagabond," in a richly illustrated presentation volume.

These stories vie with each other in interest. Each is a finished piece of literature, rich in humor and pathos; and without any offensive sermonizing they teach the loftiest lessons of kindness, thoughtfulness, and that all-comprehending sympathy which made the life of Jesus so sublime. In a personal letter from Mr. Murray, the author, in referring to these companion stories, recently wrote me as follows:

"The former of these two stories has the record of having been read over 550 times to audiences. The second story was written in response to numerous calls and certain challenges of the press and literary world to write another story as good as the former one. Whenever I read the two in conjunction the vote is about equally divided, but to me the second story is the better one, especially for platform work."

For any one wishing to make an appropriate gift to a friend, I know of no better book than this; and it is a volume that every parent should strive to introduce into his home, even if its purchase entails privation in other directions, for its influence over the young mind cannot fail to be ennobling. It is greatly to be regretted that the very plain binding is not in keeping with the rest of the book.

THE MASTER OF APPLEBY. By Francis Lynde. Illustrated, 581 pp. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company.

To readers who enjoy the stirring romantic novels of the Stanley Weyman school, "The Master of Appleby" will prove highly interesting. It is one of the best written novels of this class that have come from the pen of an American author. The scene lies in the Carolinas during the War of the Revolution. The hero, one John Ireton, the son of a wealthy colonist, had some years previously entered the British army and had risen to the rank of lieutenant, when the news was brought to England that his father had been convicted and hanged for participating in a revolt against the oppressive action of Governor Tryon, and the estate of Appleby, with its large manor house, had been confiscated and given to Gilbert Stair, a creature of Tryon.

Thereupon Ireton threw up his commission and enlisted on the continent of Europe, where he served for nine years, or until after the American Revolution broke out. Returning to his native colony, he is about to enter the American forces when he resents an insult offered to the beautiful daughter of the man who occupies his father's estate. The offensive epithet has been used by a British officer, who in former years had killed in a duel in England Ireton's dearest friend. He is now in America in the king's service, aiding in the attempt to put down the Revolution. A duel follows the insult, in which Ireton is wounded and taken to the home of Gilbert Stair, where he is nursed back to life by Miss Margery. The latter, however, is a pronounced Tory, and, innocent of the character of the British officer and also of the insult cast on her name, she has become greatly impressed by him—so much so that she resents with indignation some disparaging remarks made by Ireton just before he departs from her father's home.

The love-plot of the book is somewhat complicated from the fact that Ireton's dearest and best friend is also in love with the heroine. On his recovery the hero joins the American forces, and from this time forth the action of the story is rapid and dramatic. Events follow events with the swiftness that characterizes all the works of that school

of which Alexander Dumas the elder was the father. The hero is in constant peril, either from his hated rival, his friend who is his rival, or the red-coat soldiery; hence, the reader is kept in painful suspense concerning the outcome until the very end of the volume. The circumstance that his chances for victory are seldom bright and are usually very dark, and that all ends well, gives the work that true melodramatic flavor so highly esteemed by the general novel readers who are enamored of the romantic school. The story is set down in excellent English; the theme, though very conventional, is well handled; and altogether the book is a rather notable addition to this class of novels.

PERFECTING THE EARTH. By C. W. Wooldridge, B.S., M.D.
Cloth, 326 pp. Cleveland, Ohio: Utopia Publishing Company.

This is a thoughtful, well-digested, and highly suggestive work—a Utopian vision that, paradoxical as it may seem, is rigidly practical. The volume purports to have been written several years in advance of the present time. At the opening of the narrative the nation is confronted with the problem of utilizing a large standing army in a time of profound peace. The soldiers were drilled in the art of obedience to superiors; they were able bodied and well capable of aiding in upbuilding the nation and of adding wonderfully to the general wealth and prosperity as well as to the happiness of society and their own well-being. Heretofore their work had been that of slaying men, rendering wives widows and children orphans, destroying homes, burning villages, and laying waste the fruit of generations of toil and industry. But, now that the wars were over, the government realized that to turn this immense army loose upon the nation without any occupation would prove calamitous, in that it would greatly swell the army of out-of-works and as a result would rapidly increase beggary, want, and crime. Yet for the nation to carry the enormous burden that would be necessary to support these men in comparative idleness would be a double curse—a crushing load to industry and a source of degradation and danger to the government; as no fact in history is better proved than that idleness is one of the most fruitful sources of moral degeneration, while a large standing army has ever proved the bulwark of despotism and the death of freedom.

With this perplexing problem confronting the nation, a man arose equal to the emergency—a General Goodwill by name. He was endowed with the broad vision of a true statesman, which contrasted strongly with the mental and moral liliputians who to-day fill the legislative halls and administrative circles and who start up affrighted at every proposition made that would benefit all the people, but who on the other hand advocate the most iniquitous measures devised for the purpose of enriching the few by the exploitation of the many. He was first of all a big-hearted, sane man, and next a natural general whose

large mental capabilities had been developed by study and independent thought.

General Goodwill proposed to take the idle army for a term of years and by its aid build for it and for the nation mighty cities amid plains of fruitfulness, where to-day extend dry and arid expanses. He would transform the sterile plateaus of the Rockies and the barren expanses of the southern part of California into great gardens, grain fields, and orchards, producing a large part of the real wealth required by the nation. The book tells how this great work was done: how from the frowning, desolate, and barren deserts and tenantless plateaus there arose lordly cities and splendid centers of life, beauty, prosperity, and happiness as jewels in the midst of plains as fruitful as were the ancient valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris ere the overthrow of those kingdoms and the subsequent destruction of the vast irrigation systems by which those desert lands had been made gardens of plenty.

The author has gone into the most detailed account of the way in which the transformation was achieved, much as an architect would draw plans and make specifications, as he describes minutely the building of everything, from the great public edifices that adorn the splendid parks to the stables for live stock and the houses for poultry. So also has he depicted with the utmost minuteness the building of the great reservoirs and aqueducts and the making of the mighty canals necessary to the vast system of irrigation, which wrought changes as wonderful as the transformation scenes of the Arabian Nights, but which, indeed, have been accomplished at various periods from the remotest past.

This fidelity to detail will detract from the interest of the book for those who care only for a pleasant social vision; but for the rapidly growing army of thoughtful people who are determined that the age of blood and brutality, the era of injustice and savagery, shall give place to an epoch of coöperation and social amelioration it will prove a valuable help, not merely as a working model but because it is so rich in practical suggestions.

It is a book that merits wide circulation among social reformers, especially those interested in the reclamation of the arid regions. The more such books are circulated, the sooner will the great peaceful and fundamental revolution be achieved that heralds the age of brotherhood and the ultimate federation of the world.

THE SPIRITUAL OUTLOOK. By Willard Chamberlain Selleck.
Cloth, 349 pp. Price, \$1 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

This is one of the most thoughtful and inspiring works we have read in years. The author sweeps the religious horizon of our time from Catholicism to Christian Science, and discusses the lights and shadows of the numerous attempts of the various faiths to find the All-Father. It is, however, singular that a man of the breadth of thought, tolerance, and thoughtfulness of Mr. Selleck should omit to

notice the influence of Modern Spiritualism on the religious thought of the age. A movement that has won such giant intellects as Alfred Russel Wallace, Sir William Crookes, Professor Varley, Professor William Denton, and other scientists from materialism to a pronounced belief in a future life, and that moreover fascinated and held under its spell such rare intellects as Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Alice and Phoebe Cary, William and Mary Howett, Gerald Massey, James G. Clark, and a host of other poet natures, and that furthermore convinced men like William Lloyd Garrison, Professor Joseph Rodes Buchanan, Judge Edmonds, Victorien Sardou, Camille Flammarion, and scores of others of the world's illustrious sons, surely deserves the attention of a thinker who seeks sympathetically to interpret the vital forces that are at work for the furtherance of faith, hope, and love in the world to-day.

With this exception, however, the work is very fine. The author will impress many as holding rather rose-colored views concerning the good qualities of some of the various sects, faiths, and communions, but on the whole his spirit and temper are judicial, fair, and impartial. Mr. Selleck is an optimist among optimists—rather too much so, perhaps; but such thinkers are sorely needed to neutralize and equalize the strong materialistic, cynical, and pessimistic currents in the intellectual world of the present day.

The volume contains eleven chapters besides the introduction, in which are discussed: "Roman Catholicism as a Factor in Modern Civilization"; "The Contribution of Protestantism to Spiritual and Social Progress"; "The Spiritual Influence of Modern Education"; "The Present Stage of Theological Progress"; "The Place of Christianity Among the World's Religions, and the Meaning of Christian Missions"; "The Spiritual Significance of Christian Science"; "The Influence of Universalism and Unitarianism"; "Current Ethical Standards, and the Needed Moral Emphasis in Religious Teaching"; "The Spiritual Element in Social Service"; "Christian Coöperation, or the New Alignment of the Churches," and "The Outlook for Spiritual Religion."

It is a good book—a work that should be in the library of every broad-minded thinker.

KULOSKAP THE MASTER AND OTHER ALGONKIN POEMS.

Translated metrically by Charles Godfrey Leland and John Dyneley Prince. Illustrated, cloth, 370 pp. Price, \$2 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

This work, which is typographically a superb volume reflecting great credit on the publishers, contains the Indian legends relating to Kulóskap, the hero and demi-god of the Algonkin Indians. The book is divided into four cantos and a collection of miscellaneous legends. The first canto deals with the creation myths; the second treats of the

Master's kindness to man; the third deals with the Master and the animals, and the fourth is concerned with the Master and the sorcerers.

The authors have endeavored not only to collect and preserve for future generations the principal legends, myths, and wonder stories of the chief Indian tribes of northeastern America, but to give them to the English reader in the simple metrical form, or lack of form, that characterized the original. This desire to be literal in form and expression is, we think, a distinct disadvantage to the work. Of course, it was of first importance that the subject-matter be retained in its absolute verity, but, if the legends had been thrown into the musical and rhythmic numbers of Longfellow's "Hiawatha," the work, instead of reflecting the Indian immaturity, crudity, and simplicity of form and style, would have been lifted above puerility and have been endowed with a charm that would have held the reader's interest. As it is, the legends are presented in so infantile a form that they are often tedious and devoid of interest to all save those desiring information. Either straight prose or rhythmic verse would have invested the volume with an interest and charm that is now wholly lacking. Besides, one cannot help feeling that the translators in attempting to translate the Indian legend might frequently have been happier in phraseology. Thus such a term as "blooming bachelor" in the following is typical of numerous expressions that detract from the dignity of the work. In the following lines the reader will find also a fair illustration of the style and character of the verses that constitute the volume. They represent the great lord, Kulóskap, being conquered by a babe after he had subdued all his enemies—

"Grim witches, devils, goblins, cannibals,
And the dark demons of the forest shade."

He is bemoaning his fate, left with nothing else to conquer, when a woman tells him there is yet one whom he has failed to subdue:

"And who is he?" inquired the Lord, amazed.
"It is the mighty Wa'sis," she replied:
"And there he sits before you on the floor!
And mark my words—if you do trouble him,
He'll cause you greater trouble in the end!"

Now Wa'sis was the Baby. And he sat
Upon the floor, in baby peace profound
Sucking a piece of maple sugar sweet;
Greatly content and troubling nobody.

Now as the mighty Lord of Men and Beasts
Had never married, nor had had a child,
The art of nursing or of managing
Such little ones was all unknown to him;
And therefore he was sure, as all such folk
Invariably are, be they or maids
Or blooming bachelors, that he at least
Knew all about it and would have his way,
And make the young obey him. So the Lord
Turned to the babe with a bewitching smile,

And bade the little creature come to him;
Back smiled the baby, but it did not budge.

And then the Master spoke in sweeter tone,
Making his voice like that of summer birds,
And all to no avail; for Wa'sis sat,
And sucking at his sugar silently,
Looked at Kulóskap with untroubled eyes.

So then the Lord as in great anger frowned,
And ordered Wa'sis in an awful voice
To crawl to him at once. And baby burst
Into wild tears, and high he raised his voice
Unto a squall tremendous—yet for all
Did never move an inch from where he sat.

Then, since he could do only one thing more,
The Master had recourse to sorcery
And used the awful spells, and sang the songs
Which raise the dead and scare the devils wild
And send the witches howling to their graves,
And make the forest pines bend low to earth.
And Wa'sis looked at him admiringly
And seemed to find it interesting, quite;
Yet, peacefully, as ever kept his place.

So, in despair, Kulóskap gave it up,
And Wa'sis, ever sitting on the floor
In the warm sunshine, went "Goo! goo!" and crowed;
That was his infant crow of victory.

Now to this very day, whene'er you see
A baby well contented, crying "Goo!"
Or crowing in this style, know that it is
Because he then remembers in great joy
How he in strife, all in the olden time,
Did overcome the Master, conqueror
Of all the world. For that, of creatures all,
Or beings which on earth have ever been
Since the beginning, Baby is alone
The never yielding and invincible.

The chief value of the work for students lies in its fidelity to the original in spirit and letter. It is authoritative and reflects the childhood dreams, myths, and wonder tales of the various Algonkin tribes with photographic verity. The translators both stand high in the literary world, and each has made a specialty of the study of Indian lore. The volume is illustrated with a fine color frontispiece, ten unique tracings after Indian birch-bark designs, and text illustrations.

THE HISTORY AND POWER OF MIND. By Richard Ingalese.
Cloth, 288 pp. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: The Occult Book Concern.

Here is a work that all fearless thinkers interested in the metaphysical movement of our time should peruse. It is a book evincing marked

ability, broad in scope and spirit, while the subject is treated in a dignified philosophic manner that cannot fail to appeal to intellectual people. It is very bold and often startling in its theories and explanations. Though it is, I think, one of the most philosophic of the late metaphysical works, one of its chief excellences lies in its lucidity. It frankly appeals to the reason and at no time seeks to hide paucity of thought and ideas in involved and ambiguous phraseology or delphic utterances that might mean anything or nothing.

The author's thought is largely tinged with the mysticism of the Orient, and many readers will fail to follow him at all times, feeling that perchance too high a value has been placed on the deductions of the austere mystics of India. Yet he does not yield to much that is taught by these scholars and natural mystics. He is preëminently an Occidental thinker—a man of reason as well as an idealist. He insists on proving all things and accepting that which experience demonstrates to be true. He believes as firmly as does any physical scientist in the omnipotence of Law, and he goes much further than does the materialist in insisting that occult and metaphysical laws not only can be known and the benefits dependent upon their knowledge realized, but also that this knowledge is possessed and is being practised by a large number of deeply thoughtful students.

In this volume the author attempts clearly to explain the nature of mind and the laws under which it operates. He shows how mind attracts to itself whatever it dwells upon. Most people, he holds, are unconsciously putting into operation the occult forces of Nature, but are doing it ignorantly; and, not knowing the underlying laws, they receive little of the benefits that might be realized, and sometimes they are positively injured by the very things that if understood would result in great blessings to them and others. Clearly to explain these laws, so that each reader may consciously and intelligently use the cosmic forces, is the chief aim of the volume. Not only disease, but business success, may according to our author be greatly influenced by the attitude of the mind and a knowledge of the latent mental powers in the individual.

The book contains twelve chapters, devoted to the discussion of the following subjects: "Mind: Its Past, Present, and Future"; "Divine Mind: Its Nature and Manifestation"; "Dual Mind and Its Origin"; "The Art of Self-Control"; "The Law of Reëmbodiment"; "Colors of Thought Vibration"; "Meditation, Creation, and Concentration"; "Lesser Occult or Psychic Forces and Their Dangers"; "Hypnotism and How to Guard Against It"; "Higher Occult or Spiritual Forces and Their Uses"; "Cause and Cure of Disease," and "The Law of Opulence."

TWO CHARMING BOOKS FOR CHILDREN.

THE LITTLE LADY: HER BOOK. By Albert Bigelow Paine. Illustrated, cloth, 315 pp. Price, \$1. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

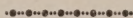
FOLLY IN FAIRYLAND. By Carolyn Wells. Illustrated, cloth, 261 pp. Price, \$1. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

I.

In "The Little Lady," Mr. Paine has given us one of those sweet, simple stories of small child life that will delight children while doing them good. Such books do for the mind of the child what a vacation in the woodland, by crystal streams and flower-decked banks, does for the physical body of the young. It is poetic and idealistic, yet natural and thoroughly wholesome; while it is so winsome, so charming throughout, that it cannot fail to be a delight to every child fortunate enough to possess it.

II.

In "Folly in Fairyland," Carolyn Wells has again demonstrated her power in appealing to the tastes of childhood. Almost all children love fairy tales; and what little one has not heard of Cinderella, Aladdin, Jack the Giant-Killer, Puss-in-Boots, Little Red Riding-Hood, and scores of other interesting little personalities that make up the time-honored literature of childhood? And in this book little Folly, transformed for the nonce into a fairy, visits or beholds all the fascinating personages of the story-book world, now living in the land of the fairies. Like Mr. Paine's book, this is a delightful volume, and one that will be treasured by children, who will never weary of reading or hearing the tales of the wonderful adventures of "Folly in Fairyland."



BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Child Culture." By N. N. Riddell. Cloth, 130 pp. Price, 65 cents. Chicago: Child of Light Pub. Co.

"Francezka." By Molly Elliott Sewall. Illustrated, cloth, 466 pp. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company.

"Corneille and the Spanish Drama." By J. H. Segall, Ph.D. Cloth, 147 pp. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

"The Spirit of the Ghetto." By Hutchins Hapgood. Illustrated by Jacob Epstein. Cloth, 312 pp. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

"The New Life." By Leroy Berrier. Cloth, 126 pp. Price, \$1.00. Published by the author at 2301 Farnam St., Davenport, Iowa.

"The Life and Adventures of Santa Claus." By L. Frank Baum. Illustrated in colors. Ornamental cloth, 206 pp. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE Twenty-ninth Volume of THE ARENA begins this month with a characteristic feature—a symposium in which a subject of vital public interest is considered, from five different viewpoints, by students and thinkers in every way qualified for the clear presentation of its varying aspects. All the contributors are widely known as authorities on questions relating to industry, economics, and sociology, and Mr. Williams is leader of the radical wing of the Democratic party in New England. While these writers reach somewhat different conclusions on minor points, the fact is noteworthy that they are a unit in denunciation of the private ownership of Nature's coal deposits. This fundamental iniquity is properly regarded as the supreme "lesson" of the great strike; and the current revelations of President Roosevelt's Coal Commission are affording daily and clinching testimony to the correctness of the position taken in our symposium, while the prevailing fuel famine is forcing thousands of people to think for the first time along similar lines.

In connection with this opening feature, Mr. E. S. Wicklin's paper on "Labor and the Trusts" is of unique interest and significance. Ripe in years and experience, this writer is well known throughout the West as a student of the Labor question; and the trend of political events would indicate that, no matter what form pending Trust legislation may take, *dissolution* of the great "conspiracies in restraint of trade" is the remotest possibility. His suggestion that organized labor should avail itself of the Trust principle and method is novel and contains food for reflection, though its acceptance as a final solution of the problem is open to debate.

A proposition of very different tenor is contained in Leopold Katscher's article, entitled "A Unique Labor Experiment," which was received over a year ago from Budapest. Since the paper was written, we are informed, the eight-hour day has been introduced in all departments of the great Zeiss institution,

and with surprising success to all concerned, there being a marked increase in both output and earnings.

An able discussion of the Labor problem from the pen of Horace Mann, M.S., is in preparation for our February number.

The Rev. Otto L. Dreys, who contributes an essay this month on "The Preacher as a Leader of Men," is one of the new school of progressive young clergymen of the West. His denomination is the Methodist, but his liberalism is of a kind and degree that would startle Wesley and may have the effect of inducing the conservatives among his co-religionists to consider the demands of modern progress apart from theological limitations.

We are pleased to present in this issue an article on the Philippine situation by Rebecca J. Taylor—the Washington young woman who was dismissed by Secretary Root from the service of the War Department because, in the exercise of that freedom of speech which is one of the constitutional guaranties of American citizenship, she expressed views in print that happened to oppose a current governmental policy. This tendency toward arbitrary rulings in the Departments at Washington, often in defiance of civil service and statutory laws and regulations, is ominous of a departure from republican principles that voters should consider. Apropos of this, an authoritative article on "Postal Reform" will be published in an early number of THE ARENA.

Editor Flower's valuable series on "The Divine Quest" is concluded this month. His next two essays will deal with Mazzini—the first giving a sketch of his life and the second analyzing his message.

The papers by Justice Walter Clark and Miss Marie Merri-
rick, announced for publication this month, were received too late for insertion; but they will appear in our February number, together with the following: "A School of Civics," by the Rev. Adolph Roeder; "American Literature and the High Schools," by John M. Berdan, Ph.D.; "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark," by Axel Emil Gibson; "Marriage and Divorce," by Henry F. Harris; "Psychology and Crime," by Frank Emory Lyon, Ps.D., and "Agrarian Revival," by Col. Wm. Hemstreet, whose remarkable article in our December issue attracted very wide attention.

J. E. M.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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THE ATTACK ON VENEZUELA.

BEFORE the present article reaches the reader a satisfactory settlement of the differences between Venezuela and her execution creditors may have been reached, or, at any rate, it is to be hoped that it will. However that may be, there have been developed certain phases in the transaction that are of permanent interest from the standpoint of international law and politics. There is, in the first place, the question that always arises when the same party or parties assume the rôle of complainant, judge, and executioner. While this is not permitted by municipal law, it is still permitted by international law. In this, as in certain other respects, the ethics of international law trails behind that of municipal law. Another instance of the lower code of ethics prevailing in international law is the effect of duress upon contracts: a contract between individuals is vitiated by duress, while a treaty, which is a contract between sovereign States, is not so affected.

The reason for the different standards applied to private and to international actions in these cases is to be found in the practical difficulties in the way of applying the same standard. If treaties of peace were held to be voidable upon the ground of duress, how many treaties of peace would be considered binding? So also unscrupulous governments would indulge in wholesale oppression of foreign residents and the confiscation

of their property if the rights of these residents could in no case be enforced by the country to which they owe allegiance. So far as I can find, Calvo is the only great international law writer who contends that the foreign residents of a country should have no recourse except to the courts of that country. According to this view of what should be international law, if the courts, along with the other branches of the government, become venal, the foreign resident is left without protection. This would inevitably result in large tracts of territory, nay, even some of the continents, being left undeveloped for centuries to come—because thrift, industry, and enterprise are wanting in their own citizens, and foreigners possessing these characteristics would not enter such countries if the protection of their own flag did not follow them. On the other hand, it is difficult to approve a provision of international law that violates the principle of the equality of all sovereign States in that it gives to the more powerful State a right that, as a matter of fact, cannot be exercised by the weaker ones.

As a general proposition, a law may be considered bad that is particularly susceptible to abuse in its exercise; and this is especially true of the law under consideration. For, when the appeal to force has once been made and man becomes again the human wolf, the law of the strongest is quite naturally substituted for all other codes; because it is in the very nature of man that when the circulation is quickened by conflict, when the boom of cannon and the flash of bayonet send the hot blood to the brain of the collector, the maxims of equity are swallowed up in the zeal for victory—and acts are committed that were never contemplated before the struggle begins, that would not have been resorted to against an equal or against a weaker State except in the heat of conflict, and that cannot be justified when the struggle is over and the parties have returned to a judicial frame of mind.

As between sanctioning a rule that would encourage irresponsibility on the part of one class of States and one that tends toward tyranny on the part of another class, it seems to us that there is middle ground—arbitration. This would at least be

an equitable as well as a practical method of determining upon the validity and the amount of the claims; and, as for the enforcing of the award, the objection that the arbitration tribunal could not compel payment seems to us to have more theoretical than practical force, inasmuch as solvent States would not, except in very rare cases, refuse to carry out the terms of an award—and as against insolvent States even force is impotent.

But the present controversy has raised not only the question of the rights of debtor and creditor, *i.e.*, of the parties to the quarrel, but also the rights of neutrals. This latter question grows out of the character of the blockade. If, as first announced, the blockade was to be wholly a pacific one, then the commerce of neutrals could not be interfered with. The operation would be confined exclusively to the ships of Venezuela and those of the allies. To us it seems that a pacific blockade is as much a contradiction in terms as would be *friendly hostilities*. A blockade is manifestly a war measure, regardless of any formal declaration of war. It is an appeal to force—an interference with the intercourse of a State not compatible with the coexistence of friendly relations. The frank statement of Premier Balfour that “war exists” between Venezuela and the allies not only cleared the atmosphere in the present controversy, but will no doubt go a long way toward putting an end to the use of the term “pacific blockade” as descriptive of any situation known to international law. During the continuance of the blockade not only Venezuela but neutrals will suffer because of the interruption of their commerce; and in this respect the United States is especially concerned, as her trade with Venezuela is greater than that of all other neutrals combined, and is equal to that of England, Germany, and France, our closest three competitors. Our relatively large share in the trade of Venezuela is to be accounted for in large part from the fact that we have in the Red D Steamship Line direct communication between our ports and those of Venezuela, while with several of the other South American countries we are at a disadvantage as regards transportation,

But there is involved not merely the question of debtor and creditor and the commerce of neutrals: the proceedings involve the more delicate question of the character and application of the Monroe Doctrine. Up to the present time the Monroe Doctrine has not been a part of international law—it has been simply a political policy of the United States; and, no matter how often this policy were reiterated by the United States, such reiteration would not make it a part of international law. It is not within the province of any one State to make international law: the consent of other nations is a necessary element in order to convert a national policy into a principle of international law. Yet has not the recognition of the Monroe Doctrine by England, Germany, and Italy, and their pledges not to violate it by the seizure and occupation of territory in Venezuela, changed said Doctrine from merely a national policy to a recognized principle of international law?

If not, why not? That the recognition was made reluctantly does not alter the effect. Neither does it matter that it was not made in a conference or congress of the nations: a great many of the now well-recognized principles of international law have originated outside of any conference or congress, and have never been formally sanctioned by them. In reply to the objection that it has not been unanimously recognized, and hence is not entitled to be considered as a principle of international law, we would say that very few principles of international law ever have received unanimous recognition. Even the principles enunciated at the Paris conference in 1856 have never been recognized as binding by the United States, Mexico, and Spain; yet few would contend that they are not part of international law. It may be asked what difference it makes whether the Monroe Doctrine is a principle of international law or a national policy, since it must in the ultimate analysis be maintained, if maintained at all, by force. There is this difference, which seems to us a substantial one: If it is a principle of international law the nation failing or refusing to respect it is a violator of law, and no reputable nation is anxious to acquire a reputation as a lawbreaker; while if

it is simply a national policy there is no such obligation to respect it.

As to the application of the Monroe Doctrine, the present controversy has thrown considerable light, in that it has defined it, negatively at least, as not being a shield for the purpose of enabling any nation to escape paying its just debts. It is unfortunate that there should ever have been any hope entertained that it would be so used.

It is now probable that the strife between England, Germany, and Italy and Venezuela—three whales and a wildcat—will be ended by a submission of the whole matter to arbitration. This will be doubly fortunate, as it will not only put an end to a disagreeable situation, but will also constitute a very strong and valuable precedent for the settlement of similar controversies in the future. The part played by the United States has been a very diplomatic and creditable one; it has rendered valuable service to all parties concerned. Especial credit is due to Minister Bowen for the energy, wisdom, and statesmanship he has shown in the performance of the delicate tasks intrusted to him by all parties. To him has been given an exceptional opportunity for rendering valuable service, and he has shown himself equal to the emergency.

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PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

IN 1894 the Department of the Interior in Washington used the Bell telephone at a total cost of \$75 per 'phone. In 1895 the Government put in its own 'phones and the cost of the service proved to be but \$10.25—interest, depreciation, and all. After a few years the Bell concluded to give the Department reasonable rates, down close to the cost as proved by the government experiment (all the way down, perhaps, considering the distance facilities of the Bell service), and the Department went back to the Bell 'phones to get the wider service.

When the French government took the telephone in 1889, rates were at once reduced in round numbers from \$120 to \$80 in Paris, and from \$80 to \$40 in other places, except Lyons; and the charge in Paris has recently been reduced to \$60.

Public operation of the telegraph in England reduced rates at once 30 to 50 per cent., and in Switzerland public ownership and control of railroads, express companies, telegraphs, and telephones is said to have "reduced the freight rates, express charges, and tolls more than 78 per cent. below the cost for like service under private control."

When Syracuse, N. Y., changed from private to public ownership of the water supply, the family rate was reduced from \$10 to \$5. In Auburn, the rate was reduced from \$8 to \$6 when the plant was made public. In Randolph the private rate proposed was \$10, but the town built the works and made the charge \$4. Taking the whole United States, the charges of private water companies are 43 per cent. more per family than the charges of public plants, according to M. N. Baker, of New York, the editor of the *Manual of American Water Works* and the highest authority on the subject in the country.

When Hamilton, O., entered upon public operation of gas works the price was reduced from \$2 to \$1 per thousand feet. Pittsburg pays a private company \$1.20 and \$1 net, while in Wheeling, near by, the public works supply gas at 75 cents a thousand and 56 cents net (the actual cost to the people considering operation, fixed charges, and profits).

Topeka with a public plant gets her electric light at a cost of \$60 per arc—interest, depreciation, and all; while Fort Wayne, with about the same number of lights and similar service, pays \$120 an arc to a private company. Little Rock, Ark., makes her own light for \$51 per arc, while New Bedford, Mass., under substantially equivalent conditions, pays \$138 per arc to a private company. Peabody, Mass., has reduced the cost of electric light from \$185 to \$73 per arc by public ownership; Elgin, Ill., from \$228 to \$65; Detroit from \$132 to \$73 per standard arc. And these are only a few out of many cases that could be cited.

Public ownership and operation of street railways in Glasgow reduced the hours of labor about $\frac{1}{3}$, raised wages, lowered fares at once about 33 per cent. (the average fare is below 2 cents and over 35 per cent. of the fares are 1 cent each), greatly improved the service, doubled the traffic in about two years, brought down the operating cost and fixed charges so that the city makes as much profit per passenger on an average fare of 1.78 cents as the private company said it made on an average fare of 3.84 cents, and turned several hundred thousand dollars of profit into the public treasury. The 5-cent fare in our larger cities is much too high. Responsible parties have offered to operate street railways in Chicago on a 3-cent fare, and in Detroit on a 3-cent single fare with 40 tickets for \$1, taking the whole railway system of the city and paying interest on the cost of its acquirement.

One of the most striking examples of the difference between public and private ownership is to be found in a comparison of the charges on the bridge in St. Louis owned by the Goulds and those on the bridge owned by the cities of New York and Brooklyn:

CHARGES FOR CROSSING.

<i>Private Bridge.</i>	<i>Municipal Bridge.</i>
St. Louis Bridge (cost \$13,000,000, bought by Gould interests for \$5,000,000).	Brooklyn Bridge (cost \$15,000,000).
On steam cars 25 to 75 cents per passenger.	On L roads 3 cents (2 fares for 5 cents) if you simply wish to cross the bridge— if you come from a distance or are going beyond the bridge it costs nothing to cross it either in the L cars or the surface cars—the ordinary carfare takes you over without extra charge.
Street-car fare 10 cents, 5 cents for bridge.	
Foot passengers 5 cents.	Foot passengersFree.
Vehicles, one horse...25 cents.	Vehicles, one horse.... 5 cents.
Vehicles, two horse...35 cents.	Vehicles, two horses...10 cents.
Bicycles10 cents.	BicyclesFree.

The net earnings of the St. Louis bridge are $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions a year, or 25 per cent. on the Gould investment, and 12 per cent. on the impairable capital (the excavating of the tunnels, etc., will never have to be done over again). The St. Louis charges may be objected to, not only as extortionate, but as discriminating. A passenger who buys a ticket in New York or Philadelphia to St. Louis or beyond has to pay 75 cents for crossing the bridge; whereas if he buys a ticket to East St. Louis and then crosses the bridge in a railroad train it will cost him only 25 cents, or 10 cents if he crosses on a street-car. The St. Louis bridge is managed for private profit; the Brooklyn Bridge is managed for public service, the aim being to make the bridge as useful to the people as possible.

A normal public plant gravitates to a lower rate level than a normal private plant, because the latter aims at profit while the former aims at service, and the rate level for the greatest service is much lower than the rate level for the largest profits. Moreover, public ownership under good management is able to achieve many absolute economies, not merely making lower rates but producing at lower cost and saving industrial force. Some of the reasons for the great economies effected by public ownership are as follows:

1. Public ownership has no lobby expenses or corruption funds to provide for.
2. Nor any dividends on watered stock to pay.
3. Nor overgrown salaries or monopolistic profits.
4. Nor heavy litigation expenses and lawyers' fees.
5. It saves on interest and insurance.
6. It gains through the coördination of services, the civic interest of the people, and the higher efficiency of better-paid and more contented labor.
7. It does not have to bear the burden of costly strikes and lockouts.
8. It saves the cost of numerous regulative commissions and endless investigations into secrets of private monopoly.
9. The diffusion of wealth and the elevation of labor accompanying public ownership tend to diminish the extent and the cost of the criminal and defective classes.
10. The elimination of conflict and antagonism carries with it the cost of all the useless activities prompted by that antagonism. Legislation would cost us less, for example, were it not for the private monopolies, for a large part of the time and attention of our legislators is given to them.

Great as are the benefits of the low rates secured by public ownership, there are other and still more weighty reasons in its favor:

1. *Justice.* The outrageous discriminations in freight rates etc., that have done so much to injure honest farmers, merchants, and manufacturers and to build up the most objectionable trusts, could not exist under real public ownership of the roads. Another injustice would also vanish: the taxation without representation, and for private purposes, which the private monopolies levy upon us through excessive rates—a taxation by the side of which King George's efforts were insignificant decrepitudes.

2. *Good Government.* It is matter of common knowledge

that the great private monopolies constitute the most corrupting influence in our politics to-day. The public ownership of monopolies will remove that influence. It is not the public water-works but the private gas-works and street railways, not the post-office but the telegraph, telephones, and railroads that maintain the lobbies that infest our legislative halls.

3. *Democracy.* Public Ownership does not merely favor democracy: public ownership *is* democracy in industry, and democracy in industry is essential to real democracy in political life. Vast inequalities in wealth beget vast inequalities in political power. A man with nothing is not the political equal of a man with two hundred millions. Our railway monarchs, sugar kings, oil emperors, telegraph princes, telephone earls, coal magnates, beef barons, and other lords of industry and potentates of the market constitute as real an aristocracy as any that ruled in the olden time. The Federal Constitution carefully provides against titles of nobility. We are guarded against the shadow of aristocracy, but the substance of it,—the overgrown power of a few individuals, the power of a few to control for their selfish purposes the lives of many,—that we have not escaped. Public ownership and coöperative industry will do for industrial affairs what our constitutions are intended to accomplish for political affairs, and send the new aristocracy of wealth to dwell with the old aristocracy of birth.

4. *Manhood.* Public ownership aids the development of manhood by improving the conditions of labor, by increasing the interest of the people in public affairs—so leading to a deeper civic patriotism and a nobler citizenship—and most of all by changing the ideals of men and youth. The ideal of private business is profit; the ideal of public business is service. Every change from private to public ownership means a change of purpose from private profit to public service, from dividends for a few to service for all. It is a step away from the commercialism that is the great defect of our time—a step toward the coöperative ideal of a union of all for the service of all. It is a change in the relationships of men from mastery and

conflict to the far nobler relationship of partnership under the protection of which may be evolved a fuller degree of devotion, the noblest relation of all, the mutualistic relation in which each seeks the good of others from motives of sympathy and love.

It must be noted that *public ownership and government ownership are not synonymous*. Russia has government ownership of railroads, but there is no public ownership of railroads in Russia because the people do not own the government. Philadelphia has not had real public ownership of gas-works because the people do not own the councils. Where legislative power is perverted to private purposes, where the spoils system prevails and the offices are treated as private property, where government is managed in the interests of a few individuals or of a class, anything that is in the control of the government is *really* private property, although it may be *called* public property. If councils and legislatures are masters instead of the people, they are likely to use the streets and franchises for private gain instead of the public good. If the government is a private monopoly, everything in the hands of the government is a private monopoly also. At the heart of all our philosophy about the public ownership of monopolies lies the necessity for public ownership of the government. The monopoly of making and administering the law underlies all the rest. If the people are to own and operate water-works, street-railways, and other industrial monopolies, they must own and operate the government. Public ownership of the government is necessary to trustworthy public ownership of any other industry; wherefore direct legislation, civil service reform, and direct nominations by the voters (through which alone the people can thoroughly own and operate the government) must form a part of every true plan for the public ownership of monopolies.

Looking at the question historically there can be no doubt that industrial democracy—that is, public ownership and co-operative industry—will be attained. In every department of life the trend of history has been first toward concentration

and afterward toward diffusion. Organization, leadership, despotism, democracy—that has been the history of religion and politics and it will be the history of industry. Luther's Reformation was a revolt against despotism in religion, and an effort to establish liberty and democracy in religious thought and action. The grand political movement that has swept over the civilized world in our own age is the revolt against political despotism and the effort to establish political democracy. Individual aggrandizement has now taken refuge in the industrial world, and a new revolt is already in progress that must in the end establish industrial democracy and emancipate the nations from the despotism of wealth.

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THE LABOR PROBLEM.

THE problems of civilization, governmentally and industrially, are those of association and freedom. The earlier forms assumed were those of governmental despotism and industrial slavery. These forms have been changed—sometimes by the gradual and almost imperceptible process of evolution, and at other times, when the natural process of evolution has been retarded by the opposition of those enjoying a monopoly of governmental or industrial position and abusing their privilege, the changes have been so sudden as to be known as governmental revolution or industrial emancipation. The founding of the American nation was a revolution to establish political equality, and our Civil War was an industrial revolution to abolish the ownership of human beings as “property.” The modern “Labor Movement” is to establish equality of economic opportunity, or to abolish the ownership of the workingman’s opportunity to work as “property;” and as it progresses it assumes an ever-increasing public importance and interest.

Recognizing this fact, Congress passed an act, approved by the President on June 18, 1898, “authorizing the appointment of a non-partizan commission to collate information and to consider and recommend legislation to meet the problems presented by labor, agriculture, and capital.” This act defined the duties of the commission specifically, “to investigate questions pertaining to immigration, to labor, to agriculture, to manufacturing, and to business, and to report to Congress and to suggest such legislation as it may deem best upon these subjects,” and also “that it shall furnish such information and suggest such laws as may be made a basis for uniform legislation by the various States of the Union, in order to harmonize conflicting interests and to be equitable to the laborer, the employer, the producer, and the consumer.” The final report of this com-

mission was submitted to Congress in February, 1902, and in discussing the causes of strikes and lockouts in this report the commission says: "The fundamental causes of labor disputes lie deep in the present organization of society. . . . So long as the classes of employers and employees exist, there will be strikes and lockouts. . . ." Those two sentences contain a key to the solution of the "Labor Problem." Observe there are two "*classes*" named, with the assertion that as long as they exist "there will be strikes and lockouts." The inevitable conclusion is that, in order to make an end to all strikes, it will be necessary to remove the cause, which is, as stated, the "present organization of society" into these two "*classes*."

Granting that the above diagnosis of the case by the commission is the true one, it is evident from a further perusal of their report that they devoted much time and space to discussion largely irrelevant. For example, in discussing the economic effects of strikes, the report says: "The most powerful indictment that can be brought against strikes is that which charges them with being economically wasteful and injurious to society." But evidently this is not an indictment against strikes at all, but an indictment of the present organization of society into "*classes*"—the *cause of strikes*. To call it an indictment against strikes is like indicting the innocent purchaser of stolen goods and letting the thief go unpunished. Or, to use another illustration, if a man discovered that the water of a well contained typhoid germs, and then used it for drinking purposes and bewailed the outbreak of fever in his family, we would almost question his sanity, to say nothing of his sagacity. What opinion, then, must we hold concerning those who, having discovered the cause of a social disease, enlarge upon the seriousness of varied aspects of the malady instead of counseling the avoidance of the cause?

The "Labor Problem," then, is: How shall the cause of strikes be removed? Let us inquire, first, what are the "conflicting interests" that the legislation specified as a duty of the industrial commission to suggest is to "harmonize?" We find the answer in this subdivision heading their report—"Profits

and Wages." Over these is the irrepressible conflict between Capital and Labor—irrepressible until Labor wins the day, or until *ownership of the opportunity to work* as well as ownership of the worker has ceased to be a means of obtaining the worker's product for his subsistence. The discussion of this subject in the commission's report is very superficial. It says: "The problem of profits and wages must be considered under two separate and wholly distinct aspects. The first question has to do with the share of the product of industry going to labor as compared with the share going to owners of capital, land, monopolies, etc." It is evident that the larger the "share" going to labor as "*wages*" the smaller will be the "share" going to monopolists as "*profits*." Consequently, when wages are a maximum, profits will be zero; or, to reward every one according to his labor means simply the abolition of "*profits*," and making all exchanges equivalent mutual services.

In order to have "free competition" it is necessary that both choice of occupation and opportunity to exchange should be open to every one. The present condition is one of almost universal monopoly. A man is free to choose his occupation, provided he can get a job in that occupation. Trade-unions attempt to combat this monopoly condition by limiting the number of persons entering a trade, whereas supply and demand and individual choice should be a natural limit to the number of persons following any occupation. In coal mining the organization of the miners has been a recent development, and we see the result of non-organization—wages fixed by the lowest possible limit of subsistence. On the other hand, owing to the monopoly of the coal fields in private ownership for profit at the expense of the general welfare, coal costs the consumer millions of dollars annually more than it would under public ownership.

There are various misapprehensions regarding the meaning of "public ownership." Those making profits out of the private monopoly of public utilities are opposed to the abolition of such monopoly, for the same reason that the owners of

chattel slaves, a half century ago, were opposed to the abolition of chattel slavery. In fact, the present stage of industrial development is described by Mr. Hadley in his "Economics" as that in which "*property has taken the place of slavery as an economic force.*" This statement is not very clear, for slaves were "property" before the abolition of slavery. The statement really signifies that *property in the opportunity to work* (which is known as capital) has taken the place of *property in the worker* (or "slavery") "as an economic force;" that is, as a means of obtaining the product of the worker's industry at an average cost of his subsistence (which was the economic advantage to be derived from chattel slavery), and at the same time avoid any financial interest in the life of the worker. It is evident, therefore, that, as a means of obtaining something for nothing, property in the opportunity to work surpasses property in the worker.

So much for the existing industrial situation. It shows clearly that what is known as "profits" or "earnings of capital," and is so designated in the industrial commission's report, are identical with what was formerly known as the "profits" of slavery or the "earnings of slave labor." To increase wages, therefore, until there are no profits is what is meant by "public ownership of public utilities." This will make the economic return to every individual exactly measured by the service that he renders, and all economic differences will then be due to differences in individual ability and taste. This is the ideal of both ethics and economics—the goal desired by every honest man (and really every man desires to be honest, though many have not learned what constitutes honesty)—the realization of the Golden Rule and the Royal Law.

The evil in the trusts consists simply in the permission of private ownership of public property, which compels people to pay for that which really by natural right belongs to them, but which by legal right belongs to some private owner of public property. We build our streets and highways, and they are free to any one who wishes to use them, the only cost after the outlay for construction being cost of maintenance; whereas

under private ownership of public property the people pay not only all cost of maintenance but in addition an excess charge called "earnings of capital." All capital should be publicly owned just as the streets and highways, as well as all public buildings, schools, parks, and in the more enlightened communities water-works, lighting plants, street railways, steam railways, telegraph and telephone lines, mines, oil, etc., are now owned.

Non-dividend-paying capital is the solution of the "Labor Problem." A government that permits the extortion of unearned "*profits*" from the producers of wealth, through the private ownership of public resources, is criminally "paternalistic" toward this specially privileged class.

We have discovered now the answer to the question with which we at first stated the "Labor Problem": How shall the cause of strikes be removed? The industrial commission traced the "cause of strikes and lockouts"—one of the manifestations of the "Labor Problem"—to "*classes*;" and we have discovered the origin of these "*classes*" in government "paternalism" toward one of them. Therefore, the cessation of this "paternalism" will abolish the specially privileged class, or *remove the cause of strikes*. This cessation of "paternalism" means the end of dividend-paying on account of the private ownership of public resources, and the returns of the last census show that the reward of labor will be more than doubled by such means. Moreover, the abolition of unjust methods of acquiring the products of industry will make it incumbent upon every individual to gain his living by the service he renders, and this will enormously reduce, if it does not entirely end, the "wasting" of social "substance in riotous living."

There are many problems involved in the transition from the present "paternalism" to the abolition of class privilege; but if the true end of all just government—to promote the general welfare and to establish justice—be kept constantly in mind, and, further, if the still higher ideal—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—be always present, the transition will

not be difficult. The equality of economic opportunity, which is the goal of the "Labor Movement," is simply the abolition of the monopoly of public resources in private control, or the cessation of dividends based thereon, with the law of "supply and demand" to regulate production unhampered by monopoly.

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A SCHOOL OF CIVICS.

THIS title is not as new as it was a few years ago. The mind of communities and municipalities, as well as of large educational institutions, is growing, not accustomed to it, but ready for it. And the idea, briefly set forth, is not as formidable as it at first appears. The thought that underlies it is already quite familiar to the municipal and civic mind; namely, that a municipality is a partnership concern—a firm of citizens doing business along definite lines of activity and function. Comprehensively stated, it may be said that every property-owner (and every tenant through his landlord) is a member of the municipal firm. He pays into the general capital of the concern a certain definite *pro rata* share, levied by assessment at a certain rate and called “taxes.” In return for this contribution to the “common wealth” he receives a certain dividend in the shape of roads, schools, police and fire protection, in some cases light, water, and heat, and has removed from his premises certain undesirable elements of refuse, by way of sewerage and scavenger work.

This in broad lines is the business compact into which the citizen enters with the municipality. And this idea, “The municipality is a business concern,” is growing constantly and appreciably clearer to the municipal mind. In witness whereof certain large municipalities in the State of Ohio and two other Western States, and such solitary instances in the East as the “Revolt of East Orange” (N. J.), may be quoted. The latter is of more than passing or local interest owing to the fact that the village of East Orange is one of a number of suburban residence-towns populated up to four-fifths of its census returns by men of affairs running large and important concerns in New York City. These gentlemen have grown tired of the method in which the affairs of their village were conducted and decided upon the sentence quoted above as the

key-note of a very active and promising campaign in municipal affairs. "Run the town on business principles," just as you run your firm or your store or any business concern wherewith you are connected. And to this consciousness, community after community is waking up.

Beyond this consciousness, however, looms up another—equally interesting, equally valuable, and equally sensible in every way; and that is a School of Civics: not a school for the discussion of abstract civic problems in academic ways, but a school of civics in the same sense as a "business college." When the commercial world of America entered fully upon its career,—when the great city began to play the part it now plays in commercial life, in contradistinction to the agricultural or rural life,—and the ponderous wave of civilization began slowly to set cityward, there arose a distinct consciousness of a need. It was the need of "skilled labor;" there was a distinct demand for clerks, bookkeepers, accountants, typewriters, stenographers—all the host of helpers necessary to run a large business concern successfully. And on the crest of this demand grew the "business college," a school where men and women were trained for this special class of service, as nurses are trained at a hospital training-school and preachers in a seminary. And the business college, or the business course in a university or college, is now recognized as a legitimate channel and source of supply for the class of skilled labor required for the safe and efficient conduct of large business concerns.

Business firms to-day, not unnaturally, look to a business college for this supply of clerks, accountants, and typewriters, and also look, quite naturally, to the large trust and fidelity concerns for security—backing those employees who apply for responsible positions, or positions involving matters of trust and confidence. This may be taken as a normal development of business life. And from this acceptance there grows a second step, equally normal. Granted that a municipality is a business concern on a larger scale, it follows that a municipality has need of certain definite amounts of skilled and un-

skilled labor. It needs men to dig trenches and grade streets; it needs men to shovel coal into its furnaces, and other items of unskilled labor with which we are not concerned in this article. Besides these it needs skilled labor in the way of engineers, architects, etc., all of whom are trained in schools more or less practical and efficient. But, again, besides these, it needs skilled labor in the form of tax-assessors, tax-collectors, accountants, building inspectors, sanitary inspectors, controllers, treasurers, and all classes of officials keeping a more or less elaborate system of accounts. These have been hitherto chosen at random or by a ridiculous system called "election;" but no manner of election fits a man for the tenure of an office for which he has had no training or schooling. An ordinary business concern would not dream of choosing its bookkeepers, its skilled buyers, or its accountants by a system of popular elections. It engages such men on some ground of skill, backed either by experience previously gained or by some manner of schooling or education.

If this be true in the smaller firm, it is equally true in the larger firm called a municipality. In fact it is a matter of surprise that men of business capacity submit with utter docility to a political superstition. I know of small suburban municipalities whose chief element of inhabitants consists almost entirely of wealthy business men who manage large corporate concerns in the metropolis. This gives such a suburb a property valuation that is exceptionally large considering the territory covered. This valuable property, the adjustment of its values, the levying of taxes upon it, the method of that levying to attain the best and most effectual and lasting results — all such matters these men, with a surprising amount of negligence, have left entirely in the hands of a game of chance, called "election," simply because the thing called an "election" in the political arena, and based entirely upon certain readily understandable civic superstitions, resembles somewhat the method pursued in various organizations called by a similar name. But an election of officers in a corporation, in a club, in a lodge, in a fraternity, is an

election of *members* of that organization, and not of chance parties dependent upon colonized votes. Does this statement attack the franchise? Not by any means—it attacks a superstition concerning a franchise, but it attacks no valid principle of civics.

The class of men spoken of above, as I said, submit with astonishing docility to the impositions of a game of chance. This is the more astonishing when it is noted that in a villageful of such business men there is a heavy percentage of persons each one of whom daily manages a business concern involving values very similar and sometimes quite equal to those representing the entire taxable valuation of the village of which he is a resident. He does this with comparative ease and as a matter of daily routine. It is therefore a safe deduction that any one of these men could run the affairs of the entire village without great difficulty. But he has not the time or the inclination to do so. Admitted he has not the time or inclination to do many items in the large business concern he runs in the city, what is his line of action? He hires competent men to run his advertising, to become heads of departments, etc. He does not “elect” them, and he wants them trained. Why not do the same for the village? Why should not a city council be virtually a board of directors, which employs its assessors, its collectors, its treasurer, etc., in exactly the same way as any other corporate body does, and which pays men fair wages for competent service?

But competent service—how obtain it? In exactly the same way that we obtain competent service in ordinary business. We have the business college and the commercial school: why not have the Civic School, and educate tax assessors, city officials, city accountants, city clerks? It is exceedingly unfair both to John Smith and to the community to elect John Smith with a great hurrah of ballots and fireworks to be tax assessor and then drop him into the chaotic mess of Topsy growth that is now considered the “Assessor’s Book,” in which previous assessors guessed at five-eighths of the value of this piece of property, “soaked” a non-resident on general principles,

and raised the valuation of a woman's property because she would be afraid to climb up the stairs and fight her way through the tobacco-smoke in the room where the Board of Appeals meets, and because she "haint got no vote nohow." It is exceedingly unfair to drop a newly-elected assessor into this mess, ask him to face a problematic system of taxation, tell him to go to the county seat and perjure himself on his Bible oath that he has "assessed all property at its full value," when he knows, and everybody else knows, he has not. These things are either superstition or they are knavery, and I prefer the longer word. But they are horribly unfair.

Take the matter in hand. Ask the colleges to add to their training of doctors and clergymen and lawyers and engineers the training of tax assessors, of municipal accountants, of city officials—and then *hire* the officials. And establish schools that will teach municipal arithmetic, municipal bookkeeping, municipal bonding, and things of that sort, and let the student qualify, give him his diploma, and let him face civil-service examinations. Then put him in the market and he will have no difficulty in selling his services at a fair wage to one or more municipalities.

Why should not four or six small municipalities club together, pay a man who has studied land values, has made a specialty of the insurance and real-estate business, who would be hired by any insurance company as an appraiser at a good salary, and do away with the tax-assessor by election? If an insurance company finds that it stands to reason that it engages the services of a competent man as appraiser, will it not stand equally to reason that a municipality should do the same thing for the performance of similar work?

A Civic School to educate municipal officials is as legitimate an enterprise as a business college that trains and educates bookkeepers and accountants for individual business houses.

ADOLPH ROEDER.

Orange, N. J.

PSYCHOLOGY AND CRIME.

NEW truths are rare gems. If one were born each century we would be richer and better than now. But next to the discovery of a new truth is the new application of an old truth to fit the knowledge and needs of a living age. This was done in the century just closed in the new application of psychology to the practical affairs of life. The mastery of mind in the abstract was a fitting task for the giant philosophers of the scholastic period. But the child-psychology of a Froebel, or the physiologic psychology of a James, is more acceptable to a generation of living, feeling, moving beings. From the consideration of psychical entities as factors in purely speculative philosophy to the study of an actual brain as the instrument for the expression of real life is a far cry; but it is a welcome one to this practical, acting age. Thereby the chasm has been bridged between two divergent lines of philosophy. Each was trying to disengage the physical from the mental. One was lost in the mysticism of possible mental states, independent of the body; the other, conceiving the body as an ideal chemical laboratory, tried to interpret all its phenomena in terms mechanical. Each was as empirical and impossible as the other. Then it was, when these two tendencies were about "gone to seed," that great discoveries were disclosed in the domain of human life. Upon the one hand the physicists were rapidly learning (not a few reluctantly admitting) that the body is not a dead crucible, but a living organism. It contains a marvelous factor called "vitality," with which they must ever reckon as of greater potency than any medicine or food. On the other hand, the moment the psychologists extended their study of the laws of thought to the brain, the instrument of all known mentation, they found that the paths of thought are almost as endless as their former speculations had been. They learned that gray matter, identical with that of the brain, extends into the

spinal column, and that all our nerve processes are thought-expressions.

With these two discoveries before us, then, we can understand that no physical ailment can be intelligently considered or treated without a proper recognition of the power of mind over matter. Nor will the disordered brain be expected to return to perfect and permanent sanity while there is an enfeebled and abnormal physical condition. But the intimate relation and interdependence of mind and body, here touched upon, is only a part of and preliminary to a yet greater discovery. It seems to be true that great inventions and discoveries are apt to be simultaneous. So sociology came to the world contemporaneously with many other strides of science, to teach us that, as no one science can be studied well without knowing its relation to all other sciences, so the individual man should not be considered independently of his relation to humanity. His body is either a menace or a contributor to the civic health. As a hermit, he may be a healthy animal. Not so the mind; for man is a social being. In isolation he loses his mind and becomes a maniac. The normal mind must strike its roots into both the physical and social soil. No less a scientist than George Henry Lewes claims to be the first writer to formulate this thought. At any rate, it is this double dependence of the mind that lends significance to the subject of this essay. It is this that makes crime not a matter of physical heredity merely, but one of social responsibility as well.

As there are no "born" consumptives, so there are no "born" criminals. It is with but a tendency to either that any mortal can be endowed. But, as we try to eliminate the consumptive diathesis, so may we lessen the tendency to crime. We were none of us consulted as to how or where we should be born. And, unfortunately, those who have the most unfavorable birthright have also the least to say as to what their environment shall be. Let us not, therefore, soothe our consciences by laying belated blame or posthumous pity at the door of our ancestors. To be sure, a responsible being should be held accountable in great measure if he has not overcome the evil

tendencies of his nature, or if he has not become master of his environment. But meantime shall we forget the responsibility of those who gave him more than a fair heritage of evil tendencies? Shall we shirk the present social responsibility for the evil institutions that make his self-mastery doubly difficult?

It is not, however, the object of this article to point a moral, so much as to relate some of the results of several years' experience in dealing at first hand with those who have been in prison. As superintendent of the Central Howard Association, of Chicago, engaged in securing employment for and otherwise aiding ex-prisoners, the writer has had ample opportunity to note the pathologic attitude of the ex-prisoner toward society. That this attitude must be spoken of as pathologic, is not, however, as I have already intimated, wholly the fault of the individual. If society had sooner recognized to what extent the problem of criminology is a psychologic one, the anti-social symptoms would now be far less marked. Because of the false and unthinking attitude of society toward the prisoner he becomes the victim of a bad line of suggestion that helps to weaken his will and break down his manhood.

But first let us pause to observe how the thought-force of others, adversely applied, contributes to the causes of crime. Here is a gathering of women in a sewing circle or missionary tea. They are talking about Tom, the son of a woman who is not present. They tell how bad he is getting. They say he drinks. "What a shame! So young, too!" The prophetess speaks: "He'll go wrong yet; you see if he doesn't." Science and sympathy are combined in the final utterance: "Oh, well, he can't help it, poor fellow—it's born in him." The women separate, but not so the psychic coterie of condemnation they have centered upon the unfortunate head of Tom. Does any one believe he does not feel its influence? He grows more reckless and proceeds to do what they have thought and spoken him into doing. Finally, in a daring spree he commits a crime. The wise wag their heads and say, "I told you so." He goes to jail, and the populace peer through the bars at him as if he

had suddenly become a thing apart—something other than a man. He knows he has a thousand good impulses to the one bad one expressed, but no one believes it. All act as if they expected him henceforth to be a human monster. He is sent to the penitentiary and branded as a "criminal." His personality is exchanged for a number. His keepers, it may be with little knowledge of human nature and less character, proceed to crush his self-assertion, and with it his self-respect. They tell him at the end of his term (not to analyze the interim) that he will surely be back in three months, or in six at the most. This lack of confidence begets lack of confidence in himself. Still he goes out with a new-born purpose. But will the infant survive the look askance, and the inexorable but ignorant pronouncement—"Once a criminal, always a criminal?" Though he have a will of iron, can it combat the combined psychic suggestion of a whole prejudiced community? The man's position at this critical time is well described in the following words of one who speaks from experience:

"The man comes out, after serving a few years, with his habits of observation lost. He is secretive, non-communicative, with no confidence in himself and little in others. He has lost the art of expressing himself properly, or timely, even in ordinary conversation. He hesitates and is nervous and embarrassed from self-consciousness of his deficiencies. He loses opportunities of securing employment through his inability to place the subject in hand in the right words at the right moment. His powers of observation and interest in his surroundings have been so long curbed by fear that they have become dormant, and his chances for employment and advancement are in consequence so much less that they soon become apparent to him and embitter him against the world in general."

The question now is, How far can this situation be changed by a specific line of suggestive treatment? To what extent can the negative influences be counteracted by positive, reassuring, and uplifting ones? If suggestive therapeutics is of value in the treatment of the physical invalid, will not suggesto-therapy have a still more direct effect in the restoration of this psychical invalid? As a matter of fact, we find it a practical and powerful

means of restoration. Here is a man who has paid the penalty of his crime, and faces the world with a better purpose. That better purpose is the saving factor in his life. But everything depends upon his being surrounded by people and influences that will nourish and foster and cherish that impulse until it becomes the dominating purpose of his life. This is done in the work of the Central Howard Association by putting him into normal environment and surrounding him with healthful influences. Employment is secured with the knowledge of the employer, and the man enters upon his new opportunity with his head up and a light heart. The positive is always stronger than the negative, and faith begets faith. Is it wonderful, therefore, that by multiplying favorable conditions marvelous results are accomplished? Of the men assisted during the last few years with this method always in mind, fully ninety per cent. have been permanently and effectually helped to good citizenship. To be sure, the majority of these have been what would be called "accidental criminals," with little or no hereditary taint or tendency. But I am persuaded that the law of suggestion, as a post-prison force, if applied persistently, and perhaps under relaxed conditions, will largely overcome both hereditary tendencies and a long period of vicious environment. (I use *hereditary* as it is generally understood, as a fatalism that marks the man beyond redemption; and I mean that *environment* which, though it demoralizes and embitters, yet cannot deprive the man of the Divine image, which may be discovered and asserted.) The difference between the accidental and the habitual criminal is, after all, only a matter of time. The initial and producing causes in each were the same. The accidental criminal is the acute invalid, who most likely came to his estate through some neurasthenic impulse. The habitual offender is the chronic invalid. But if we go back far enough we shall find the neurasthenic impulse that started his anti-social career. Vicious prison systems and the irrational attitude of society did the rest.

But far more can be accomplished in the opposite direction by strong, reassuring, healthful influences. Suggesto-therapy,

as applied in this direction, must, of course, be positive and uplifting. It must reinspire courage and confidence in the subject. It must tend to replace baneful habits of life, thought, and sensation with wholesome ones. It must direct an otherwise aimless life, if necessary, in a normal direction, and fill it with a purpose nobler than it has ever known.

The problem of the criminal is an *industrial* as well as a *psychologic* problem. Not only should the prisoner have the right kind of work, but the first essential after his release is the opportunity to earn an honest living. "The first civilizing influence," says President Eliot, "is steady work. The next is culture and refinement." This last need brings to our thought the *educational* aspect of the problem. It would be trite to say that ignorance and crime are as brother and sister. Many would say that the question is primarily a *religious* one; and while the most effectual element in the reformation of a criminal will doubtless always be in instilling in him a definite religious impulse, yet that impulse must be applied to all the practical affairs and temptations of life. It is this fact that makes the problem so largely a *temperance* one. By far the largest number of crimes may be traced directly or indirectly to intemperance. Then there is the *legislative* phase of the problem, involved in unequal sentences for the same crime, and indefinite sentence without considering the degree of real culpability. Altogether, the question readily assumes the proportions of a great *race* problem, which cannot be solved by any one panacea, nor yet by aiding this or that class or condition or color alone, but by the uplift of the race as a whole.

FRANK EMORY LYON.

Chicago, Ill.

AGRARIAN REVIVAL.

AS to the future peace of this country there are more pessimists than optimists, and the latter are measurable by their prosperity. The concentration of nearly half our people in towns of over ten thousand results in poverty, despair, vice, and crime. From harsh competition in the cities the tide of insolence and profanity is rising, hardness of heart is increasing, altruism has become obsolete, and egoism is up to date. Some of the proletariat, while rightfully forming unions to protect themselves from oppression, have gone to proscription, intolerance, and brutality. When they stick themselves to a customer by appointment or contract they charge by the hands on the clock, not for service rendered. For slob work they make up in bluff; for laziness, high prices fill the gap; broken contracts they meet by court perjury. Their opposition to the militia is with insurrectionary intent.

People of comely apparel and passable manners will cheat a car conductor, and young business men will sit for miles in a street-car while fragile women stand—a disgusting exhibition that, in itself, augurs national downfall. The learned professions are mercenary, gradually losing public confidence. Right amid evidences of thrift—theaters, parades, fairs, promenades of fashion, and crowded department stores—there are daily and hourly tragedies. The ninety per cent. of business failures, the craze for public office, the haggard men, the immured and cultured women without patrimony or hope, the thousand tricks for a livelihood, the morbid and *outré* public sensualism, the prostitution of the public bill-boards, the widespread violation of city ordinances, the adulteration of food, drink, and drugs almost without hindrance, a street-car service worthy of barbarism—all these prove that the city candle that consumes the country moth is not all allurements.

It is not a good answer that when the nation is in a tight

place the heart of the people is all right, or that an army quickly springs from the soil. The heart of the people may be too slow, and that army would be picked up only from the martial spirits here and there who love fight. But let that element be skimmed off and the rest of the nation would get down on their knees and buy security with their money. There is in the country, too, of course, now and then a case of morbid vice or crime; but they are all known, while in the cities their under-current is estimated by the continuous flow of the criminal courts like the Mississippi River. Henry Ward Beecher said, "Life in the city is a chronic violation of nine-tenths of all that is natural to man;" and the trite quotation of Jefferson is a truth for all time, "Cities are festering sores upon the body politic." Not until every individual is self-supporting, or until there is a natural balance between town and country, can there be a normal life or will society be out of danger.

If we fail to feed an animal it will steal; it is so with human nature. But organized and private charities, subsidized colleges and churches, protective tariffs, etc., are only brushing back the sea with a broom, or raising river levees against the inundation sure to come upon thriving towns and fair territories. Although in the cities the majority are comfortably employed and enjoy life, yet it is with a strain, almost a fight, and there are always more hands than work, more mouths than food. Only the average city person knows the crushed feeling of being "sacked." Then one is face to face with eternity. Where one commits suicide a thousand think it. But the countryman has an easy feeling that while he is resting the ground is doing his work; that cannot burn up nor be stolen. There is no love or fidelity like that of Mother Earth. This ever-cankering, wearying, and oppressive sense of insecurity in city life will soon be changed by a pell-mell rush for a bit of land. There is no insurance like it.

The "man with the hoe" is a European clod-hopper; in America he reads the newspapers and becomes President, judge, general, admiral, senator, political "boss." The country grows these men. There is not a leader in America, except

as to money-making, whose character was not cast in the country. Country people have not that high strain of city pleasure by the pace that kills, but they have a negative and steady happiness that comes from simple, natural, and unperverted life in the absence of inflicted misery. The soil and forests bring out the natural humors of the soul. Moreover, it is the only business hard-pan, the only occupation where there are no bankrupts; and the further we get from it the more we get into mischief. There is nothing like a hoe to take the twist out of a city man's brain. When the city poor shall cower in a fireless room the poor farmer can sit before his back log and crack nuts or read "Robinson Crusoe." He may loll and muse in the summer shade while the distant murmurs of city famine, tumult, or riot fall upon his ear with only feeble curiosity. The coming labor war will not reach him, and will concern him no more than the swarming of a neighboring hive of bees. On the farms there are no lockouts, no strikes, no anarchy.

The writer of this passed his earlier life where the farms were all-containing, where we made our own clothing all the way from the sheep's back or the field of flax. We were ambitious in a small way, healthy, patriotic, peaceable, law-abiding, and sank upon our pillows with a gentle sigh of comfort and content when we heard the howling blizzard or the rain upon the roof. We knew nothing of the vaudeville, the passing regiment, the grand opera, or the millionaires; but we had ready food and shelter, husking bees, paring bees, raising bees, spelling bees, lyceum lectures, and sleigh rides to the jingling bells through tonic air and over white, spotless creation. But an old copper cent was as big as a cart wheel. Sometimes we caught a wondering glimpse of the passing creatures of fashion, but we had no covetousness nor envy. Making the morning fire gave us daily energy and appetite; there were no night furnaces to soften the lungs for pneumonia. Some of us were ignorant of hygiene and so died of fever, but that was our own fault, not the farm's. The most thrifty kept upon their bureau a Bible and a box of pills. We raised produce and traded it at the neighboring store for all the works of art and

mechanism we needed. The poorest had what the richest in the city cannot buy—fresh spring water, pure air, fresh vegetables, and, above all, limitless scope of action undwarfed by right-angled paths over stone and iron. For the roar of cities we had the song of birds, the sigh of fragrant trees, and that never-ending variety of landscape that the city man loves so well as to pay big money for it upon the painter's easel.

But we also had some sins, particularly those of narrowness, ignorance, superstition, and discontent. Education would mollify this. As kindly and noble as Carnegie is, his library benefactions have been somewhat misplaced. They have a tendency to increase centralization, which is the curse of the age, and to overeducate people away from the practical, simple, and earnest courses of life. He should have deposited with every fourth-class postmaster in the land plain libraries of the physical sciences, hygiene, and moral reform, and with his remaining millions bought and equipped small farms for the city poor. It is too early in the history of man for universal high education.

In the country within a few hours' ride of New York City, and in the old States, there is to-day a great population who live well and enjoy life, yet never see a hundred dollars cash a year—nay, not fifty; for their natural system of small barter is widespread, confirmed, and effective. They do not compete with machine farming for the general market; they are always safe, at least, and as happy and contented as their moral education will permit. It is amazing to the city man how little cash these fine middle-class American families can get along on and be happy. Thank God that farming is not intended as a business, for money-making in general, but is for simple support. "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread."

A discontented young farmer, with calf-skin boots and stand-up collar, standing upon a railroad platform, said he could go to the city, hire out as a day-laborer, earn more money, and enjoy life better than on a farm where he had been all his life. He was totally false and mistaken; he had never been a laborer in a city; he was a disgruntled exception. The trouble was in

his soul, not in the soil. He had worked too hard; he wanted too much. It would have been right for him to go to the city; he would not have needed to fill the place of only a day-laborer. It would have been right also for a city pauper or criminal to take his place. An immigrant said in an anarchistic assemblage he would rather starve in the city than work in the country, and near him a woman screeched, "That factory [pointing out of the window] ought to burn down to give our men something to do in rebuilding it and the machinery!"

A people that has bread riots and pays hundreds of millions of dollars annually for charities and police, in the presence of as much land as we have, knows as much about the science of government and social philosophy as monkeys who shiver about expiring fires and adjacent wood piles left by the surveyors. The writer has visited the so-called worn-out farms of the East and found upon all of them spontaneous growths of timber at various heights, exactly marking the several dates of desertion. The owners abandoned those farms because they were enterprising and could do better elsewhere. But those lands were good as an alternative to the poor-house. Pulverization and irrigation work magical results. Land cannot be "worn out" with intelligent treatment any more than the sunshine and rains can be worn out. Land about the capitals of Europe has been tilled for a thousand years. In saying this it is with a full personal experience of the soul-wearying tillage of impoverished land; but it is not so sterile as a city garret, basement, or pavement. The scientific farming of Cornell University has produced 400 bushels of potatoes to an acre as against 60 from farms in the same county.

People born and raised in the city give scarcely more than a childish consideration to their source of food. Each instinctively imagines that daily manna is provided miraculously, and that his own vocation underlies all others. This is illustrated by the present coal famine. The farmer burns wood and practises all trades. But we have segregated our industry and thus become dependent. The coal miners, having cornered that business and successfully browbeaten the State of

Pennsylvania and even the United States into a compromise against law and sovereign dignity, will try it again. Then the railroad employees will strike and some of them will derail the cars and lay it to sympathizers and the police. Lastly the capitalists will try a turn about—and strike. Then business will cease, money will stop circulation, and we shall have a tribulation. In that day the farmer will be the envied one. The politicians of one State will not agree with the politicians of another State; lawyers will give the Executives different advice about their powers, and then hunger will know no delay or law. Then will come the mob whose numbers and frenzy will do its havoc in a night of flame and terror, brushing away the nerveless militia and half-sympathizing police like dust from a butterfly's wing. The Roman sports, the French Revolution, and the American lynchings show what human nature can do. By rebuilding upon the blackened *débris* they who said they would rather starve in the city than work in the country will boast that they have made themselves a job.

The executive branches of our American polity are feeble; there is personal responsibility, and men want to run "again." We are suffering for want of law and want of administration of the law. Senator Hill's coal plank was right; we shall come to it at last. We are now one people, not a jealous lot of colonies. Steam has given us one body and electricity has made us one soul. So we need *one law*. This parley by government with lawbreakers is another proof of our lingering superstitious sentiment for the archaic crust and cradle of the Constitution—a boy's suit of clothes that does not fit the man. Commercial division of pursuits, leaving people mutually dependent for the necessities of life, will demand more positive law than the "comity between the States," or arbitration. Our loose-jointed Union cannot to-day defend its people from the commonest assailants. The head of the nation may be wantonly murdered, yet any witness thereto may simply cross a stream, or an imaginary line, right within our own boundaries, and defeat public justice. We must scatter our disturbing elements into the country, where they cannot combine for harm

and will gradually imbibe public virtue. Magazine explosives lie quiet, cool, and harmless until a spark touches their latent power. By comparison we may have a care of the equally dangerous explosives that leer at us from the highways and byways and that are seething in Sunday clubs and rum-holes. What widespread woe may result from the torch or pistol of one!

The gruesome whine in the cities, "There ain't no business," is answerable that there is *too much* business for the customers. There is always business enough upon the soil, not immediately for any individual, but there can be for all after the endowment of a policy of agriculture by the Government. There is good land everywhere, even with its rest every seventh year. Within the city limits of New York are virgin soil and primeval forests; and within four hours' ride of the city is land enough to support the city. During our period of nation-forming, when we called ourselves an agricultural people, only one-tenth of our population was in the large towns. Then Tocqueville said there was not a beggar in all America. Blessed are we who can look back upon those times of plenty and peace. All had leisure for enjoyment, and there was no pulling of others under the water to save ourselves.

We should start into this agrarian revival with the simple idea that the city poor are not to be sent upon the farms to be lifted into business thrift or luxury, but rather for mere self-support, to escape the poor-house, the prison, or the end of the dock. A practical plan for this change might be this: The benevolent rich could coöperate with the Federal Government in organizing a bureau for the distribution of small farms. There is hardly a farmer in the United States who would not for ready cash sell a few acres with shanty, tools, seed, and his own instruction thrown in. He would then always have his resident harvester—a very important problem not heretofore solved. This bureau should have its bank account, its committee, its president, secretary, buyers, instructors, and law and medical departments. In fact it should be almost a State organization. It should have its storehouses of seed, implements,

ready-made cottages, and subsistence. There should not be anything like colonization; that would be fatal to the plan. *The beneficiaries of the new homes should be individually mingled among the healthy civic people and conditions of our country, and imbibe the examples of industry, economy, temperance, and frugality.*

To these migrators no cash should ever be given; they should be escorted to their respective destinations, supplied with everything for a year under a kindly guardianship, told that they must live by their own exertions, temperance, and frugality, and that after an approved probation of five years they can have a fee-simple gift of the farm. The district resident inspectors should, by their example and precept, promote sociability, cheer, and encouragement. Township baths, lyceums, and libraries could be easily maintained that would dispel the usual loneliness and monotony. From five to ten acres to a family would be sufficient. The Hon. Joseph Arch, called the "farmer member" of the British House of Commons, says three acres are enough for a family, and that the tide should be turned back from the city to the country. This plan need not result in stagnation and a limit to ambition. Occasionally boys or girls would grow up whose genius and energy would lead them to the city, where room would be made by some ne'er-do-wells who would take their places in the country, and thus a natural circulation, like the currents in the ocean, be kept up. Our rich people are ready with many millions to place it where it will do the most good. They have aggregated a hundred millions of dollars of gifts in a single year to churches, colleges, libraries, that so far as practically and finally relieving distress is unobservable. It has been like trying to fill up a rat-hole with rum.

A statement has recently appeared in the newspapers that 35,000 families in the United States own thirty-one billions of dollars. Now, if on some fine day they should finally wake up to the law that a rich man cannot enter the kingdom of heaven they might give enough money to this agricultural revival, after retaining for themselves a principal the interest

of which would provide them with idleness and luxuries all their lives, entailing the principal to their heirs, to *buy farms of forty acres each, stock, seed, and equip them for a year for six millions of families!* How easily this could be done, and what a relief to labor competition among those of skill and industry who should be fit to remain in cities! If some multimillionaire could head a movement like this and devote his life to it he would not only die happy but he would do his country a practical service and leave a fame and monument to himself as great as George Washington's.

Such a plan as this would solve also the black problem of the South by segregating the races. The United States owes it to the South, upon whom it has turned loose, with liberty and license, the slaves, by a forced emancipation.

The pendulum of society has swung its full length toward the centers of population and will soon begin, by individual impulse, to swing back to the country. The soil is a veritable placer-mine; it responds wonderfully to care. If our only recourse for food were by some elaborate chemical process by scientific magicians, the miracle of raising food out of the ground would outmarvel the famed vegetable growth of the East Indian fakirs. Rural life has its inspiration of philosophy, poetry, and religion. All know that much Christian church-going of the cities has, by the fierce competition of business, an insincere tint. It is often said that no man can be a true Christian and do a successful business. Wealth culture, religion, and sympathy in the city become more or less hardened by a constant view of surrounding ingratitude, suffering, and sin. It is not claimed that rural occupation is the highest stimulant of art, enjoyment, or what is called social form, but it has not that cankering care of the city laborer whose pay goes for so little and who is, by driving exactions, exhausted and laid off before maturity. Agriculture was the first and will be the last occupation of man. All between those two points is artificial and uncertain. It embraces all sciences and arts; it makes the surest returns, though simple and natural. The loam of the earth is God's own bank of deposit and accommo-

dation. To the well-balanced man the highest consolation of life is personal independence, and that comes only through acres. To live in a city one must have a humble disposition or very strong nerves. But there comes a time when the strongest wants rest and the bravest wants peace. The farmer has both.

The above is simple and natural concrete fact. Intelligent alien observers residing among us and many of our own people declare we are sleeping over a volcano. Every succeeding public excitement is a harrowing one, and every hourly newspaper edition with startling headlines is of something ominous. A single morning number of a "yellow journal" contained forty-one accounts, largely displayed, of crimes and other calamities. The public appetite grows by what it feeds on. But each Thanksgiving day the prosperous assemble in their churches and feel good over their bank deposits and turkey-to-come. How do you account, O throngs of Zion, for your special divine favors, when seven thousand of your countrymen and countrywomen each year kill themselves from discouragement and want? Your giving of alms and prayers has not arrested the disease. Seek the remedy and prove that you understand true religion and civil government.

If the President of the United States were to seize upon a solution like this, and by a grand commission inaugurate a new agricultural era, he would rank throughout time with Lycurgus, Solon, Napoleon, and Marshall.

WILLIAM HEMSTREET.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

[*November 12, 1815—October 26, 1902.*]

SELDOM has it been granted to a human being to be the foremost representative of an impulse that has modified conditions throughout the civilized world, but this we may claim for Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Mrs. Stanton did not originate the "woman's rights" movement. This had been growing from the dawn of history just as fast as the exigencies and limitations of social evolution would permit. The creative mandate had been the leaven in the human lump working toward the recognition of the inherent equality of the sexes, the two halves of the generic man, made in the image of God, and set to work out his divine inheritance of dominion.

Mrs. Stanton was not the first woman to see that the right of suffrage was needed to secure and protect all other rights. Here and there throughout the ages prophetic souls had made a kindred claim, and in modern times our own land had had Abigail Adams and others of the foremothers of this Republic urging that the principles that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" and "Taxation without representation is tyranny" should be adopted as our basis of national independence and should be applied to women. Margaret Fuller had demanded all that has ever been asked by anybody—absolute equality for women. The seed thoughts of such far-seeing patriots took root and blossomed into the woman suffrage movement as we know it. The age and the conditions were ready for one who should be endowed with the necessary gifts for leadership.

In Mrs. Stanton the "woman movement" took the definite form of specific and organized demands. Her happy circumstances, her forceful and charming personality, her undaunted courage and suavity, her keen logic tempered with a merry

heart and a quick wit, won for woman's cause the ear of the world. She was ably supplemented by a host of other great souls who suddenly sprang up not only here but in England. Perhaps—who knows?—they may have been the reincarnation of the Immortals who have stood for Liberty and fought its battles in ages past. We can fancy that they may have held a conclave on the shining shore and decided that the reason the freedom of the race had not been won by the blood that had been shed for it since Time began was because the blow had not been struck at the root of tyranny, which, fastening round the heart of the mother and holding close her life, made her bring forth new generations of slaves, with new fetters as firmly fixed as those that had been stricken off the generations before. "We must free women," they cry; "and only as women can we do it!" And so there were born Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, and Matilda Joslyn Gage; and in England Mrs. John Stuart Mill, John Bright's sisters, Mrs. Wolstonholme-Elmy, and a multitude of noble souls on both sides of the sea who set flying the banner of "Equality before the law," which stands for woman's educational, industrial, professional, legal, and political rights.

Anglo-Saxon civilization sets the pace for the world, so that there has been an almost equally marked advance in the condition of woman in all nations; and it is not too much to claim that the condition of all women has been modified, improved, or given a new trend because of the movement of which Mrs. Stanton was the embodied will and purpose.

The story of Mrs. Stanton's life and work is familiar to the public, or may be learned from her autobiography, "Eighty Years and More," which Mr. Moncure D. Conway has styled "one of the four books that contain the noblest chapter of American history." I shall, therefore, only record some personal recollections, showing her as she appeared to one of her "suffrage daughters," as she loved to call the young women who rallied round her in the eighties.

I saw her first on the train, and was much struck with the conscious dignity and self-possession that every movement

showed as, during a period of waiting, she paced up and down the car. It was so unusual a proceeding in those days for a woman to infringe on the monopoly of air and exercise enjoyed by the male traveler that it made an impression on me. We went our separate ways and she never knew that in that simple act she had taught a lesson of self-respect.

My first word with her was a welcome to the Western town where, as a member of the lecture committee, I had been instrumental in securing her to give her famous lecture, "Our Girls." There was some delay in the arrival of the gentleman who was to introduce her to her audience, and she said to me, "You will introduce me, of course." I was much astonished that she could be satisfied to be presented by a woman, and it seemed hardly to show her proper respect. However, her tone and manner convinced me of her sincerity and gave me the courage to obey. We are so accustomed now to women presiding that it is hard to conceive what a step this was at that time. It identified me in the public thought with the woman suffrage movement, and it was in reality a crossing of the Rubicon for me. In this way and in the multitude of ways that her rare faculty of reading human nature suggested, she made friends and converted friends into adherents.

Mrs. Stanton was an ideal guest, entering with spirit into all that interested others. Her sympathetic approachableness led me to open my heart to her on many questions that I had pondered. She had the attitude of caring that every individual should think and think rightly. Her motherly wisdom, her genial humor, and her freedom from fussiness and arrogance made her extremely fascinating, while her personal beauty seemed to shed radiance over her argument. Her attitude was that of one who felt that everything she knew was for all who would receive it. Indeed, this sense of obligation to the world at large was the key-note of her character and what she was always trying to enkindle in others. All over the land she thus went, leaving everywhere a stimulus to higher achievement and a broader outlook.

It was extremely felicitous for the woman's rights move-

ment, at a time when by press and pulpit it was denounced as all that was unholy and especially intended as a subversion of all woman's duties as wife and mother, that its head was so marked an example of the domestic virtues. Then there were no magazines devoted to home science. Sanitation and other modern helps to hygiene had not when she was a young mother been reduced to rules, so she had to think everything out for herself. "The puzzling questions of theology and the causes of poverty," she says, "now gave place to the practical one, 'What to do with a baby?'" Having directed all the powers of her mind to this subject, the conclusions she came to could not be shaken by protests of physicians, nurses, or fond friends. An instance showing the method with which her household was governed was related to me by herself and is not found in her reminiscences. Her baby was trained to sleep by the clock, and during his slumber no soul might enter the room. A carpenter, having neglected to make some repairs in the bedroom at the designated time, came when the baby was asleep and was informed that he could not enter. He testily inquired when he could do the work, and Mrs. Stanton took out her watch and told him when the baby would be awake.

How well her wisdom served her family may be judged from the fact that all her seven children came to a strong and vigorous maturity. The knowledge gained by experience she sought to impart to others, not only on the lecture platform but on all occasions where it was possible. Especially was this the case when she saw children suffering through the ignorance of the mother. A crying baby was always an appeal to her for help. She soon had it in her arms, and, by giving it a drink, loosening its clothes, or changing its position, invariably quieted it. How thoroughly unconventional and natural she was in all this may be judged from the following incident:

On a hot day Mrs. Stanton entered a crowded car and took the only vacant seat beside a gentleman who almost immediately said: "Mother, do you know anything about babies?" She replied that this was a department of knowledge that she particularly prided herself upon. The gentleman then asked her

what could be the matter with a child on the train who had cried most of the time for the preceding twenty-four hours. Mrs. Stanton, of course, knew nothing about this particular case, so she promptly suggested her favorite prescription—a bath. To her surprise the gentleman said if she would give the bath he would provide the necessary means. He forthwith produced an india-rubber bowl, a towel, and a sponge. Mrs. Stanton, easily gaining the tired mother's consent, gave the baby a drink and a bath. The child enjoyed the treatment and was sound asleep before it could be dressed, and Mrs. Stanton left it thus when two hours later she arrived at the point where she was to lecture.

A young man who got off at the same station accosted her and begged her to go and see *his* baby, which he said had cried almost continuously since it was born, and the doctors could not tell what was the matter with it. Mrs. Stanton went home with the father and soon discovered that the difficulty was tight bandaging, according to the instructions of an ignorant nurse. She remained a long time with the parents, telling them everything she could think of about clothes, diet, and pure air. The next day, after she had reached another town, it occurred to her that she had said nothing about giving the baby water; so she telegraphed back: "Give the baby water six times a day." Her message probably was carried into many homes, for the father was a telegrapher, and for years his fellow-operators along the line would occasionally call him up and say, "Give the baby water six times a day."

Mrs. Stanton was a constant contributor to the *Woman's Tribune*, and her "Reminiscences" and "Woman's Bible" were first published in its columns. The latter brought her much blame, but it was because her motive was misunderstood; and for lack of coöperation she was not able to carry out her original plan. This was grand in conception, and some day it will be accomplished and receive the plaudits of those who preached against Mrs. Stanton's book, as did a noted Chicago minister who in his pulpit denounced it as the work of the devil.

At the inception of the undertaking her plan was thus outlined in a letter to me: "If we could get every woman to speak from her standpoint, what a grand tribute it would be to the intelligence, the thoughtfulness, the independence of our sex! Our book would then be comments from the surface, the plain English, the spiritual, the symbolical, the evangelical, the liberal, the Protestant, the Catholic, the Jew, the Gentile—all from their various standpoints. It would be a lesson to all men of toleration and wisdom such as has never before been possible."

Some prominent evangelical women, after giving her their names for the revising committee, withdrew, and this immediately brought discredit upon the undertaking in church circles. This was a great disappointment to Mrs. Stanton, as was also the fact that no Greek and Hebrew scholars could be found among women willing to assist in securing an unbiased translation. It was a larger work than at first seemed, for to find out exactly in what regard the Scriptures hold the feminine it would be necessary to consider far more than those parts directly referring to women. For instance, the word *Elohim*, a feminine plural, and many others, have been translated in the masculine gender, thus building up the whole system of our theology on the conception of a male Deity. Mrs. Stanton was aging, her sight was failing, and she could not wait for laggards; so with some help from others on the committee she put out the "Woman's Bible" in two parts, of which not one word has ever been criticized, so far as I know, save the title and her presumption for undertaking such a work. Her regret at the lack of coöperation was thus pathetically expressed in a later letter: "I thought the moral effect of a committee of women to revise the Scriptures, sitting in council two or three years, would be very good. But I could not get a committee of leading English and American women. For me to do it as an individual would not have the same effect in dignity."

Mrs. Stanton chose the title because of its brevity, and, in view of the storm of criticism that this brought about her head, it is interesting to note that there has recently been issued by

a leading publishing house a "Children's Bible," with indorsements by doctors of divinity and a bishop, who tells us that "not all of the Bible is of equal worth or pertinency." All passages teaching the subjection of women are omitted, thus answering to the demand that Mrs. Stanton very recently made for an expurgated edition of the Bible for children's use. I have gone into this phase of Mrs. Stanton's work because it seems important—in order that the world should properly estimate it—that it should be free from the charge of irreverence.

In religion, as in philosophy, Mrs. Stanton was universal. A person said to me the other day, "But the Freethinkers claim her." I replied, "Let them claim her; there is enough of her to go round." When we leave the little chamber in our religious home,—the Episcopalian room, the Baptist, the Methodist, or whatever apartment it may be where we learn and work and enjoy the companionship of those with the same set of limitations as ourselves,—we go out into the family living-room and meet as Christians. In our central town temple we come from these various religious houses where we are Christians, Jews, Buddhists, or bearing some other name under which men have sought to find out something about their eternal destiny, and we meet as worshipers of the unknown God. But when we leave all man-made religious shrines and go out into the great cathedral whose vaulted roof is the heavens, and whose light is the eternal stars, these distinctions are lost and we are in the presence of the Spirit of the Universe and of all the inspired souls by which It has sent Its messages to mankind. Here is the spiritual abiding-place of her who brought the Divine message of justice and freedom for women, and whose true reverence would not permit her to violate her conscience to do homage to the God of tradition.

After the union of the National and American Woman Suffrage Societies, Mrs. Stanton, who had always been at the head of the former, was elected president, and reëlected in '90 and '91, with her beloved coadjutor by her side as of old as vice-president. Then she begged to be released. In a letter written at that time she said: "My life has been a busy one,

with all my family cares and the suffrage movement, and now I want to give my time to general reading and thinking, to music, to poetry, and to study along spiritual lines." But she could not, to any extent, turn aside for her own enjoyment from the consideration of the great problems of the day. She kept watch of all official action and press comment bearing on any phase of the woman movement, and she was constantly contributing articles to periodicals on these matters that to her dying day showed all the old-time force and earnestness.

Other questions, too, concerned her greatly. She took a keen interest in having an educational qualification for the suffrage. This, she thought, would do away with the evils arising from unrestricted immigration and also wipe out an objection often made to woman suffrage—that it would double the ignorant vote—by eliminating the ignorant vote altogether. Populism, Socialism, and other Reform political movements were subjects of serious attention. I quote from her letters: "I rejoice in them all; they are the first bugle notes of the coming revolution of 'equal rights to all.' The report of that — wedding should rouse us all from our apathy and indifference to the corruption that gives millions to the few while the many suffer for shelter, food, and clothes, denied all the good things of life. . . . When the rich young man asked Jesus, 'What shall I do to be saved?' Jesus said, 'Go sell all that thou hast and give to the poor.' This text should be echoed round the globe, in all our pulpits, until those pretending to be Christians should be ashamed rather than proud of their millions."

Mrs. Stanton was a practical exponent of much that is now taught as the New Thought. Much of her instruction has already passed into common experience and acceptance; but the world will always need such a message as this, received from her years ago: "Take time for self-improvement, reading, thought, meditation. There is such a thing as being too active—living too outward a life. Most reformers fail at this point. To develop our real selves we need time alone for thought and meditation. To be always giving out and never pumping in, the well runs dry too soon."

The celebration of Mrs. Stanton's eightieth birthday by the National Council of Women was a magnificent close to her platform work. Looking from that brilliant scene in the New York theater—where she sat enthroned in flowers, all the organizations of women vying in showing her honor and testifying to their gratitude—into the world outside where hundreds of societies were also celebrating the occasion, one might regard it as showing the practical solidarity of the women of the nation in support of the principles that it had been Mrs. Stanton's life-work to inculcate.

In the ages to come a free and exalted humanity will think of Mrs. Stanton as one of the world's greatest benefactors. Wives having risen to the full stature of human beings in personal and property rights will loyally remember her efforts, which first loosed the fetters in which the common law held women in this relationship. Mothers will clasp their babes in their arms and thank God that she lived to plead for their legal right to their offspring. Children, better born and nurtured than their ancestors, will be taught how her voice was raised in their behalf. College maidens will recall her hard lot, denied admission to schools of higher learning because of her sex, and how earnestly she fought to open their doors to women, and will be grateful that they live when *all* educational opportunities are open to them. Women of all lands and climes will reverence her memory as they join hands in work for the good of the world, for they will then have the power to embody their behests in law. Men will realize that the word of Freedom was not spoken by her for women only but for them also; for—

"If *she* be small, slight-natured, miserable,
How can men grow?"

CLARA BEWICK COLBY.

Washington, D. C.

THE WOMAN OF THE PERIOD.

FOR a long period men claimed a monopoly of that convenient commodity, brains, combining to form the biggest "Trust" that was ever established. But the "Trust" is now broken. Woman has discovered her brains, and is experimenting with them in all directions.

Like many who have just inherited vast possessions, she is uncertain how to invest her newly acquired wealth to the best advantage. The feminine sex is unquestionably in a transition state. The woman of the past is no more; the woman of the future is not yet. The memory of the former is fraught with sweetness; the vision of the latter is inspiring. The woman of the present contains something of each, as must needs be. Any creature or thing in a transition state holds within itself both the past and the future. Not, however, until Nature has normally developed her material through the necessary stages do we have the perfect result. "All periods of transition are unlovely," said Henry Ward Beecher. They are certainly unsatisfying, although extremely interesting—supremely so when humanity is the object undergoing vital change.

Woman is treading many hitherto unbeaten tracks, and man is alarmed—the extremely conservative members of her own sex equally so. They are tormented by feverish visions of a womanless future, in which strange hybrid creatures will govern the world at large, usurping everywhere the offices and duties heretofore deemed sacred to man; while, as a natural sequence, an equally anomalous specimen of humanity representing man will occupy the "sphere" of woman, and universal social demoralization will prevail.

The fears of these unfortunate worthies are ludicrous enough; yet that there is some foundation for them cannot be denied. There undoubtedly exists a class of individuals, always prominent in revolutionary periods, who fully justify

their fears. We mean the fanatics, the red-hot radicals, who, impatient of Nature's slow but sure processes, would pull open the yet folded petals of a flower, thinking thus to view sooner its perfection. Alas for the folly!

Between these two classes, however, who so torment each other, is the contingent striving to preserve the golden mean. These cling to all the past that is sweet, wholesome, true, while grasping every present advantage consistent with present duty. These are the truly progressive, the normal transitionists, from whom in due time shall be evolved the real "coming woman." These are the host that move the world.

A few great leaders always get the credit of reforms, but they are simply the mouthpieces of the masses who are seething with ideas and desires they cannot express, and who joyfully follow when some one appears strong and mighty enough to voice their thoughts, convictions, and protests. It is the old story of officer and private. All honor to the great ones who lead the campaigns of human progress! But let us not forget the masses of humanity who sustain them.

To doubt that some good will eventually result from the so-called "woman movement" is to lack faith in God. No momentous movement that the world has known has been useless; in some way, to some extent, it has helped humanity onward and upward. Every such movement must reveal or emphasize some truth, crush some evil, or confer some good. There is absolutely no waste in the Divine economy.

One fact our alarmists are too prone to forget. The woman of the period is not solely the result of deliberate intention or effort on the part of her sex, but the inevitable product of varied conditions. As long as the three "Rs" were sufficient for the average man, he naturally deemed them a liberal education for the average woman; nor could she complain thereat. With public schools open to both sexes, there came a more general diffusion of education that broadened the masculine mind and proved the quality of the feminine. The capacity of the first, it must be remembered, had not been limited by popular opinion; so man had not, as had woman, first to prove that

capacity before receiving equal higher educational advantages. This the public-school system helped her to do. It still further acknowledged woman's mental capacity by employing her as preceptor, thereby greatly enlarging the sphere she had previously occupied as a teacher. We may therefore consider the public school the entering wedge between woman's meager educational resources before its establishment and her present opportunities, and an important factor in bringing about the feminine transformation that is agitating the world.

Another factor not less important was masculine demand. As man broadened intellectually he had to choose between so educating woman that she could be a sympathetic, intelligent companion to him, or relegate her to the position of drudge or mere server of physical needs and desires. Too many choose the second alternative. To some it was impossible. While not, probably, admitting mental equality for woman, he was not prepared to degrade her into a menial. Her society and companionship were a necessity to him. Companionship without the intelligent comprehension obtainable only through mental culture was obviously out of the question. That woman, therefore, might still further contribute to the comfort and happiness of man, he lengthened her educational tether, and so, unwittingly and selfishly, became a powerful factor in the intellectual advancement of woman. To his decision she responded with alacrity her ambition and consciousness of mental force. That the powers he was arousing in her have expanded and grown mighty far beyond his anticipation and control is not surprising. Humanity is always meeting with such experiences.

Not only has woman acquired education in the ordinary sense of the term, but a mental discipline in the acquiring that has strengthened and trained her reasoning faculties, sharpened her perceptions, developed executive ability and decision, balanced her judgments, and given her broader, more correct views of life and loftier conceptions of what it should be.

More than all has radical change of industrial and social conditions aided to force the American woman into her present attitude and character. From a largely agricultural, sparsely-

settled nation with small industries and commerce, we have in a century developed into one not behind any in wealth, commerce, vast cities, immense population. Six daughters, or even two, are not essential in the domestic economy of a flat as they were when the home was the manufactory in which various raw materials passed through the processes necessary to convert them into clothing and articles for household use—where food was grown and prepared for domestic consumption and market, stock raised for similar purposes, and all sewing done by hand.

Marriage or wage-earning was consequently ordained for the girls through no action or effort on their part. Marriage for mere support was too degrading to deserve any consideration. Not every woman meets the man she would care to marry; and if she does he may not reciprocate. Numberless good women who would make model wives and mothers never have a chance to prove their capacity for those relationships.

Admitting that the daughters of the middle and lower classes might find enough to do at home assisting their mothers in sewing, housework, caring for children, can the *fathers* be made to realize it? The average man thinks that his wife should be able to do all these things and enjoy unlimited leisure as well; or if ever so willing to keep his daughters at home as "Mother's" assistants, in these times of corporation and trust dominion, restriction of wages, no place for small tradesmen, he is probably unable financially to do so.

Then, too, *tempus fugit*. Parents pass away, or themselves require financial assistance. The time comes when the daughters may be obliged to support themselves and possibly others. If not fitted to do this by early training and experience, there is no chance for them. They may find a place in the families of relatives where for meager board and scanty wardrobe they are permitted to work their fingers to the bone. It must be clear that the times demand of women that they shall be self-supporting or submit to conditions to which no spirited, self-respecting woman can submit.

In selecting an occupation circumstances will not permit woman to confine herself to certain vocations. These would

obviously soon become overcrowded. Not all women can teach; sewing is unremunerative, and is, moreover, limited in quantity. Too many women starve at it now. Housework and care of children, work congenial to many women under favorable and legitimate conditions, are so undervalued that the woman who engages in them must immediately lose caste and become a social pariah, regardless of the personal and intellectual gifts and nobility of character that she may possess. She has no recourse, then, under existing conditions, but to do that, be it man's work or woman's, for which she is best fitted, and which will therefore be most *congenial*, proper, and profitable—provided she does not *underbid* man.

If social and industrial conditions are such that woman cannot be provided for, she must provide for herself; and society and man have no right to criticize her for engaging in the employment most agreeable and remunerative. If in so doing she has become the self-reliant and independent woman of the day so objectionable to preconceived notions of how far independence and self-reliance should be cultivated by woman, who is to blame? Certainly not she, but the social system that not only permits but compels her to become a wage-earner.

If she must brave the world and man, her supposed but far from actual protector, self-reliance and independence in an almost Amazonian degree are essential. Helpless female loveliness cherished and shielded by man belongs to Utopian or millennial conditions. God does not require that woman should be restricted to certain callings or He would not have furnished her with abilities for others. Those abilities, not society or man, must decide her vocation.

Another reason for the woman of our times we find in the fact that, while the importance of woman's sphere and her ability to fill it were theoretically admitted, they were practically absolutely denied. The physical and manual side of the duties of that sphere was considered mere play, the intellectual side ignored, while the financial management, esteemed quite beyond the brain of woman, was as a rule entirely controlled by the man, who paid bills himself, probably did the buying, or

expected his wife to do it quite in the dark as to how much she ought to spend. Non-comprehension and non-appreciation of the sphere of woman, and woman in her sphere, have been potent factors in forcing her out of that sphere. Nor have this ignorance and non-appreciation of the requirements—the vastness—of woman's legitimate sphere been confined to man. She herself has been as blind as he.

The present period is all-important and critical. That it is attended by false, unnatural conditions tending to disintegration of the home is undeniable. These will be remedied by that supreme educator, Experience. From that stern preceptor, woman, in common with the world at large, will learn many lessons ere she emerges from her chrysalis the "perfect woman, nobly planned."

MARIE MERRICK.

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MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

A FAVORITE practise of the opponents of divorce, in the United States, is to refer to the example of the Roman Empire, which existed hundreds of years without a divorce case; but in reality the comparison is neither fair nor just to our country. It may be that the marriages of the ancient Romans were "made in heaven," and again it is possible that, having no remedy, no recourse, no escape, the unhappily wedded son of Rome resigned himself to his fate and called upon the gods to give him comfort.

In free America, thanks to the wise provisions made and the fortunate fact that marriage is a civil contract, there is release from intolerable marital conditions in divorce; and divorce is every year being considered more respectable as the prejudices inspired by ecclesiasticism wear away, and we learn to realize that these legal separations mean a yearning for better things—for more helpful surroundings, a purer atmosphere, and conscientious living.

The opponents of divorce are largely those who, if married, have been fortunate in that relation, and their happiness appears to make them narrow and selfish instead of being touched with a feeling for the mistakes of others and a desire to mitigate the sufferings of the unfortunates.

When we find that the total number of divorces in the United States for any given year since 1870 exceeds the figures for all the rest of the world, we might consider that our country is just that much in advance of the rest of the world in the desire for purity and right living.

We are told that the institution of divorce separates husbands and wives and breaks up homes. Nothing could be further from the truth. Divorce never separates, just as the marriage ceremony never unites. Each is but the symbol, the sign, which sets its seal upon that which took place before. If the husband

and wife find that they have made a mistake, and that the lives of both are being wrecked by their mutual companionship, it is their duty to separate and obtain freedom by legal process. Does divorce break up their home? An egg might be broken only to find that the contents had evaporated, leaving but the thin shell, like the veneer that covers the abiding-place of the unhappily married. How can a real *home* exist without purity, harmony, and tenderness? How can it be worthy that sacred name unless love and mutual respect have lodgment there?

It is truly said that the homes of our land are the bulwark of the nation. About these homes are gathered sacred memories of happy hours, sweet joys, noble inspirations, and all that makes for pure living and good citizenship. The home is a place symbolic of restfulness and peace, where loved ones dwell. Does divorce war upon the homes of the land? Stop and think. Do you know of a home where mutual love is the guiding star, and which is worthy the name of home, that is in any danger of being shattered by divorce? It is a mistake, a perversion of the truth indeed, to make the statement that homes are being wrecked in this way. No home that is a home indeed has been broken by divorce, and none will be; for this legal step is but the closing scene of the last act in a domestic tragedy, and, as the curtain goes down to hide the woes and wretchedness that have been exposed to the world, another is raised that brings to view a scene symbolic of purity, peace, and hope, the contemplation of which causes the hideous vision of the past to fade away—dissolved in the radiance of a better day.

It is urged that it is the duty of parents who are unhappily married to preserve their homes intact for the sake of their children; and one clergyman writing on this subject says: "There is no pathos so heartrending as that which is born of the thought of all these poor deserted children, left by their foolish heathen parents to the tender mercies of the great big world." Let us consider this matter. Is there any evidence to show that parents desert or cease to care for their children when a decree of divorce is granted? Do not the little ones usually make their home with one or the other of their parents? When a

parent is removed by *death*, children are never referred to as "deserted." In a home where love does not exist, and strife and contention rule, parents are apt to forget their obligation to their innocent offspring, who are often neglected in the whirlwind of sorrow and hatred that sweeps away all semblance of happiness from the home; but when freedom and separation come, the claims of the children are recognized and the pent-up clamoring affections go out to them. They are provided for as never before.

It is a crime to rear children in a home life where father and mother are mutually abhorrent; where love dwells not; where the contact of parents serves to bring out all the innate evil of their natures instead of being an inspiration to virtue. False and harmful ideas of marriage are absorbed by the little ones—so quick to perceive and imitate their parents. None of the rich blessings of mutual, parental love are in their inheritance, but instead they are forced to live in this unnatural atmosphere of hatred, expecting an outbreak at any moment. Can any happy memories in later years cluster around a home life like this? And yet we are told that for the sake of the children alone unhappy and unloving people should continue to dwell together! "For the sake of the children" they should be spared a home life without love and hope.

The rational, reasonable way to minimize divorce is to place barriers against easy matrimony, and make marriage a bulwark of sincere and holy purpose against which the waves of youthful impetuosity and unripe affection will dash in vain. The proposition is so plain that "he who runs may read," he who seeks shall find, he who looks will see; yet every day we read expressions from clergymen thundering against the divorce habit, devoting columns to show its alleged evils and how it should be restricted, but seldom, if ever, do they refer to the cause,—unfit marriages,—and then only with a few words in a half-hearted, timid way, as if treading on holy ground—"straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel," and failing even to see the hump.

I make an exception, in this arraignment, of Bishop J. L.

Spaulding, who recently wrote a strong article on "The Evil of Reckless Marriages," which should have wide publicity. The Bishop said: "Reckless and senseless marriages are an inexhaustible source of evil. . . . So long as this poison fountain remains open, so long will vice and pauperism continue to breed degradation and wretchedness." Bishop Spaulding speaks the truth. He does not claim that *all* marriages are holy, and he does not say "whom God hath joined" with reference to every couple united in wedlock; for he knows the statement would not be true.

It is beyond comprehension how the average clergyman can reconcile himself to that statement and also the statement that all marriages should be inviolate, when he daily hears tales of marital woes that should prove to any rational mind that certain alliances ought to be annulled by law, even as they have been perverted and destroyed in fact. "The unseen is the real."

The greatest social evil in our country is the marrying habit. There is practically no check on marriage, and young people wed at will and at times in haste, with an angry parent in pursuit. Even those below lawful age find little difficulty in getting the protection of law and are pronounced married. Many a clergyman has been made heartsick by the appearance of wedding couples who gave abundant evidence of unfitness for the sacred relation into which they recklessly entered. Instead of being a pearly stream leading to the gates of paradise, marriage thus often proves a sewer, sweeping on to further pollution.

License, license—liberty to commit an act that wrecks lives and brings a train of sorrow to be visited on coming generations, and no hand is lifted to check the crime!

What can we do about it? Make every couple procure a license, and licenses should be required in every State; but before the document is issued the prospective bride and groom should be separately examined by a competent tribunal, to ascertain their mental, moral, and general fitness for the great responsibility they are about to assume. "But this is an in-

fringement of personal liberty," is the protest I hear. Yes, infringement of liberty to "visit the sins of the father" upon helpless children—liberty to blight the flowers of hope on the bosoms of happy brides.

An acquaintance with each other of at least a year should be required from candidates for matrimony. No marriage should be legalized without the fact becoming known to the world at once, and publicity in advance of the ceremony of the intentions of the contracting parties should also be mandatory. No one should have authority to perform a wedding ceremony for a runaway couple, and clandestine marriage should be made impossible. The New Zealand law that requires a man to appear before a magistrate and certify to his intentions a month before the ceremony has much to commend it. With these safeguards in force, marriage for fun, for pique, for the gratification of foolish fancy, will be rare.

It will be urged that these restrictions are contrary to public policy—that they would check the growth of the nation and limit marriage. That is the old animal cry, and reminds one of Napoleon's famous remark: "What France needs is mothers." Napoleon himself demonstrated his consistency by breaking the heart of his faithful consort, Josephine, so that he could wed another woman who might bring him an heir to his throne. How much above the level of the brute creation is the man who deliberately breaks a woman's heart?

Everything possible should be done to make marriage difficult, and that action will make divorce rare. There will be fewer marriages, it is true; but there ought to be less, such as they are, many of them. These restrictions will not prevent the union of those who truly love each other and have passed out of the selfish period of youth, who are of proper age and fit to be married, and who can honor the sacred relation.

"The soul's mate" will wait, if necessary, for aye, even though waiting be ever "hope deferred." A true and lasting affection will endure privations and restrictions, if required, in order to gain the prize of a loving, helpful, and sympathetic companionship, the rich heritage of a happy home—a home

in which the specter of divorce can never be seen. And, in waiting, the great lesson of patience is taught, while love grows sweeter and stronger and purer because of the sacrifice.

I would say to the opponents of divorce: Open your eyes to a new and clearer vision; attune your understanding to the key-note of truth, and acknowledge that the cause of unhappy marriage lies largely in premature and ill-assorted mating. The relief is found in divorce, the remedy will be through laws supported by an enlightened and awakened public conscience that will bring marriage to the high plane, yea, to that supreme height which God designed, that it may ever represent a covenant of hearts, a union of souls in an indissoluble oneness whose influence for the good of humanity shall only end with time.

HENRY F. HARRIS.

Canton, Ohio.

A CONVERSATION

WITH

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY,

Chairman of the National Federation for Majority Rule,

ON

THE VICTORIOUS MARCH OF MAJORITY RULE.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

A direct ballot by the people on a question of public policy was taken in Massachusetts in 1777 as to the State Constitution. This referendum system for the enactment of constitutional law has been used in every State in the Union except Delaware. And in all the States the referendum has been extended to the more important questions of statutory law, such as the issuance of bonds, etc. Finally, in South Dakota, Utah, Oregon, and Switzerland the system has been extended to *all* statutory law, except urgency measures, the usual appropriations, and treaties. This wholesale reference of bills to the people is through the optional referendum; namely, the bills lie before the voters for 60 or 90 days, and during this time a small proportion of them, usually 5 per cent., have the option of ordering a direct ballot. If they do not, the bill becomes law at the end of the 60 or 90 days. Few bills are ordered to a direct ballot, for it has been found that the mere existence of the power prevents the passage of all bad measures, and only an occasional bill of a debatable nature is ordered to a ballot of the people.

For the will of the people to prevail, it has been provided, also, in the above named States and in most of the Swiss States that the voters shall have a direct initiative in addition to the indirect form. A definite proportion of the voters, usually 8 or 10 per cent., are authorized to frame bills and present them to the legislative body, which, after due consideration, must

refer its judgment to the voters, along with the bill as initiated, and refer it in such form that the voters can choose between the measures or reject both. This is the Direct Initiative by petition. The first described portion of the system is the People's Veto through the optional referendum. The result of the system is Majority Rule in combination with the Representative System.

To establish this system in national affairs, it was supposed, until recently, that it was necessary to secure an amendment to the Federal Constitution—an instrument that is almost unalterable. But Mr. Shibley, a lawyer and law writer, who has devoted himself for the last eight years to the investigation of economic, political, and social problems, has discovered a system whereby a people's veto and direct initiative can be installed without changing the Federal Constitution. It is the adoption of rules of procedure in the national House and Senate, and a request by Congress to the States that provision be made for the submission of questions of national policy along with the election of Congressmen. The practicability of the plan is undisputed.

This discovery was made soon after election day, 1900. It was the result of a determined search for a practicable method for installing a people's veto and direct initiative in national affairs. Mr. Shibley and others were convinced that the trusts and other private monopolies could not be controlled until the voters should first secure an increase of power through the direct ballot—the referendum and the initiative.

Early in December, 1900, Mr. Shibley moved from New York City to Washington, D. C., and has devoted himself and his income to the establishment of Majority Rule in nation, State, and city. In June, 1901, he published a 400-page volume entitled "The Trust Problem Solved," and distributed about fourteen hundred copies among the political writers and students of the country. The following month the rule-of-procedure system—the Winnetka System, as it is frequently termed—was indorsed by the National Direct Legislation League, and by the Second Social and Political Conference, held at Detroit. Soon there was a practically unanimous sentiment by constitutional lawyers and students that the direct ballot can be installed in national affairs without altering the words of the written Constitution. Several State conventions and one national platform have demanded that this majority rule system should be installed as to interstate com-

merce and other national questions. Organized labor in many of its conventions has likewise indorsed the plan. Last June the common council in Detroit adopted the system as to city affairs. A majority of the aldermen elected in Chicago last spring were pledged to the system for city affairs, but one-half the entire number are hold-overs.

Mr. Shibley's method of investigating a subject is minutely to classify the data, thus covering the entire field. This method he applied to the material pertaining to the referendum and the initiative, and it brings clearly to view the fact that Congress and the other legislative bodies are continued. The effect of the addition of a people's veto through the optional referendum, and a direct initiative by petition, is simply an improvement in the representative system, but a far-reaching improvement. Some of the details are shown in the volume published by Mr. Shibley in 1901, but a much more complete description is in an extra number of the *American Federationist* of January 15, 1902, the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor. Several new questions are developed, and the author's conclusion is that "the new questions as to the system of government and the method for installing it are such as must revolutionize the prevailing ideas. These questions are such," declares Mr. Shibley, "*that the referendum and the initiative can be adopted with an ease and rapidity that places the system as much ahead of the prevailing campaign methods as the telegraph is ahead of the stage-coach.*"

Subsequent events are justifying this prophecy, as the following news concerning the election shows. Forty-thousand copies of the extra number of the *American Federationist* were published and distributed by Mr. Shibley. This led to widespread action by the labor unions and other organizations. In June a national campaign was well under way, and the National Federation for Majority Rule, of which Mr. Shibley is chairman, published an Address and Questions to candidates in many of the States and to all the Congressional candidates in the country. The Federation published also 40,000 copies of a 72-page pamphlet, and scores of leaflets and smaller pamphlets. A review of the campaign was published in THE ARENA for November, and editorial notice of the campaign has been made. Election day is past, and we herewith present the net results of the campaign throughout the country. In most of the States a campaign for the referendum has been under way for many years.

“THE VICTORIOUS MARCH OF MAJORITY RULE.”

Q. Mr. Shibley, will you give our readers the net results, so far as you have been able to collect them, of the recent election as they affect the question of Majority Rule?

A. In Illinois the vote in favor of the referendum and the initiative was 6 to 1. In the following States, two-thirds of the members of the legislature are pledged to allow the people to vote upon the question of a constitutional amendment for the referendum and the initiative: Missouri, Colorado, California, and Washington. In Montana and Massachusetts a majority of the members of the legislature are pledged. To secure the necessary two-thirds vote, petitions are to be circulated. In Rhode Island there is a fair prospect of securing a constitutional amendment. In Pennsylvania a determined effort is being made.

In all the Northern States where legislatures were recently elected, organized labor has declared for the referendum and the initiative. Most of the State Federations of Labor have questioned the legislative candidates of all the parties, published their replies, and in other ways the vote of organized labor was thrown against the candidates who opposed an increase of power in the voters.

In Los Angeles a city charter was adopted that provides for the referendum and the initiative. The vote upon this section was 8 to 1. In Colorado a constitutional amendment gives Denver home rule and the referendum and the initiative. It will be remembered that last June the voters in Oregon adopted the referendum and the initiative by an 11-to-1 vote—all the political parties having declared for the system, together with many of the leading officials, including the United States Senators. Some years ago the system was installed in South Dakota and Utah. Last winter the Nevada legislature voted to submit the question to the people, and it will go to them after another legislature has agreed to submit it.

This is a mere outline of the election returns. The conclusion to be drawn is that nearly all the States west of Indiana

show a practically unanimous sentiment for the referendum. In Indiana and the States to the north and east there is a strong sentiment, and one that will yield a big majority for the referendum whenever a vote is taken. The only question is, How can the adoption of the referendum and the initiative be brought to a ballot of the people?

Q. What is the progress of the referendum movement in national affairs?

A. The campaign for members of the National House and Senate has been remarkably successful. It has been found easier to secure pledges in national than in State affairs. In Missouri alone, nine of the sixteen Congressmen are pledged to rules of procedure whereby the people may instruct their representatives. The existing system for instructing is inefficient. Vaguely stated policies of legislation are proposed by the few men who constitute the national conventions; then the people choose between two sets of these proposals, and the few men elected to the national House and Senate are clothed with full power to legislate as they themselves may choose, except as limited by the vague statements in the party platform, and as limited by the Federal Constitution as construed by men appointed by the party in power. *The remedy, manifestly, is to provide an EFFICIENT system for instructing the representatives in Congress.* The system to which the Missouri Congressmen are pledged is equivalent to the referendum and the initiative. The chief advantage is that no change in the Federal Constitution is required, and it is practicable to make the improved system the sole issue in the campaign of 1904 if it is opposed by one or both the great parties. If there is an open opposition to the demand for Majority Rule in place of Rule by the Few, then this question will be the sole issue.

Q. Has there been any open opposition to Majority Rule by the Democratic or the Republican party?

A. No, most decidedly. The disagreement between the Republican and Democratic parties is as to legislative policies and not as to the system of government, which is based upon equal rights—majority rule. The trust magnates and the

men whom they elect to Congress are secretly opposed to majority rule; but every candidate when he goes before the people for their votes impliedly agrees that the will of the majority should prevail. Therefore, in the recent campaign, wherever a considerable body of voters in a district have questioned the candidates of both the parties as to their attitude concerning the establishment of an effective system of majority rule, *it has forced the candidates of both the great parties to declare that, if elected, they would vote to install the system. In no case has a candidate openly opposed the demand for the referendum and the initiative.* It follows that in the coming city elections, State elections, and national election in 1904, the candidates of both the great parties will pledge themselves for Majority Rule—if they are questioned during the campaign, and if there is an organized demand for majority rule.

But we need not wait for the next campaign. The voters have the right to *instruct* their representatives. "Petition" is the term frequently used, but it is a misnomer. The American people are the sovereign power, and the aldermen, State legislators, and Congressmen are their servants. The presentation of a request signed by a majority of the voters in a district is sure to result in the desired action by the representative. This right to instruct is recognized in all parts of the country. The effective clauses in the Chinese Exclusion law of 1882 were the result of the signed request of about 2,000,000 voters. The movement was engineered by organized labor. Two years ago a Mormon Congressman was unseated largely as a result of instructions by the people, a goodly proportion of whom were women. The Louisiana Lottery was barred from the mails as the result of instructions whereby the necessary votes for passing the Anti-Lottery bill were secured; the Declaration of Independence was the result of instructions to the men who signed it, and a second Declaration of Independence—independence from the trusts and "boss" rule—can be secured by instructions.

Q. What is the program for furthering the Majority Rule cause?

A. An Address to the People is about to be issued by the Referendum Leagues, Majority Rule Leagues, and other organizations, and by individuals—for example, the chairmen of the legislative committees of organized labor, and of the Grange. The immediate object is to federate all the organizations and individuals that are injured by trust rule, and therefore should demand majority rule and federate in a non-partizan way; that is, *organize to influence the action of the candidates of the two great parties* WITHOUT FORMING A THIRD PARTY.

Q. What can reasonably be expected from this system?

A. It is not an experiment. Non-partizan organization for political purposes is engaged in by every interest in society that is of importance. For example, the Granges are demanding legislation; organized labor is demanding legislation; business men's organizations are demanding legislation. All of them want to curb the trusts, and to accomplish this the voters must clothe themselves with the right to a ballot upon each question—they must install the optional referendum and the direct initiative. To make this the issue and thereby secure it without even a contest at the polls, there are being federated the various interests that are opposed to the trust evils.

Q. Are you sure that the mere questioning of candidates by a determined minority will force the candidates of both the parties to declare that they will vote to establish the system?

A. It was fully demonstrated in the recent campaign in Missouri, Colorado, California, Washington, Montana, and Massachusetts. In these States organized labor questioned all the candidates for the legislature, and wherever a considerable number of voters were demanding the referendum and the initiative both the candidates agreed to vote for the system, or one of them refused to reply and was defeated.

It is an established fact, therefore, that no candidate can be elected if he openly opposes the demand for majority rule, or if he fails to reply provided a considerable number of voters are demanding the referendum. Such being the case, a practically unanimous delegation can be secured in each elec-

tion for aldermen, members of the legislature, and Congress. To bring this about there should be organized at once in each city and county a Non-Partizan Federation for Majority Rule.

If there is any hesitancy about calling the meeting, organized labor in each city will take the lead. The recent convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans requested the central and local unions in the country—about 14,000 in number—to appoint committees to agitate for the referendum in national affairs. The first bit of work is the calling of a meeting for the establishment of a local organization in which the referendum sentiment of the community can group itself and do the necessary work. In the country districts the Granges will take the lead. There are also the Single Tax societies, Anti-Saloon leagues, Turner societies, etc. The Young People's societies and even the churches are becoming interested in the work. At the recent congress of the Episcopal Church a half day was devoted to "The Moral Aspects of the Referendum," and the papers and speeches are being widely circulated through the religious press. These forces are to assist the referendum aldermen, members of the legislature, Senators, and Representatives in bringing the question to where it will become an issue in city, State, and nation.

Q. What action has been taken by organized labor to form local Federations for Majority Rule?

A. Since last January there has been a growing movement in this direction. On March 3d the State Federation of Labor in Connecticut issued an address to the unions in the State, urging them to work in a non-partizan way for the election of aldermen pledged to the referendum and initiative, through rules of procedure in the common council. In Norwalk and other places in the State, non-partizan federations were organized and many of the aldermen were pledged. In Texas an address was issued by the Direct Legislation Committee of the State Federation of Labor; and in Houston, San Antonio, Cleburne, and other places in the State an efficient campaign was conducted. At Geneva, Ill., as the result of action by the Village Improvement Association, the rule-of-procedure sys-

tem was installed. At Chicago a non-partizan Federation for Majority Rule questioned the Aldermanic candidates of all the parties, and a majority of the men elected are pledged to the rule-of-procedure system; but as one-half the council are hold-overs the system has not yet been adopted. At Topeka, Kan., and other cities in the country, organized labor has taken the lead in organizing local Federations for Majority Rule. In Detroit a non-partizan federation has installed the referendum. In Toronto, Canada, a similar organization, started by organized labor, is making the referendum the issue in the city campaign, with every prospect of immediate success.

Q. Have any State Federations been formed?

A. Yes. The Kansas Federation for Majority Rule was organized last spring, and it questioned all the legislative candidates in the State. It principally represented the organized wage-earners of the State. The Grange and other farmers' organizations had not yet declared for the referendum, and therefore the questioning of candidates had little effect in the rural districts. The organization is to be extended into every county.

In Texas the Direct Legislation Committee of the State Federation of Labor called a meeting to organize the Texas Non-Partizan Federation for Majority Rule. An enthusiastic meeting was held and every candidate in the State was questioned; but as there had not been sufficient time to get the farmers into the movement, and as nominations had been made, which are equivalent to an election, further work must be done to secure the submission of a constitutional amendment. The State Federation is circulating instructions to submit a constitutional amendment.

In Missouri there was no formal federation of the referendum forces, but a close alliance existed between the Missouri Direct Legislation League, The Joint Committee of Organized Labor, and the Single Tax and other non-partizan reform associations.

The same sort of coöperation took place in Illinois, Colorado, and California. In the State of Washington there was com-

plete coöperation between organized labor and the Granges. Each organization questioned the candidates of all the parties, and as a result the vote in the legislature will be almost unanimous to submit a constitutional amendment for the referendum. In Montana organized labor was practically alone, but more than a majority of the legislature are pledged. To secure the necessary two-thirds, instructions are to be circulated.

In Massachusetts organized labor coöperated with several business men's organizations, and since election day quite a number of Granges have passed resolutions instructing their representatives in the legislature to vote to submit a constitutional amendment.

Q. Since election time the American Federation of Labor has held its annual convention. What action as to the referendum was taken?

A. The following declaration was unanimously agreed to:

"Whereas, For ten years the American Federation of Labor has been declaring the need for an increase of power in voters, to be attained by the adoption of the referendum and the initiative; that is, (1) by extending the veto power of the voters so as to include not only the changes in the written constitution but all the lesser changes in the laws, except the usual appropriation acts and measures immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health, or safety; and (2) by clothing five or eight per cent. of the voters with a direct initiative; therefore,

"Resolved, That the Twenty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms the demand of the Order for more political power in its members and in the people at large, and to this end demands a people's veto, the direct ballot to be called for by not to exceed 5 per cent. of the voters; and a direct initiative by not to exceed 8 per cent. of the voters; and

"Resolved, That the questioning of the legislative candidates as practised with great success by the State branches in Massachusetts, Missouri, Illinois, California, and Washington is herewith recommended; and

"Resolved, That, in order to unify the action for the securing of a people's veto and direct initiative in national affairs, the legislative or specially appointed committees of the several

bodies in the American Federation of Labor, including the central and local unions, shall constitute committees to co-operate with the American Federation of Labor Executive Council for securing and using the direct initiative and the people's veto."

This program is of great importance. There is indorsed the non-partizan system of politics whereby the referendum was carried in the recent election in Massachusetts, Missouri, Illinois, Colorado, California, and Washington; and steps are taken to unify action in national affairs and apply the same wonder-working system of non-partizan politics. The 14,000 unions are requested to appoint majority rule committees. The first work of a committee, manifestly, is to call a meeting to organize a local federation for the referendum. Such an organization unifies the forces in each community and equips them for active and efficient work. In many cities the federation has already been made, as we have seen.

Q. What is the attitude of the *farmers* of the country?

A. It was the farmers who led in the movement of thirty years ago to place the railways under State control. And success was attained. The Granger uprising was participated in by business men and wage-earners. Through a decision of the Supreme Court, the larger part of the control of railways was transferred to Congress, and since then the farmers' organizations have been endeavoring to prevent discriminations in rates and to establish reasonable rates. In this they have been assisted by the organized millers, live stock shippers, manufacturers, merchants, etc., but without success. These interests are forced, therefore, to work for an increase of power in the voters—a change in the system of government. This increased power can be secured through a constitutional amendment for the referendum and the initiative, or by the adoption of rules of procedure whereby the voters can instruct their representatives. The Oregon State Grange was the leader in the movement for the referendum in State affairs, while in the State of Washington and other commonwealths the Grange is working for the system, and without doubt these organiza-

tions will help to establish an effective system of majority rule in national affairs.

Q. You have named the States in which the referendum sentiment has crystallized; will you tell us how many Senators and Representatives are pledged to the program and who they are?

A. The Congressmen from Missouri are Judge De Armond, Champ Clark, Judge Shakelford, Charles H. Cochran, C. W. Hamlin, Richard Bartholdt, James J. Butler, W. D. Vandiver, and Robert Lamar. The seven other Congressmen from Missouri are pledged to the system by the platforms of their party, which declare that the referendum and the initiative should be established "wherever practicable." The Senator who will be elected from Missouri, ex-Governor Stone, is pledged to the system. In Illinois the Senator to be elected is Congressman Albert R. Hopkins, who gave to the people of Illinois the following pledge:

"I favor any principle—I care not what it may be called—that will enlarge the power of the people on all questions, State and national, that affect the well-being of the citizens."

In Minneapolis, ex-Governor John Lind will go to Congress pledged to the referendum and the initiative, to be installed by rules of procedure. W. R. Hearst, who will be in the next Congress, has long been a stanch advocate of the referendum. Organized labor is responsible for the election of D. L. D. Granger in Rhode Island, and in Pennsylvania George Howell, of Scranton, Marcus E. L. Kline, of Allentown, and J. H. Shull, of Stroudsburg. In San Francisco the two Labor candidates for Congress, indorsed by the Democratic party, were elected; namely, E. J. Livernash and Wm. J. Wynn. All the other Democrats are pledged to the referendum and the initiative by their national platform; while the Republicans from the Middle and Western States must follow the sentiment of their constituents or make up their minds to quit politics. In the Eastern States organized labor holds the balance of power and will bring the Senators and Representatives into line.

Q. What action by the readers of THE ARENA do you recommend?

A. In each community a meeting should be called to organize a Non-Partizan Federation for Majority Rule. The call should be written at once, signed by as many as is practicable, and published. A copy of the constitution, ready for adoption, will be mailed if request be sent to the Non-Partizan Federation for Majority Rule, 38 Bliss Building, Washington, D. C.

THE TYRANNY OF SERVANTS.

A FABLE, WITH ITS PRESENT-DAY APPLICATIONS.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.*

While cycling in Central Asia I became so infatuated with the wild beauty of the mountains, lakes, and forests of one of the regions through which I passed, and so interested in the quaint habits of life and picturesque costumes of its inhabitants, that I engaged a house, hired servants, and determined to settle there for a year. The first day in my new home, about three o'clock in the afternoon, I ordered my carriage out. To my amazement word came back that the evening was the best time to drive, and that the carriage would be around at 9 o'clock. Indignant at such impudence on the part of servants, I hunted up the coachman and told him I did not care what was the "best" time, that the present moment was *my* time, and that I intended to rule my own house. He replied gravely that this was impossible—that, as every one knew, excepting alone my honored self, when a coachman was hired it was his duty and privilege to control and manage the horses and carriages as he thought best. "If your excellent highness does not approve of my poor services, you are in no way bound to hire me *next year*."

I then had recourse to a lawyer. "Is it possible," I demanded, "that I must submit to the ignorance and impudence of this rascal for a whole year? Is there no redress?"

I was quickly informed that not only did my coachman have complete control of my stables,—deciding for me when I was to drive and ride and when to walk,—but that my cook decided when and what I was to eat, and that the housekeeper, if she wished, could send the maid in to sweep my study and interrupt me just as I was most deeply absorbed in my literary

*Regent of Kansas Agricultural College.

work. My only redress, he said, was to wait until their term of tyranny (he called it "service") had expired, and then employ a new set of tyrants, or "servants," in their place. He averred that most of them consulted their master's wishes when it didn't interfere with their established methods of doing things, and when it was not to their financial interest to do otherwise. "The worst objection is not their ignorance, but their rascality," he continued; "they are all pretty apt to steal more than their salary by paying double price for everything and getting a fat rebate."

I paid him for his comforting words, and after pacing the streets for three hours I consulted the ablest lawyer in the place. This one told me I was a fool—and proved it by collecting \$20 from me for his information. "This system," he said, "relieves you of all thought and worry and responsibility concerning household matters. It is the best system the ingenuity of man has yet devised. If you would stop dabbling in domestic affairs, trying to be at once a coachman, cook, and housekeeper,—if you would attend to your literary work, which you are qualified by education and training to perform, and would allow them to attend to the work for which they are especially trained,—you would come out money ahead in the end."

"But," I said, "as fast as I make money, and perhaps faster, they will steal it."

"Oh, tut! tut!—you are simply too lazy to work. You should have been born a woman; then you could have become a housekeeper, unless you proved too lazy."

For two weeks I strove to accustom myself to the peculiar habits of this peculiar people. Every day my American instinct of freedom grew more exasperated; every day I was getting more desperate. I was on the verge of nervous collapse and madness when I finally gave up the fight and beat an ignominious retreat out of the country between two days.

I was relating this experience to a gentleman in Switzerland one day and was highly incensed when he replied: "But, my dear sir, this is something after the fashion in which you

manage, or rather are managed by, your public servants—called ‘government officials’—in America. You hire a legislature or a Congress just as these savages hire a cook. Your legislature makes out its bill of fare of laws, and forces them down your throat whether you want them or not.”

“But,” I argued, “a legislature having time and opportunity to study and discuss these questions is supposed to know better what we need than the mass of people.”

“Likewise a cook,” he replied, “by study and experience is supposed to know better than the average man what food and what preparations of food are most delicious and healthful.”

“How would you have it managed, then?”

“How did you want your servants to manage in Asia?” he replied.

“I wanted the coachman to advise me as to the most beautiful roads in that region, as to the most favorable hours for driving, and on all other points connected with his department—but I certainly insisted on my right to make the final decision as to where, when, and how I was to go. Likewise, I expected the cook to use all his skill, ingenuity, and science in preparing my bill of fare—but I did not feel it necessary to eat veal, which always gives me indigestion, whenever the cook thought proper, or to allow limburger cheese on the table because my culinary artist admired its peculiar perfume. I furthermore wanted the privilege of ordering tripe, sauerkraut, or ham and eggs* when I saw fit, even though he considered them not to be proper food for a gentleman.”

“In just this way,” he said, “would I have the people manage their legislature. When it, as the people’s servant, has exerted its intellect, has applied all its knowledge and prepared a bill of fare of laws to the best of its ability, its employer and master, the people, should have the privilege of revising this bill of fare and rejecting any of these laws it sees fit. This is

*Wm. K. Vanderbilt’s \$10,000-a-year chef is said to have left him because Mr. Vanderbilt exercised the right of “initiative” and ordered a plain, common-sense lunch in place of the Parisian dainties that the chef considered “the only proper thing.”

what is technically known as the 'Referendum.' Again, as you say, perhaps the master may desire some dish that the cook does not like to prepare. He certainly ought to have the privilege of ordering that dish. Just so—the people may desire some law that for good or bad reasons the legislature does not favor. It is certainly within the province of the people as a sovereign power to demand and secure any such law. This right is what is technically known as the 'Initiative.' ”

“But,” I said, “we are told by college professors and leading statesmen that if the people would waste less time discussing questions that are too deep for them, and dabbling in politics, and would buckle down to hard work they could make plenty of money and we should have less talk about ‘hard times.’ ”

“Precisely what your second attorney told you about dabbling in domestic affairs,” interrupted the Swiss; “but you will remember you replied that as fast as you made money, perhaps a little faster, your servants would steal it. That is exactly what your public servants and their ‘pals,’ commonly known as ‘bosses,’ corporation lobbyists, and financiers, are doing. The legislature of Illinois a few years ago gave to Yerkes \$25,000,000 worth of franchises in spite of the impotent protest of every taxpayer in the State, regardless of party. The United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, the same year, purchased the city council at a good fat figure and was thus enabled to lease for thirty years, at an exceedingly lean and low figure, the gas plant that the city had owned and operated for fifty-six years. This nauseating performance was strenuously but ineffectually opposed by every decent ‘American sovereign’ (?) in the city. The Referendum would have rendered such robberies impossible.

“There is one feature of your American System of Public Service,” he continued, “for which I find no analogy in the domestic customs of your Asiatic tribe—and that is your Supreme Court. Let us imagine one. Suppose that when you leased the house the owner had said: ‘There are three wise, virtuous old servants who go with the property. They are

engaged to work on the place as long as they desire to remain. Of course, you will pay their salary, and they are your servants; but you cannot discharge them at the end of the year, as you may the others.' Suppose that these old patriarchs were held in great esteem by the rest of the servants and were consulted regarding all matters of uncertainty and dispute as a final authority. After much wheedling and coaxing and threatening and insisting, we will say that you had finally persuaded the cook, coachman, and housekeeper to do about as you wished—when suddenly, on a complaint of the stable boy, this triune tyrant would step in and say: 'No; your new-fangled notions cannot prevail. They are contrary to the traditions, customs, and rules that have prevailed here for more than a century.' You would then know how the 'sovereign people' in your country must feel when—after long years of waiting and sacrifice and labor they have finally succeeded in electing Representatives and President and Senate all in sympathy with a desired reform, and in spite of bribery and intimidation from lobbyists and 'bosses' have held them firmly together until the law is passed and the will of the 'sovereign people' seems triumphant—suddenly the Supreme Court steps in and declares the whole thing 'unconstitutional!' Such a catastrophe can scarcely be described. Such a power is not held by the crowned heads of Europe; yet you pretend to give the king-ridden countries of the Continent instruction and example in free government!"

"There is a way to change the Constitution," I objected.

"Yes; but 'strait is the gate and narrow is the way, . . . and few there be that find it.' It requires a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress, or a majority in the legislatures of two-thirds of the States, even to propose an amendment. It must then be ratified by the conventions or legislatures of three-fourths of all the States. In fact, it is actually *impossible* to amend the Constitution except under a most extraordinary concurrence of circumstances. Not since 1869 has any one party had a majority large enough to do this, and then only because of the temporary Northern unanimity caused by the

war and the fact that part of the opposition Southern States were still disfranchised.

"The Referendum and Initiative," he continued, "would remove this all but insuperable obstacle between the people and desired reforms; for any law passed by a vote of the sovereign people must be constitutional, inviolable, and indestructible by a Supreme Court or by any other power on earth except the people themselves.

"The details of the Swiss system of direct legislation differ in the various cantons. The three main types are: First, the *Landsgemeinde* meetings, similar to your New England town-meetings. Second, the Compulsory Referendum, according to which all laws must be referred to the people for their approval or rejection. Third, the Optional Referendum, according to which measures that the Legislature has originated and passed, if agreeable to the people, after ninety days become laws. If not agreeable to the people and five per cent. of them so petition, such measures must be referred back to be voted upon, and thus finally accepted or rejected by the people themselves. The initiative is the right of seven per cent. of the people to propose a law. This law can sometimes be accepted and passed by Congress, but can in no case be rejected except by a majority vote of the people themselves."

I believe my Swiss friend was right, and that the people of America cannot too soon relieve their public servants of their power to become tyrants.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

PRESIDENT ELIOT AND UNION LABOR.

I. PRINCIPAL CAUSES LEADING TO THE EDUCATOR'S MIS- APPREHENSION OF THE SUBJECT DISCUSSED.

It is extremely difficult for a man to be fair, impartial, and judicial in spirit when discussing a subject upon which his whole training has been along a certain line or bias; and this is especially true when the individual in question is constantly in an atmosphere favorable to his preconceived views, and when his business or the institution with which he is connected is largely indebted to favors bestowed by those who have a pecuniary interest in the general acceptance of the opinions he entertains.

A very striking illustration of this character was given in President Eliot's recent utterance on trade-unions. That the honored head of Harvard University desired to be fair and just is not questioned, but that his views were largely based upon statements and arguments emanating from corporate and capitalistic influence was quite evident—so evident, indeed, that one friend in discussing those parts of his argument in which he criticized the trade-unions said: "One might almost have imagined that the president of the great university which so recently received from Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan a gift of one million dollars, and which is constantly receiving princely donations from those who have amassed large fortunes through special privileges and the exploitation of labor, held a brief from the corporations."

I think there is little doubt that President Eliot's views and expressions would have been materially modified had he taken the pains better to inform himself by a sympathetic study of the other side of the question. His views were based on assertions that are constantly reiterated by the editors of corporation-owned journals, but that are largely false, and when not

positively untrue are misleading and deceptive in character. This fact will become very evident when we examine the following views of the distinguished educator in the light of the facts involved. Take, for example, the claim that the labor unions attempt to prevent the young apprentices learning or becoming masters in their trade by a close limitation of the number of apprentices that shall be permitted in a shop. In speaking on trade-unions before the Economic Club of Boston, President Eliot said—(Because of some question as to the accuracy of the newspaper reports of this address, we quote from the verbatim stenographic report of the address as taken down at the time, and which was published in full in the *Boston Post* of November 21) :

“The labor union as a rule undertakes to prevent the education of young people for their trade. I have read many constitutions of trade-unions, and I have very seldom seen one in which there was not a close limitation on the number of apprentices that should be trained in a shop. Now, that is an interference with one of the most precious rights of Americans—with what all our educational institutions stand for—freedom of education for any trade or profession that the American youth wants to fit himself for. I will invite my labor friends here to go into the unions with all their might, and get that un-American doctrine out of their constitution.”

In an address by President Eliot a few days later, before the Colonial Club of Cambridge, the above charge was repeated and elaborated. Now, the mental picture evidently before the mind of the university president, and that which it was intended to convey to his hearers, was that of the old-time apprentice in the days antedating the age of the machine. In the olden time it will be remembered that youths were bound out to masters in some trade—such, for example, as shoe-making, harness and saddle making, carpentering, etc. The master was bound to teach the apprentice the trade—not one branch of it, as, for example, tacking or sewing the sole of the shoe, but all branches—so that at the close of the apprenticeship the youth would be competent, by virtue of his education, to engage independently in the trade because he had received an all-round education in the craft. Furthermore, the master workman was not at liberty to discharge the apprentice bound to him without good and sufficient cause, arising from the ill action of said apprentice.

That was the order in the old days. Indeed, I think we may say that it was the prevailing rule at the time of President

Eliot's early youth; and one would almost imagine that the distinguished educator had been taking a Rip Van Winkle slumber for the last fifty or sixty years, in order to account for his seeming ignorance of the new order, in which a man or a boy now becomes more frequently than aught else merely a cog in a great machine.

The thing against which the labor unions are battling is not an all-round industrial education that shall render the child a master workman in some special craft, but the unlimited employment in some special departments of our mines and mills of boys and girls who should be in the common schools or in industrial schools. If the old order prevailed to-day, with the old mutual obligations of master and apprentice, and with the end to be achieved an all-round proficiency in a trade, any general attempt of the character described would be open to criticism; but nothing could be more unjust or absurd than to arraign as a crime or a wrong the efforts of the trade-unions to protect the children on the one hand and the bread-winning heads of families on the other from the rapacity of modern mercantile Molochs, who seek to fill the factories with children or youths, ostensibly employed as apprentices, but in fact as so many cogs in the wheels of commerce or feeders for machines, who can be secured for little or nothing to displace the fathers in the same factories, and who may at any time be dismissed by the employer if he chances to find that he can secure other boys or girls at a lower figure.

This changes the whole face of the case, and as a matter of fact the action of the unions on this point has, as a rule, been just, wise, and humanely beneficent instead of the reverse, as intimated by President Eliot.

Had the critic taken the pains to come into sympathetic *rapport* with the other side—had he gone to some thoughtful and intelligent leader of labor's hosts and explained his views—he would have been shown the falsity of the oft-exploded sophistry that reckless capitalistic journals that pretend to be conservative are constantly retailing; because the labor leader would not only have controverted the erroneous and misleading statements, but he would have taken him through the modern factories and shops and have shown him by ocular demonstration how entirely unlike are present-day conditions to those that prevailed when the educator was a youth.

It may be that there have been instances in recent decades where trade-unions have acted unjustly regarding youths learn-

ing trades, but such instances, if any, are the exception and not the rule. In the vast majority of cases the restrictions insisted upon have been beneficent.

II. ATTEMPTS TO LIMIT OUTPUT.

A second charge made by President Eliot was that the trade-unions attempted to limit the output of goods. I quote the exact words of the president as stenographically taken down:

"Now, there is another principle which as a principle of all the unions, it seems to me, fights against the true development of a manly character—it is the principle of limiting the individual output of a laborer. Now, that permeates the constitutions of labor unions not only in this country but also in Europe, and especially in England. Now, that fights against the principle of the development of human nature."

Here again the educator is found fighting against something quite obsolete in the history of American trade-unionism. However true this may have been some years ago, however true it may be to-day among unorganized workers or in union circles in the Old World, it is not a criticism applicable to trade-unions in the New World at the present time. This fact was admirably brought out by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, in the following words, when answering this charge:

"Now, I want to say something about the limitation of output. It is true that many years ago that was the policy of workmen, and in the case of unorganized workmen it is positively so. But in the union of labor it is not so. The organized labor movement predicates its efforts not on the limitation of output, but a reduction in the hours of their daily labor.

"There is not a country on the face of the earth in which the workingmen, the organized workingmen, have so readily accepted the introduction of new machines and new tools of labor as the organizations of labor have in the United States.

"Do you think for a moment it were possible to have introduced the machines and tools of labor with such rapidity, with such success so that we have become the envy of the world, if organized labor in America had constantly and persistently fought the machines and fought their introduction? Never! The charge that organized labor limits output is a libel invented by those who do not know, or those who do know and mischievously use it in their antagonism to our movement."

III. OPPOSITION TO SHORTER HOURS OF LABOR.

Again, President Eliot seems to imagine that the battle for a shorter day is a warfare against human development instead of a struggle for a fuller, truer, and better life. This position is so amazing, so incredible, that it is difficult to believe that the distinguished head of America's greatest university should go on record as he did when he made the following remarks:

"There is another similar doctrine taught by trade-unions which also militates against right human development in the same way. Labor unions always seem to regard labor as a curse. They always try to limit the amount of labor. In Genesis labor is represented as a curse—'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.' Now, we do not generally consider the labor unions as religious organizations, yet they seem to have swallowed that doctrine whole."

Here is a direct attack against the battle for shorter hours in the work-day, and, astounding as it may seem, it comes from an educator. There is no fact, I think, better established in the history of recent times than that the moral and mental condition of the laboring men has been improved whenever the hours of labor for the work-day have been reduced. Indeed, on this point it is interesting to call to mind the recent testimony of two experts. In an address delivered before the Civic Federation in New York on the ninth of December, A. F. Weber, the statistician of the New York Bureau of Labor, gave it as his experience that the result of the shorter day was to render workmen more effective, intelligent, and inventive. He furthermore testified that a purer family life was lived by workmen where the hours of labor had been reduced; while Vice-president Harburg of the American Economic Association positively declared that actual experience in localities where the shorter day had been introduced showed that the morals of the community had markedly improved.

To us it is one of the chief glories of trade-unionism that it has been able to reduce the hours in which a man is compelled to toil over one kind of work, with its wearying monotony—work that is frequently rendered soul-deadening in influence, as in cases of miners condemned to the dark, prison-like chambers from which the varying beauty of Nature and aught that could stimulate the imagination is banished; or as in the case of those who spend their lives amid the frightful heat of the great foundries, or in the midst of the distracting din of many looms. Few efforts made in behalf of the en-

franchisement of man more justly challenge the admiration and sympathy of every educator as well as of every large-souled humanitarian than this warfare for a shorter day. How far, how very far, must President Eliot have wandered from the ideal of fraternity, of justice, and of the normal development and education of all the people, when his vision can be so dimmed by the spectacles of class interests and commercial feudalism as to give rise to the above expressions!

In order that the toiler might live rather than merely exist; in order that he might have time to read, to think, and to grow intellectually; in order that he might become acquainted with his family and enjoy a little of the sweetness of the home, which enriches life and develops the heart side of human nature; in order that he might, if he had a little patch of land or a home, find time to cultivate a garden or to beautify and improve his dwelling, and thus relieve the frightful monotony of toil that knows no change—the labor unions of America have battled for a shorter day. And I do not think I exaggerate when I say that no nobler conflict has been fought on American soil than this, or one more potentially beneficent or important; because it concerns, not merely the well-being of the individual and the oncoming generations, but the very life of free institutions—the victory of democracy.

President Eliot, after criticizing the efforts of the trade-unions to shorten the hours of the work-day, thus continues:

"In my opinion the only proper limitation on a man's labor is that quantity which his health and strength enable him to perform without injury. And that is not a curse, but a joy. . . . The doctrines of the labor unions do not come up to the standard of human nature. On the contrary, they urge every individual to produce as little as he can, and to get as much money as he can for it."

Now, we are far from indorsing President Eliot's opinions as to the proper limitation for a man's labor. Life, if it is to be progressive and expansive, calls for far more than hours necessary for rest and recreation. It calls for time in which the mind can be educated, the imagination touched, and the heart warmed. If it is said that the hours that a workingman spends in reading or improvement are spent in work, we reply that that is not what is comprehended by President Eliot, as he is criticizing the labor unions for seeking to lessen the hours of manual labor over which the toiler has no option. Indeed, it would seem from the above quotation that the president of Harvard is lacking in the degree of imagination that it is

absolutely necessary for a critic to possess in order that he may at least measurably place himself in the position of those he assumes to criticize.

We do not doubt that the great educator finds joy in his labor, nor do we question that he works hard and faithfully in meeting the many duties imposed by his responsible position; but his work is of a nature entirely unlike that of the mass of those he criticizes, in that it is not only performed under pleasant conditions and in a congenial atmosphere, but it is of such a character that the imagination is constantly fed, the brain stimulated as well as fatigued, while the body is not kept on a strain that produces constant weariness. Moreover, if his life becomes too sedentary he has the power to take necessary physical exercise; while his compensation in honor and position is a factor in increasing his satisfaction in his labor, and his remuneration for services rendered is sufficiently large to remove all fear of poverty, want, or starvation in case of sickness, adversity, or misfortune. Under such conditions congenial work may be a source of perpetual joy; but, on the other hand, let us suppose that President Eliot should suddenly be overtaken by an adverse fate that compelled him to spend ten hours a day working in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, and to live as one who earns what the average miner earns is compelled to live. Then suppose that after a month of toil there he should be taken to the puddler's inferno, which is such a source of wealth to the magnates of the steel trust. Let us suppose that here he is compelled to strip and stand before those white-hot furnaces, toiling even but a few hours every day, with the heat scorching his eyes and drying his flesh. And then, after a month in the foundries, suppose he is transferred to one of the great factories where he is compelled to tend some machines for ten hours a day amid a ceaseless din and roar of looms and machinery. After this experience, unless I am very much mistaken in the measure of his manhood, the president of Harvard would be one of the most zealous advocates of the shorter day for manual workers.

The work demanded of the great majority of the men fighting for shorter hours is a work that is marked by drudging monotony, exhausting in its influence on the body, and devoid of those things that afford restful stimulation for brain and imagination. It is work that unfits a man to joy in life if the day be of long duration. It is work that discourages mental, moral, and imaginative growth; and any conditions in the

twentieth century, in a nation of such vast wealth and resources as ours, that do not favor this normal unfoldment are essentially immoral and indefensible, while they are also a deadly peril to the cause of true democracy.

Furthermore, President Eliot charges the trade-unions with urging every individual to produce as little as he can and to get as much money as he can for it. If this assertion were wholly true, the fact would not be surprising, however regrettable; for it would be simply an illustration of an attempt to meet a systematic effort that has been carried on for generations on the part of the exploiters of labor to make the toilers produce as much as possible for as small pay as possible. But the statement, as we have already seen, so far as it relates to the effort of the present-day American trade-unions to seek to induce the individual to produce as little as possible, is inaccurate; while concerning the charge that the unions seek to secure for their members the largest possible wage, we would respectfully ask President Eliot what there is wrong in their doing so. Indeed, is it not their duty to secure for the workers at least the small part of the wealth they create that shall enable them as well as their exploiters to own a home, to educate their children, to carry a life insurance, to accumulate a little competency against age and sickness, and to enjoy a reasonable amount of leisure, recreation, and intercourse with family and friends?

A few weeks ago I had occasion to visit some of the great buildings of Harvard University in company with a friend, and we also visited some of the elegantly appointed dormitories or apartments occupied by students who are sons of the rich. The wealth-creators of America are conversant with the fact that the sons of their exploiters are enjoying, not only the advantages of the best educational institutions of the land, but are enabled to live in a luxury that favors dissipation and moral enervation, very largely as a result of the special privileges, the "unearned increment," and the lion's share of the wealth created by labor; while the toilers in many instances are unable to amass enough to buy the humblest cottage or properly to educate their children.

Moreover, added to the weariness of body resulting from incessant toil, there is the perpetual fear that sickness and want will overtake them and their loved ones, or that some comrade's son may be secured by the enterprising exploiter as an apprentice to take his work. And yet the trade-unions are assailed

by the president of one of the greatest and richest universities in America for seeking to secure more equitable remuneration for manual toilers!

There are some other points in President Eliot's arraignment of the trade-unions that should be fully examined, but space renders this impossible. The points we have touched upon show how extremely difficult it is for a person to run counter to his prejudices and the prejudices of his associates, especially when the institution to which he belongs is beholden in a real way to one of the warring factions in the great oncoming economic struggle that will make the twentieth century forever memorable in the annals of civilization.

* * *

THE POSTAL BUREAUCRACY REBUKED BY THE HIGHER COURTS.

On November 17 Justice Peckham of the Supreme Court of the United States rendered an important decision calculated to check the unconstitutional usurpations of the Post-Office Department in arrogating powers not intended to be conveyed to the executive departments by the lawmakers of the land, and which have been used to harass Reform, Socialistic, and New Thought publications that are unacceptable to the political and religious opinions of Mr. Madden.

The following press despatch, sent from Washington on the occasion of this triumph of justice over one of the gravest infractions of the principles of free government that have marked the modern imperialistic Administrations, gives the principal facts involved:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 17.—The Post-Office Department has no right to brand as a fraud or refuse the mails to a business simply because the Postmaster-General and a large proportion of the people do not believe in its methods. The fact of the fraud must be proved beyond a doubt before the postal department can take action. This is the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, delivered to-day by Justice Peckham.

"The ruling, which is important as giving recognition to the right of people to follow their own ideas in regard to methods of curing disease, was in the case of Prof. Weltmer's American School of Magnetic Healing *vs.* J. M. McAnnulty, the latter being postmaster at the town of Nevada, Mo., where the school is located.

"The proceeding grew out of a fraud order issued by the Post-

Office Department prohibiting the postmaster from delivering mail addressed to the school. The original bill asked for an injunction to prohibit the postmaster from obeying this order. On trial in the United States Circuit Court for the Western District of Missouri the Department's order was sustained on a demurrer. To-day's opinion reversed that judgment, but in delivering it Justice Peckham said that there was no intention of passing upon the various constitutional objections set out in the bill, the intention of the Court being 'simply to hold that the admitted facts show no violation of the statutes cited, but an erroneous order given by the Postmaster-General to the defendant, which the courts have the power to grant relief against.'

"The action of the Court was accompanied with instructions to the lower court to 'overrule the defendant's demurrer to the amended bill, with leave to answer and to grant a temporary injunction as applied for by complainants.'

"The opinion added: 'In overruling the demurrer, we do not mean to preclude the defendant from showing on the trial, if he can, that the business of complainants as in fact conducted amounts to a violation of the statutes.'

"Justices White and McKenna did not concur in the opinion.

"In reviewing the case Justice Peckham quoted the plea of the magnetic school that one human mind may control another in treating disease, and said:

"'One person may believe it of greater efficacy than another, but surely it cannot be said that it is a fraud for one person to contend that the mind has an effect upon the body and its physical condition greater than even a vast majority of intelligent people might be willing to admit or believe. Even intelligent people may and do differ among themselves as to the extent of this mental effect. Because the complainants might or did claim to be able to effect cures by reason of working upon and effecting the mental powers of the individual and directing them toward the accomplishment of a cure of the disease under which he might be suffering, who can say that it is a fraud or false pretense or promise within the meaning of the statutes? How can any one lay down the limit and say beyond that there are fraud and false pretenses? The claim of the ability to cure may be vastly greater than most men would be ready to admit, and yet those who might deny the existence or virtue of the remedy would only differ in opinion from those who assert it. There is no exact standard of absolute truth by which to prove the assertion false and a fraud.'

Many people have felt that Mr. Madden's systematic attack on various Mental Science, New Thought, and Socialistic publications was in part due to the fact that he belongs to the Roman Catholic Church, whose hostility to all these theories and philosophies is so pronounced; and in view of this fact we greatly regret to note that the only two Judges of the Su-

preme Bench who are mentioned as dissenting from the opinion rendered by the majority are the two members of the Roman Church on the Supreme Bench.

The above decision is, of course, not the ultimate ruling on the merit of the case; but the facts laid down in the opinion prove that the Court is in accord with the Publishers' Bureau and others who have opposed the systematic attempt to usurp the functions of lawmaker and judge that has marked the rulings and actions of Mr. Madden in so many instances of late.

In the above case the Court refuses to permit the Department to arrogate the right to judge as to what is good and what is not good for the people, where there are widely divergent opinions among good citizens.

In another important decision, rendered on December 3, the District Court of Appeals at Washington made two decisions against the rulings of the Department on the publications of the National Railway Publication Company and the Railway List Company.

It will be remembered that Mr. Madden, after several years of unavailing attempts to secure certain legislation that in the opinion of Congress would be unwise and prejudicial to the best interests of the country, deliberately sought to gain, by a series of arbitrary rulings, the object that by his own confession Congress had refused to grant. Thus the Department usurped the legislative functions of the Government, and it is not strange that the courts refused to uphold such action.

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court and those of the District Court of Appeals are extremely valuable, because they will necessarily be a check to the attempt to establish an odious bureaucracy, as absolute and despotic in spirit as that which curses Russia.

If the same efforts as have been put forth by the Post-Office Department to prevent publications building up large circulations through giving premiums and sending out sample copies had been expended in an attempt to cut down the enormous and extortionate rates paid by the Government to the railway companies—which is one of the most crying scandals in public life to-day—the Post-Office Department would in all probability be making a far better showing financially; while the immensely valuable educational influence of the Department would not have been hampered through the un-American and reactionary policy that has marked the Post-Office Department during the last six years.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MAJORITY RULE.

The underlying principles of free government are permanent and immutable. Freedom, justice, fraternity, equality of opportunity, and equality before the law—these things are basic and unchangeable. But to preserve the victories won, to conserve the great cause, to approach nearer and still nearer the glorious ideal that was the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night to the master spirits who led the people out from the Egypt of imperialism, absolutism, and kingcraft—such is the high mission of the true statesman and the most solemn obligation devolving on the citizen where, as in a democracy, the destiny of the people lies in the ballot of the electorate.

The changed conditions of the last fifty years have rendered it not only expedient but absolutely necessary, if free institutions are to be preserved and if the Republic is to be in fact as well as in theory a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, that certain safeguards be thrown out to preserve popular government from the corrupt aggressions of corporate wealth and the subtle reactionary spirit that seeks to reestablish the old immoral "divine right" idea on the throne of a people's government. This is not saying, of course, that the attempt to revive the idea of the divine right of kings is contemplated. The divine right of property, or the establishment of property rights over the inherent and inalienable rights of man, is merely another form of the same tyranny that ever wars against justice, freedom, and fraternity. And during the last thirty or forty years so great has been the rise of the aristocracy of the dollar or the plutocracy in this country, so aggressive and immoral has been its influence in politics, and so rapidly but quietly has it gained ownership, control, or influence over various public opinion-forming agencies, that municipal, State, and national scandals have followed one another in rapid succession; while millions are oppressed and plundered by monopolies and corporations in the presence of a government that, when not cynically indifferent, pleads the baby act of helplessness. During this period the machine, the partizan boss, and the corporation—a trinity of darkness—have become a deadly peril to free government.

To meet this emergency it is of vital importance that government be carried back to the people, that the power to initiate and to veto legislation be given in fact to the voters, and that

the farce of special interests ruling a country under the pretext of popular government shall cease.

This is precisely what Majority Rule secures to the people. It is merely the realization of republican or democratic ideals of government in their most perfect expression, and the only way in which the usurpation of public government by unscrupulous party bosses, corrupt machines, and equally corrupt corporate wealth can be destroyed.

* * *

MR. ROCKEFELLER AS AN EDUCATOR, AND THE LATEST LESSON OF THE STANDARD OIL TRUST.

The following incident, which is said to have occurred in the State of Maine, is highly suggestive and illustrates the way in which the master spirits in the modern trusts and corporations, whose millions have been largely amassed through possessing the power to plunder the wealth-creators of the Republic, systematically pose as patrons of religion and benefactors of the race.

A well-known and somewhat shrewd-minded resident of one of the rural districts of the Pine Tree State had managed to eke out a fairly good living by peddling various articles. Once a week he made the rounds of his circuit with his oil cart. At such times the farmers were accustomed to replenish their oil cans. The hawker was noted for ever being ready with an answer for all questions, and when the requisite knowledge was not at hand his inventive imagination usually suggested a plausible explanation. On one of his trips, which occurred shortly after the daily press and a large number of the religious journals had been filled with extravagant and fulsome laudations of Mr. Rockefeller because of some recent donations to certain colleges and religious institutions, the hawker informed his patrons that the price of oil had advanced a cent a gallon. In reply to the indignant demand for the reason of this advance, he said: "Why, you see, it is just this way: Mr. Rockefeller has lately given some hundreds of thousands of dollars to some religious or educational institutions, and so he has had to secure an advance in the price of oil. Of course," he added, shrewdly, "if the price keeps up Mr. Rockefeller's

share of the increase will be a great deal more than the amount he has given; but I reckon that will not trouble him much."

Since the price of coal advanced as a result of the shameful arrogance of the criminal coal and railroad trust, the demand for petroleum for heating purposes has greatly increased, and as a result coal oil that was selling at wholesale on September 20 at seven and one-half cents a gallon has been four times advanced, so that exactly three months later, on December 20, we find it selling at wholesale at eleven and one-half cents, or more than half as much again as it was selling for before the extremity of the people made this rank robbery possible.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Rockefeller is again posing as a great philanthropist by propositions for extensive educational benefactions, thereby again calling forth extravagant and fulsome praise from the corporation-owned press. The circumstance that the proposed gifts will be a moiety of his share of the money that will be wrung from the shivering millions of the Republic if the present increase in the price of oil is maintained—that they represent the plunder of the poor: extortion that has greatly augmented the misery of the multitude—is entirely overlooked by the press and the pulpit that have assumed the rôle of apologists for the rapacity of the corporations.

The circumstance that the richest trust or corporation in the New World, and one whose returns on oil were princely when the price was seven and one-half cents a gallon, seizes upon the opportunity presented by the helplessness and misery of our people to extort a sum that, based on the annual sales, will amount to over \$93,000,000, proves the essential brutality and moral obloquy of the master minds that manage this vast aggregation of wealth; and the further fact that the leading spirit of this trust has in no way sought to curb its rapacity or prevent it from wringing millions out of the suffering and freezing poor envelops in a Tatarian shadow all his so-called gifts for religion or education.

If the people owned and operated, as they should own and manage, the natural monopolies and the great storehouses of natural wealth given by the beneficent Creator for all His children, this shameful robbery of the millions for the further enrichment of the dangerously overrich few would be impossible. And furthermore, if the Government was not so recreant to its trust that it failed to safeguard the rights of the people and protect the weak from the rapacity of the shrewd and un-

scrupulous strong, we would not to-day have the spectacle of the masses of America the helpless victims of the insatiable greed of the coal trust, the oil trust, the beef trust, and other similar predatory bands.

Happily for the Republic there are many signs of a change; and this very criminal indifference of government and the shameful oppression of the people by corporate wealth is compelling millions to think who have heretofore been content to be led by the paid advocates and tools of "the masters of the bread." And it may be that the very insolence and brutality of the trusts and monopolies, and the cynical indifference of government to the rights of the exploited millions, will prove in the end the salvation of democracy from the despotism of plutocracy.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

SWORDS AND PLOWSHARES. By Ernest Crosby. Cloth, 126 pp. Price, \$1 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

I. THE FUNCTION OF THE PROPHET IN NATIONAL CRISES.

In the history of the children of Israel one fact ever deeply impressed me, and that was that whenever ambition, lust for power, greed for wealth, animal appetites and desires blinded the people to the solemn duty devolving on men and nations, causing injustice and oppression to occupy the seats of equity and righteousness, there arose great prophets, whose voices rang throughout the nation with something of the strength and suggestiveness of primeval life. These men spoke to the conscience of the people; they appealed to the sleeping divinity in the heart of man; they denounced alike the rulers and the priesthood, who were both recreant to the demands of righteousness and justice. They often offended conventionalism, which ever desires of her teachers that they prophesy smooth things. They were ridiculed, sneered at, and persecuted by the scribes, Pharisees, and rulers. Often they were slain or driven from their land by intrenched injustice and triumphant greed. Their work, however, was never in vain. Even when their warning words were not received by the people they awakened the divine in some chosen minds, who henceforth consecrated their lives to the divine ideal enunciated by the elder prophet; and thus, tocsin-like, the message continued to sound, until the sleeping people awakened in its strength and renewed its covenant with the truth.

The history of Israel has been the history of all the great nations of earth. So long as the prophet is powerful and his warnings are heeded, the nation lives. When his voice fails to rouse the conscience of the people, then, in deed and in truth, has the night settled over the land.

And what has been true of the past is equally true to-day. Here, for example, in America, the Republic is passing through a supreme crisis. The lower is battling against the higher; brute power is being exalted over moral courage; greed for gold and an insane mania for dominion are fighting against the very fundamentals of free government. The fatal idea of the divine right of property is being exalted over the fundamental demands of justice and the inalienable right of

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manhood. Lust for wealth is filling our factories with women who should grace and glorify lappy homes, and with little children whose rightful place is in the schoolroom and on the playground. The great daily papers, having become the channels for wealth's advertisements, have thereby become slaves where they should be masters. The colleges, universities, and churches are on every hand receiving donations from the new feudalism of wealth, and with the acceptance of this acquired gold there seems to come a tacit understanding that education and religion alike shall become blind to social injustice and economic crimes, by which the millions are being exploited for the enrichment of the few. Or, if the educators and the clergy see at all, it is only after they have put on the spectacles of the feudal barons, becoming thereby apologists for wrong.

Hence, it is clear that there never was an hour when the voice of the prophet was more urgently needed in the land; and, happily for our Republic, a growing group of prophets is voicing the eternal verities and calling to the conscience and soul of the nation as did the Elijahs, the Isaiahs, and the Daniels of the olden time.

Among this noble coterie of servants of progress and sons of the dawn, no voice rings out clearer or with truer tone than that of Ernest Crosby. In his utterances is found the consuming love that is all-important, married to a moral courage before which the courage of the slayers of bodies sinks into pitiful insignificance.

In his new volume, "Swords and Plowshares," our author in the voice of a very Isaiah denounces the crimes of the war of criminal aggression that has stained the flag of the Republic. He boldly arraigns that double spirit of death—the mania for taking life and the materialism of the market that subordinates all things to the acquisition of gold. He appeals to the moral side of life and pleads for peace and brotherhood with that rugged power born of sincerity and a passionate love of all life.

II. PROTESTS AGAINST WAR.

To a man like Mr. Crosby, who believes in following Jesus' teachings rather than pretending to do so while denying the Master at every turn, the hypocrisy of those who at once champion war and claim to be Christians is so offensive that he is moved to protest in these timely and suggestive words:

Talk, if you will, of hero deed,
Of clash of arms and battle wonders;
But prate not of your Christian creed
Preached by the cannon's murderous thunders.

And if your courage needs a test,
Copy the pagan's fierce behavior;
Revel in bloodshed east and west,
But speak not of it with the Savior.

The Turk may wage a righteous war
 In honor of his martial Allah;
 But Thor and Odin live no more—
 Dead are the gods in our Valhalla.

Be what you will, entire and free,
 Christian or warrior—each can please us;
 But not the rank hypocrisy
 Of warlike followers of Jesus.

Our author believes that there are no such things as good wars. He holds that violence can only degrade a noble cause, and "that violence, however employed, drives out all liberty and love at the end." His views on this point are well set forth in these lines on our Civil War:

But, you say, there have been good wars.

Never, never, never!

As I look back at our "good" war—at the indelible bloody splash upon our history—the four years' revel of hatred—the crowded sham-bles of foiled Secession—

I see that it was all a pitiable error.

That which we fought for, the Union of haters by force, was a wrong, misleading cause: the worship of bigness, the measure of greatness by latitude and longitude.

A single town true enough to abhor slaughter as well as slavery would have been better worth dying for than all that tempestuous domain.

From the seed then sown grew up imperialism and militarism and capitalism and a whole forest of stout, deep-rooted ills in whose shadow we lead an unhealthy, stunted life to-day.

The incidental good—the freedom of the slaves, illusive, unsubstantial freedom at best, freedom by law but not from the heart—does it really quite balance the scales?

Very fine and suggestive is the thought expressed in these lines:

The old, old dream of empire—

The dream of Alexander and Cæsar, of Tamerlane and Genghis Khan—

The dream of subject peoples carrying out our sovereign will through fear—

The dream of a universe forced to converge upon us—

The dream of pride and loftiness justified by strength of arms—

The dream of our arbitrary "Yea" overcoming all "Nays" whatsoever—

The dream of a cold, stern, hated machine of an empire!

But there is a more enticing dream:

The dream of wise freedom made contagious—

The dream of gratitude rising from broken fetters—

The dream of coercion laid prostrate once for all—

The dream of nations in love with each other without a thought of a common hatred or danger—

The dream of tyrants stripped of their tyrannies and oppressors despoiled of their prey—

The dream of a warm, throbbing, one-hearted empire of brothers!

And will such a life be insipid when war has ceased forever?

Be not afraid.

Do lovers find life insipid?

Is there no hero-stuff in lovers?

To the champions of torture and savagery, who denounce the apostles of freedom and the true defenders of the honor of the flag as traitors, Mr. Crosby thus replies in a little waif entitled "The Flag":

Who has hauled down the flag?

Is it the men who still uphold
The principles for which it stood;
Who claim that ever as of old
Freedom is universal good?

Or is it those who spurn the way
That Washington and Lincoln trod;
Who seek to make the world obey,
And long to wield the master's rod?

Who boast of freedom, but prepare
Shackles and chains for distant shores,
Who make the flag the emblem there
Of all that Liberty abhors?

These have hauled down the flag!

In some stanzas entitled "The Pirate Flag" we have some lines of power embodying in a strikingly vivid manner the spirit of our war of criminal aggression, with its brutal slaughter of old and young, its laying waste of fruitful plains, its burning of villages, and its torture and murder of prisoners. The pictures drawn are far from pleasant. Would they were not true!—

I had an ugly dream last night,
And I was far away,
A-sailing on a man-of-war
Far up Manila Bay.
And as I cast a glance aloft
It made me stand aghast
To see a jet-black pirate flag
A-flying from the mast.

And then around me fore and aft
The guns began to roar,
And flames sprang up and soon enwrapped
A village on the shore.
I took my glass and clearly saw
Women and children run,
While soldiers in the palms behind
Were potting them for fun.

Far to the left some dusky men
Fought bravely on a knoll,
But, overcome at last, they raised
A white rag on a pole;
Yet still the soldiers shot them down
And I could almost hear
Their laughter as they seemed to shout,
"No prisoners wanted here!"

Then when the last defender fell
 The men rushed in with glee,
 And from each house they came with loads
 Of plunder sad to see;
 And soon we sent a boat ashore—
 Blue-jackets and marines—
 To get our share of loot and swag,
 And spoil the Philippines.

I turned and asked a sailor lad—
 For now they stood at ease—
 What pirates we might chance to be
 Who plagued these summer seas.
 "Oh, we're no pirates," he replied,
 "Don't ask me that again;
 This is a ship of Uncle Sam
 And we are Dewey's men."

"But how is that?" I said once more;
 "Where are our stripes and stars?
 And does this inky flag up there
 Belong to honest tars?"
 "To tell the truth, it's rather queer,"
 Replied embarrassed Jack,
 "But something in the climate here
 Has turned Old Glory black.

"We wash her in the briny sea
 And in the streams on land;
 We scrub her with the best of soap,
 And rub her in the sand;
 And all our Chinese laundrymen
 And all our laundry maids
 Have tackled her, but still she looks
 Black as the ace of spades.

"There's something in the climate here
 That changes things around,
 And what the reason of it is
 We none of us have found.
 And so we don't know what to say,
 Or even what to think,
 When people ask us what has made
 Old Glory black as ink."

Just then the boat came back from shore
 Well laden down with spoil—
 With goods that told of many years
 Of Filipino toil;
 And Jack ran off to get his part,
 Nor came he ever back,
 And I awoke and never learned
 What turned Old Glory black.

The above extracts will serve to give our readers a fair idea of the author's poems and word pictures touching war. We now turn to a brighter page.

III. SONGS OF PEACE AND PROGRESS.

One of the most beautiful poems in the work is entitled "Peace," from which we take the following stanzas:

Peace, O Peace, when will the nation
Lift its eyes and understand
How thou holdest all creation
In the hollow of thy hand?

Thine the strength that stays the ocean
Hypnotized within its bed;
Thine the power that keeps in motion
Constellations overhead.

Thine the orb of love afire,
Lighting up the heavens profound;
Thine the suns that never tire
Swinging planets round and round;

* * * *

Thine the strength, serene, unshaken,
Which can master self alone,
Quelling passions when they waken,
From thy calm, eternal throne.

* * * *

Teach us, while the battle rages,
What we never understood:
This the mystery of the ages—
Evil overcome by good.

Far above the storms and thunders,
Far above the war and strife,
Far above our sins and blunders,
At the source of strength and life—

There I see thy hand commanding
With the olive branch for rod,
Peace, that passest understanding!
Spirit of Almighty God!

And here is an excellent characterization of the true leader:

And this shall ever be the sign
To mark the leader true:
The poet is the man divine
Who tells us something new—

The man who tells us something new,
And points the road ahead;
Whose tent is with the forward few,
And not among the dead.

One of the sweetest and most tender little conceits is entitled "Love's Patriot":

I saw a lad, a beautiful lad,
 With a far-off look in his eye,
 Who smiled not on the battle-flag
 When the cavalry troop marched by.

And, sorely vexed, I asked the lad
 Where might his country be
 Who cared not for our country's flag
 And the brave from oversea?

"Oh, my country is the Land of Love,"
 Thus did the lad reply;
 "My country is the Land of Love,
 And a patriot there am I."

"And who is your king, my patriot boy,
 Whom loyally you obey?"
 "My king is Freedom," quoth the lad,
 "And he never says me nay."

"Then you do as you like in your Land of Love,
 Where every man is free?"
 "Nay, we do as we love," replied the lad;
 And his smile fell full on me.

In literary form and the ruggedness of his expression Mr. Crosby constantly reminds one of Walt Whitman, while his ethical exaltation likewise frequently suggests the writings of Count Tolstoy. These facts are well brought out in the following lines:

Since my soul has become brother to the lowest, its pride knows no bounds.
 It looks down on kingship and empire, on rule and mastery, on laws and institutions, on the ambitions and successes of men.
 It condescends to mountains and oceans, to suns and constellations, to time and space.
 It feels equal to the sum total of all things, of all excellencies and grandeurs.
 It bows to nothing and nobody, and finds all that is worshipful in itself.
 When my soul became brother to the lowest, it feared to lose the tiny atom that it was, and instead of that it has expanded into a universe.
 All this has happened since my soul became brother to the lowest.

Ho! for the pride of democracy!
 The other prides of kings and aristocrats shrivel up before it.
 We fold up the tinsel muslin and lay aside the gilded crowns that played their part so long.
 Let it strut no more—the pride that sucked its strength from the abasement of brother men.
 It was a bastard pride, a usurping, base-born pride.

But the new pride comes in its place:
 The pride of typifying all humanity, of being an integral part of it, of embracing and sharing it from the lowest to the highest;
 The pride of being brother to the tramp and the prostitute as well as to the queen and the conqueror;

The pride of being a representative bit of the universe and of compassing its entire span;
 The pride that takes from no one but gives to all, that debases no one but raises all—
 The pride of being universal and infinite and eternal!
 Ho! for the bottomless, topless pride of democracy!

In the lines entitled "Godward" is found the essence of the coming religion, the religion of life, of joy, of growth:

Truth—vague to the mind, invisible, elusive, impalpable—
 Incarnate in life alone is it to be grasped and handled.
 Only as love do I recognize truth, for truth precipitated in life is love.
 Love is truth alive—quickened, concentrated, vivid, intense.
 Do you yearn for intensity and concentration? You will find these only in love.
 Argument, theory, speculation—these are false doors, and conduct us not to the citadel of truth.
 They open upon the plains of diffusion, dissipation, disintegration.
 They lead to the somnolent, hazy hinterland of life on the confines of the desert of death.
 Stop babbling and live.
 Love—and feel the truth.
 Live Godlike and feel God.

IV. SOCIAL PSALMS AND PROTESTS.

The present is big with social protest. The new conscience is everywhere raising its cry against injustice, inhumanity, and the spoliation of the poor. Very clear and vivid is the following epitome of social wrongs born of inequality of opportunity and privilege. It embodies in a large way the soul of the new protest of the conscience of civilization against the new feudalism of wealth:

I passed the plate in church.
 There was little silver, but the crisp bank-notes heaped themselves up high before me;
 And ever as the pile grew, the plate became warmer and warmer, until it fairly burned my fingers, and a smell of scorching flesh rose from it, and I perceived that some of the notes were beginning to smolder and curl, half-browned, at the edges.
 And then I saw through the smoke into the very substance of the money, and I beheld what it really was:
 I saw the stolen earnings of the poor, the wide margin of wages pared down to starvation;
 I saw the underpaid factory girl eking out her living on the street, and the overworked child, and the suicide of the discharged miner;
 I saw poisonous gases from great manufactories spreading disease and death;
 I saw despair and drudgery filling the dram-shop;
 I saw rents screwed out of brother men for permission to live on God's land;
 I saw men shut out from the bosom of the earth and begging for the poor privilege to work in vain, and becoming tramps and paupers and drunkards and lunatics, and crowding into almshouses, insane asylums, and prisons;
 I saw ignorance and vice and crime growing rank in stifling, filthy slums;

I saw usury, springing from usury, itself again born of unjust monopoly
 and purchased laws and legalized violence;
 I saw shoddy cloth and adulterated food and lying goods of all kinds,
 cheapening men and women and vulgarizing the world;
 I saw hideousness extending itself from coal-mine and foundry over
 forest and river and field;
 I saw money grabbed from fellow-grabbers and swindled from fellow-
 swindlers, and underneath them the workman forever spinning
 it out of his vitals;
 I saw all the laboring world, thin and pale and bent and care-worn and
 driven, pouring out this tribute from its toil and sweat into the
 laps of the richly dressed men and women in the pews, who only
 glanced at them to shrink from them with disgust;
 I saw money worshiped as a god, and given grudgingly from hoards
 so great that it could be missed, as a bribe from superstition to a
 dishonest judge in the expectation of escaping hell.
 I saw all this, and the plate burned my fingers so that I had to hold it
 first in one hand and then in the other; and I was glad when the
 parson in his white robes took the smoking pile from me on the
 chancel steps and, turning about, lifted it up and laid it on the
 altar.
 It was an old-time altar indeed, for it bore a burnt offering of flesh and
 blood—a sweet savor unto the Moloch whom these people wor-
 ship with their daily round of human sacrifices.
 The shambles are in the temples as of yore, and the tables of the
 money-changers waiting to be overturned.

And here also are some words for the times taken from a social psalm entitled "Bread and Justice":

Bitter to eat is the bread that was made by slaves.
 In the fair white loaf I can taste their sweat and tears.
 My clothes strangle and oppress me; they burn into my flesh, for I have
 not justly earned them, and how are they clad that made them?
 My tapestried walls and inlaid floors chill me and hem me in like the
 damp stones of a prison house, for I ask why the builders and
 weavers of them are not living here in my stead.
 Alas! I am eating the fruit of the forbidden tree, the tree of others'
 labor!

Is the bread question so low and material?
 Are the men so very wrong who claim that, with bread for all who
 deserve it, paradise would be fairly inaugurated?
 To withhold bread is injustice. Is injustice material?
 To give bread where it is due is justice. Has justice nothing to do
 with soul?
 Bread is the symbol of justice and righteousness.
 Honest bread is the staff of life of the spirit as well as of the body.
 Justice—plain bread justice—is the only atmosphere in which a healthy
 soul of a man or of a people can thrive.

The question of child slavery is happily being much agitated at the present time in this country, where, to the disgrace of the Republic, tens of thousands of little ones are being compelled to drudge their childhood hours away instead of enjoying the benefits of education and a care-free life at a formative period. Mr. Crosby touches upon this crying wrong in these suggestive lines, which should be read wherever

there are men and women whose hearts go out to the little ones as did the love of the Great Nazarene when he trod the barren plains of Galilee:

Br-r-r-r-r-r-r!

What are the machines saying—a hundred of them in one long room? They must be talking to themselves, for I see no one else for them to talk to.

But yes, there is a boy's red head bending over one of them, and beyond I see a pale face fringed with brown curly locks.

There are only five boys in all on this floor, half hidden by the clattering machines, for one bright lad can manage twenty-five of them.

Each machine makes one cheap, stout sock in five minutes, without seam, complete from toe to ankle, cutting the thread at the end and beginning another of its own accord.

The boys have nothing to do but to clean and burnish and oil the steel rods and replace the spools of yarn.

But how rapidly and nervously they do it—the slower hands straining to accomplish as much as the fastest!

Working at high tension for ten hours a day in the close, greasy air and endless whirr—

Boys who ought to be out playing ball in the fields or taking a swim in the river this fine summer afternoon.

And in these good times the machines go all night, and other shifts of boys are kept from their beds to watch them.

The young girls in the mending and finishing rooms down-stairs are not so strong as the boys.

They have an unaccountable way of fainting and collapsing in the noise and smell, and then they are of no use for the rest of the day.

The kind stockholders have had to provide a room for collapsed girls and to employ a doctor, who finds it expedient not to understand this strange new disease.

Perhaps their children will be more stalwart in the next generation.

Yet this factory is one of the triumphs of our civilization.

With only twenty-five boys at a time at the machines in all the rooms it produces five thousand dozen pairs of socks in twenty-four hours for the toilers of the land.

It would take an army of fifty thousand hand-knitters to do what these small boys perform.

Br-r-r-r-r-r-r!

What are the machines saying?

They are saying: "We are hungry.

We have eaten up the men and women (there is no longer a market for men and women, they come too high)—

We have eaten up the men and women, and now we are devouring the boys and girls.

How good they taste as we suck the blood from their rounded cheeks and forms, and cast them aside sallow and thin and care-worn, and then call for more!"

The devil has somehow got into the machines.

They came like the good gnomes and fairies of old, to be our willing slaves and make our lives easy.

Now that, by their help, one man can do the work of a score, why have we not plenty for all, with only enough work to keep us happy?

Who could have foreseen all the ills of our factory workers and of those who are displaced and cast aside by factory work?

The good wood and iron elyes came to bless us all, but some of us have succeeded in bewitching them to our own ends and turning them against the rest of mankind.

We must break the sinister charm and win over the docile, tireless machines until they refuse to shut out a single human being from their benefits.

We must cast the devil out of the machines.

We close these selections with a very suggestive little waif entitled "The Tyrants' Song":

'Tis not the man with match alight
Behind the barricade,
Nor he who stoops to dynamite,
That makes us feel afraid.
For halter-end and prison-cell
Soon quench these brief alarms;
But where are found the means to quell
The man with folded arms?

We dread the man who folds his arms
And tells the simple truth,
Whose strong, impetuous protest charms
The virgin ear of youth,
Who scorns the vengeance that we wreak,
And smiles to meet his doom,
Who on the scaffold still can speak,
And preaches from the tomb.

We kill the man with dagger drawn—
The man with loaded gun;
They never see the morning dawn
Nor hail the rising sun;
But who shall slay the immortal man
Whom nothing mortal harms,
Who never fought and never ran—
The man with folded arms?

The last pages of the volume are given to Nature poems and farm pictures. Space forbids our quoting from them, and we can only say that many of these lines are very beautiful, and, like all Mr. Crosby's work, are thought-inspiring.

This is a noble volume—a valuable addition to the growing conscience literature of the twentieth century.

A BOOK OF MEDITATIONS. By Edward Howard Griggs. Cloth, 226 pp. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

In this volume we have at once the inspiration of the prophet and the aspiration of the humanistic lover of truth. It is a work of exceptional merit that we can heartily recommend to all our readers, in the conviction that no one will be able to peruse its pages without having been made better and stronger for the reading.

It has been termed an autobiography of thoughts and impressions, and is introspective rather than superficial in character. It deals with

the subjective world and its aspirations and desires. It touches life on the moral and mental rather than on the material plane. It stimulates the intellectual man while feeding the soul. Such works are greatly needed at a time like the present, when material affairs engross so much of life. Almost every page contains something highly suggestive and positively helpful. The pulsation of the author's thought is in harmony with the higher aspirations of our dawning century. Take, for example, the following prose poem suggested to the author at midnight when in Paris. It is entitled "Humanity":

"Out upon the night-wind it is borne, faint, tremulous, rising into a deep swell of sound, shaking the fabric of the earth and reaching aloft to heaven—the sigh of suffering humanity. It shakes the throne of the despot, and weakens the foundations upon which Pride and Selfishness have built their seemingly eternal palaces. It rings in the ears of the dreamer and makes tremulous the heart of every lover of his fellow-men. More powerful than the wind that lashes the sea, more lasting than the ceaseless hum of toil, pitiable, insistent, menacing, it shall not go unheard and unanswered. The ear of God listens, the forces of the universe wait to leap into being to answer its need. Those who cause it shall be swept into ruin, and those who listen and seek to help shall attain a power no tyrant ever dreamed."

Here, too, are some words that remind one of the great Italian solitary, Mazzini. They are entitled "Freedom":

"We crave freedom, but freedom is never an end in itself; it is a means to be used for further aims. Its value lies in the extent to which it can assist the development of life. To possess freedom with no life for which to use it is the bitterest farce. One of the saddest situations in human experience comes when, having previously desired freedom, we discover that we have attained it just when the objects to which we had hoped to dedicate it are irrevocably lost. Life never means complete freedom, and every action and relation is an added bond. Life is to be attained, not through a non-moral freedom of caprice, but through a glad welcoming and loyal fulfilment of every bond and obligation which comes in the daily path of life."

The following lines on "Love" are very fine and true:

"Love is the everlasting worker of miracles. When all seems hopeless, and the soul is descending upon the road that has no turning, let it be awakened to love, and immediately all the forces of the spiritual world converge upon it to lift it toward God. Love is the savior, love is the perpetual wonder of life.

"The truest love can endure much and forgive all. It never wearies, it never despairs. It knows that in the end love will bring truth. With all its bitter longing, it can wait and suffer, and it never fails.

"The truest love is not merely the satisfaction of one aspect of human nature; it answers the whole life. It is the greatest of all joy-bringers and the most wonderful of educators. It can hold one to truth with a power that belongs to no other force. It is ever fresh and new like the morning and the flowers, for it is born anew in each experience, and the wonder it reveals to-day is a deep below deep in comparison to what seemed the infinite joy of yesterday."

And here is something well calculated to rouse even the shallow worldly-wise or butterfly-like mind out of its absorption in the superficial round of society life:

"The pink color fades from the light fleeces of cloud, the twilight descends over the city, in the street the crier calls the evening papers, the throng hastens homeward in the dusk:

"Men work or rest, but Time sweeps on!"

"The glory of Italy crumbles from the walls where fading frescoes decay, it broods over old churches and palaces like the fading light over the darkening city, it is buried in the countless pictures in which it descends from the past:

"The sun shines and is silent, but Time sweeps on!"

"The Greek is a splendid memory, the Egyptian and Assyrian a dim legend, the palaces of Nineveh are fallen, the splendors of Alexandria are sunk beneath the mud of the Nile. The Jew prays beside the weeping wall that sorrowfully whispers the past of Solomon, Babylon is lost in the mist, and Tyre and Carthage are but the vibrant echoes of a forgotten dream:

"Nations rise and fall, but Time sweeps on!"

"Where the Britons, clothed in skins, met under some ancient oak, there vast and gloomy cities vomit their poisonous breath. Where Alexander led his adventurous soldiers or Cleopatra met the legions of Rome, there English and German traders barter the machine-woven stuffs of to-day. Where cities stood the sand whirls in wild triumph, and the gardens in which lovers sang echo to some night beast of prey. The golden palace of Theodoric is shrunk to the fragment of a wall. The tomb of an emperor is the play-house of the mob. Causes for which men fought and died are forgotten, and the fighters, too, are locked in the vast embrace:

"Men live and die, but Time sweeps on!"

"The figures carved upon the graves of the Crusaders are worn smooth by innumerable feet. The walls of Venetian palaces which echoed to the laughter of gorgeous women are lipped by the silent kisses of the dead canals. The Forum where Cato and Cicero walked is sunk below the level of the street and littered with the stone waste of what once were temples:

"Men hate and love, but Time sweeps on!"

"On, on, relentlessly, unhurried by our passionate desires, unchecked by our wild regret, remorselessly, unheeding, Time sweeps on. Carrying us with it in its merciless and exultant flood, or leaving us stranded like foam-bubbles upon the shore; sweeping vast civilizations into arrogant being, and surging over their last dying traces:

"Time ever sweeps on, and on, and on!"

These extracts will serve to indicate the lofty key in which the work is pitched and the deeply suggestive character of its contents. They are typical examples of the meditations that compose the 226 pages of the volume.

The work is excellently gotten up in all particulars save the absence of a table of contents or an index—an omission that is as surprising as it is annoying to the reader accustomed to an index, or at least to a table of contents.

CORNEILLE AND THE SPANISH DRAMA. By J. B. Segall, Ph.D. Cloth, 147 pp. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: The Columbia University Press; The Macmillan Company, Agents.

This is a brief but excellent work in which the author, after showing how greatly the literature of France of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was indebted to Spain, dwells especially on the overweening power of the Spanish stage over the French drama during the age of Corneille, and how the great French master borrowed plot and often thoughts and expressions from Spanish playwrights. Corneille's treatment was of course very different from that of the Spanish dramatists. The limitations imposed by classicism naturally fettered the great Frenchman, and it was only the genius of the author that invested the plays with lasting virility. The chapter comparing "Le Cid" with "Las Mocedades del Cid" is of special interest.

The volume is one of the series of Columbian University studies in romance, philology, and literature.



LITERARY NOTES.

A VERY valuable and suggestive little cloth-bound manual has recently appeared from the competent pen of Frank Cramer, the author of "Method of Darwin." It is entitled "Talks to Students on the Art of Study." (The Hoffman-Edwards Company, San Francisco.) "Skill," observes the author, "comes quickly only by attention to the method in which the thing is done." And this may be said to be the key-note of the book, which contains thirty chapters characterized throughout by practical and helpful instruction for the reader, and of especial value to the young whose habits of thought and action are being formed.



"FRANCEZKA," by Molly Elliot Seawell, is one of the new romantic novels recently brought out by the Bowen-Merrill Company. (Cloth, \$1.50.) It is a bright, well-written story, dealing for the most part with French life during the eighteenth century. It abounds in stirring deeds, though happily free from the exaggerations and the improbable not to say impossible situations characteristic of most of the modern so-called historical romantic novels. Lovers of a conventional romantic story of love and adventure, not untinged by sadness, will enjoy this volume, which is beautifully gotten up and embellished with a number of excellent drawings.



A VERY striking novel of modern life in the frivolous world of wealth and society appears in the December issue of "Tales from Town Topics," and is entitled "No Middle Ground." The author veils her identity under the *nom de plume* of Adam Adams. It is one of the most finished literary productions of the season, and at times is highly dramatic.

The story deals with the life of an extremely beautiful girl whose mother was a disreputable character. In her childhood the girl is befriended by the hero of the story after she has been accused of the murder of her mother. Stirred by interest in her pitiable condition and stimulated by the extraordinary beauty of the child, the hero becomes her guardian and places her in the hands of an accomplished and high-minded governess. He then fares forth to Europe, where he spends some years in the frivolous and somewhat dissipated life so common to the aristocratic dilettante. Returning, he finds that the governess of his ward has recently died, and the young woman, who has grown to be still more marvelously beautiful, awaits his direction and guidance. He succeeds in securing her a home in an excellent family and leaves to visit his own ultra-exclusive family in Boston. The pride of blood is the special weakness of his haughty mother, else it is probable that the guardian would have forthwith fallen in love with his beautiful, esthetic, and accomplished ward, as her attractions have greatly moved him. Knowing the scandal, however, that a marriage with a maiden whose antecedents were questionable, as were those of Cornilla, the ward, would cause, he battles with his ever-increasing passion. Later a young man who is rich and honorable falls deeply in love with the girl and is referred to her guardian. From early childhood Cornilla has idolized her benefactor. To be worthy of him and to meet his approval if not his love, she has struggled to be all he would have her, and his continued kindness has made of her a blind idolator. Hence, she cannot love the youth who is willing to marry her and trust to the future to fan into life the sacred flame. The guardian, though deeply attached to Cornilla, indeed though he regards her as the only woman he has ever truly loved, yet because of her antecedents shrinks from all thought of marrying her and urges her to insure her honor by marrying the man she does not love.

Here, to our mind, is the vital point in this book. It is one of the boldest exposures ever made of the loathsome immorality that conventionalism upholds as moral and honorable—this prostitution of love, this selling of the most sacred thing in life—if it be sheltered by a marriage certificate.

The heroine refuses to wed the man she does not love, and for a time yields to wayward love and becomes the mistress of her guardian. Later, after a period of terrible suffering arising from a frightful misunderstanding, the two are married, as Cornilla has come to mean everything to her guardian, and he recognizes that between the abyss of moral perdition and honorable marriage there is "no middle ground."

* * *

ONE of the most beautiful and attractive of the recent books for little folks is entitled "Life and Adventures of Santa Claus." It is written by Frank Baum and is published by the Bowen-Merrill Company. Though especially attractive as a Christmas present, it is one of those charmingly fascinating story-books that are suitable for a gift at any season of the

year, as it will prove a source of unfailing delight to the child. Strange, indeed, is the irresistible fascination for the youthful mind to be found in the fairy tales of Hans Christian Andersen and Grimm, in the "Arabian Nights," and in the wonder-stories of Santa Claus. Now, of all the fairy tales or wonder-stories for children we have read during the last decade, none possess greater charm than this delightfully told tale. The setting of the story is also worthy of the tale, as the book is illustrated with many full-page color plates and bound in handsome, decorated cloth.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

OWING to the unusual length of some of the contributions and of our regular departments this month, and of the subsequent receipt of some material of very timely significance, we are obliged reluctantly to withhold for later publication the articles by Justice Walter Clark, John M. Berdan, Ph.D., and Axel Emil Gibson, announced for insertion in this issue of *THE ARENA*. Yet for contemporaneous human and national interest, variety of contents, and genuine service to the cause of social, economic, and political reform, the current number exceeds even the high standard set by that of last month, with which the Twenty-ninth Volume opened.

Our January symposium on "The Great Coal Strike and Its Lessons" elicited widespread comment and discussion, and several of this month's features have an indirect bearing on the coal problem, which has assumed almost a tragic import to thousands of our people. One of the contributors to the symposium sent us the following note soon after the appearance of the last issue:

*"Dear Sir—*There is a regrettable error in my article on the 'Coal Strike' in your current number—an error that only failed of correction before publication by an accident. I there state that there were more crimes of violence in the anthracite regions before the strike than during it. What I should have said was that there were more casualties in the mines before the strike, month for month, than those occasioned by the strike itself. It is not possible, however, to impute to the 'act of God' those accidents in the mines that result from the lack of proper appliances to prevent injury to the workmen. Yours truly,

"ERNEST H. CROSBY."

Edwin Maxey, LL.D., of Columbian University, whose article on the Venezuelan imbroglio has been assigned first place

in this number, has been added to our list of Special Contributors. His logical analysis of the true importance of the Monroe Doctrine in international affairs bears evidence of a trained legal mind, and his conclusions are significant aside from the probable outcome of the pending South American controversy.

Readers of THE ARENA, in common with all students of advanced sociology, are already familiar with Prof. Frank Parsons's views on questions relating to the public ownership of common utilities; but in this writer's article in the present issue some new facts and figures are given that are worth many volumes of theoretical discussion, and his proposition that the people must first *own their governments* is characteristically vital and important.

The essay on "The Labor Problem," by Horace Mann, M.S., was written for this magazine at the request of Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, of the Department of Labor, and the author's suggestions are offered as an aid in "destroying the evil in the trusts," a purpose to which President Roosevelt has recently committed himself.

In conformity with that spirit of fairness and justice which marks the editorial policy of THE ARENA, we give space this month to two articles by advocates of "woman's rights" that are of equal interest and educational value to our readers of the male sex. Mrs. Colby has a most congenial subject in Elizabeth Cady Stanton,—her history, work, and aims,—and presents many facts of a personal nature that serve to throw much new light on the steps by which has been developed the "woman of the period," whom Miss Merrick portrays in a way that is at once sprightly, vivid, and vigorous.

In addition to the papers already referred to for publication next month, our March number will contain a fine essay on Giuseppe Mazzini—the first of a series by Editor Flower on "Nineteenth Century Apostles of Progress"; "Zionism and Socialism," by Bernard G. Richards; "The Rights of Children," by Carrie L. Grout; "The Passing of Church Influence," by Duane Mowry, and a most suggestive article by J. W. Bennett, entitled "Democracy or Autocracy—Which?"

J. E. M.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*
—HEINE.

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LAW AND HUMAN PROGRESS.

PROGRESS is the law of life. Of the three learned professions, medicine has been completely revolutionized in the last few years. There are even those who believe that there has been some progress in theology; but the masses think that *law* is the one stationary, unmoving, and immovable thing in all creation, and that precedents bind judges and lawyers to the past, hand and foot. The law, however, has not been able wholly to escape the influence of the age in which we live, and in a great degree is a sure record of the progress of civilization.

As to the progress of constitutional law, it is sufficient to point to the numerous new State constitutions (or radical amendments thereto), which average it is said one in every twenty years for each State in the Union. As to the Federal Constitution it is true the alterations have been much slower, as much too slow in fact as it may be the changes in the State constitutions have been too frequent. In New York the State constitution imperatively requires that the question of calling a constitutional convention shall be submitted to the people every twenty years, and permits this to be done oftener if the legislature shall think proper. This being so in the "effete East," we cannot expect that such changes should be more infrequent in the progressive West.

As to the Federal Constitution, many causes have combined to prevent changes that the necessities of the time really require, with the result that that instrument has become antiquated and in many respects unsuitable for the demands of the present day. If the Constitution of 1787 had been admirable in all respects and altogether perfect when adopted, the immense changes in population, in territory, in public conditions, and in the needs of this generation, would make it ill adapted in some respects for our purposes to-day. It would be strange indeed if the men of one hundred and fifteen years ago, when popular government was new and untried and the environments of the times were totally different, could have made a better Constitution for us than we with more than a century of experience could now make for ourselves. Some would make of the Constitution of 1787 a fetish, but it was the work of that day just as were the State constitutions, and it is no more sacred than they, all of which have been materially changed. There is a wide difference between the Union that the makers of the Constitution intended should be perpetual and the Constitution itself, which provided for its own amendment either by Congressional action or the call of a constitutional convention, thus recognizing its imperfections and that the progress of time would necessitate unknown changes.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted it was not considered by its makers as perfect or entirely adapted even to the needs of that day. In all its leading features it was a compromise, and therefore not expressive in its entirety of the wishes of a majority of the Convention that made it. It was passed with closed doors and without the benefit of an expression of public opinion. It was not submitted to the votes of the people in a single State. It was accepted with great hesitation by the Thirteen States, which in their ratifications suggested altogether over one hundred amendments, ten of which were in fact passed by the first Congress, and being ratified by the requisite number of States became a part of that venerable instrument. An eleventh amendment protecting the States against an assumption of power by the Federal Supreme Court

was submitted by Congress as early as 1794, and was promptly ratified by the States. The Presidential election in 1801 showed another dangerous defect in the organic instrument, which was imperfectly patched up by the twelfth amendment in 1803, as subsequent events have shown. Three other amendments followed in the wake of the great Civil War.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted at Philadelphia we had three millions of people scattered along the Atlantic slope. We are now trying to make it do duty for eighty millions—from Florida to Alaska, from Maine to California. Whether it also applies to Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines is a question we are now trying to find out, and that recently evoked nine dissenting opinions in a single case in the highest Federal court at Washington. In 1787 our population was mostly rural; for three years later, in 1790, we had but five towns in the whole country with as many as 6,500 inhabitants each. We then had 75 post-offices, with \$37,000 annual post-office receipts. We have now over one thousand times as many post-offices and more than one hundred million of post-office expenditures. During the first ten years of our national government the total expenses of the government averaged, including payment of revolutionary debts, ten millions annually. Now they are considerably more than fifty times as much. We have two States the population of each of which is double that of the whole Union at the time of the adoption of our Constitution. Steam, railroads, gas, electricity, and a thousand other inventions and discoveries have profoundly modified the life and customs of the people, and governmental requirements and dangers are totally different from what they were in 1787. The power of colossal aggregations of wealth was then inconceivable and trusts were then unheard of. Corporations were almost unknown. The first bank in the Union was not chartered till four years after the adoption of the Constitution, and the second bank was smuggled into existence only by the ingenuity of Aaron Burr, who had it incorporated as a water company. If it had been a railroad or a trust company this might have been more intelligible to us.

So far was the instrument when adopted from being satisfactory even at that date, that out of the small Constitutional Convention of 55 members only 39 concurred in the final result. Its proper construction has been a matter of perpetual debate on the hustings, in Congress, and in the courts, and some provisions have required a power greater than the courts to decide their meaning. But, had the Constitution been constructed with the wisdom and the unanimity we would fain believe, the vast changes that have taken place in the more than a hundred years that have since passed—changes that no mortal wisdom could have foreseen—have made it a *misfit*. These changes have in no wise affected the necessity of a Federal Union and the great features that make the government of the Union supreme in matters affecting all the States, while leaving each State sovereign in those local matters which concern its own government. But it has made the Constitution in other respects ill adapted for the purposes for which it was ordained.

The Constitution has been subject to the law of progress and of change, aside from the amendments that have been submitted and ratified by the necessary number of States. By judicial construction meaning has been written into the Constitution in many matters that were not in contemplation by the makers of that instrument. In some instances these amendments by judicial construction were necessitated by the progress of thought, the evolution of the age, and the changed condition of the people. But there are radical changes that have been made therein by the silent pressure of public opinion, without aid from Congress or the courts. When the Federal Constitution was adopted, of the three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial, direct control was given to the people of only one-sixth of the government, to wit, one-half of the Legislature; for the lower house of Congress was the only body chosen by the people. The Senate was made elective at second hand through the State legislatures; the Executive was to be chosen at second hand through a body of electors selected for that purpose, and it was contemplated that in fact the Executive should be chosen at third hand, as the electors

were originally elected by the State legislatures; and the judiciary and Cabinet officers were selected at fourth hand by the Executive, subject to ratification by the Senate. The government was thus removed from the direct action of public opinion as far as could possibly be the case in a republic. At that time education was not general and popular government was a new experiment. There were many misgivings as to the capacity of the people to govern themselves. In only one State was the Governor then elected by the people; in most if not all of them the upper house of the general assembly and usually both houses were elected by a restricted suffrage, and in none was the judiciary chosen by popular vote. This state of things was reflected in the Federal Constitution, of course, and in form at least remains unchanged in that instrument, though in these respects there have been great changes in the constitutions of the several States.

Though no changes in these matters have been made in the Federal Constitution by constitutional amendment or judicial construction, there has been none the less great alteration by the practical operation of public opinion and other causes. The election of the President has been changed to a direct election by the people by the simple process of treating the electors as figureheads and electing them in the several States at the ballot-box instead of through the State legislatures. As late as the great contest between Adams, Jackson, Clay, and Crawford in 1824, the electors were still chosen in a majority of the States by their legislatures. This was soon changed as one of the results of that contest, though the electors in South Carolina were still chosen in that manner down to the Civil War. Indeed the Presidential electors were chosen by the legislature in Colorado in 1876. A similar change has been made as to the election of Senators in many of the States by requiring primary elections for Senators or by pledging candidates for the legislature and in other methods. A constitutional amendment to give the election of United States Senators directly to the people and to dispense with the legislatures as Senatorial electors has repeatedly passed the lower house of Congress, but its in-

evitable passage has been thus far defeated by what might be termed the indecent and defiant disregard of public sentiment by the Senate itself.

In another respect the Constitution has been practically amended, but in a much less desirable respect by the pressure of necessity. In the beginning, when there were only 75 postmasters, it was contemplated and the Constitution required that they should be appointed by the President or head of the Department. With more than a thousand times that number of postmasters this has become impossible. Postmasters are now selected in a manner not authorized by that instrument. In practise they are necessarily selected by the members of Congress or by political bosses. Except in rare instances the President and the Postmaster-General can do no more than take the recommendation of the member from the district or other leading politicians of their party. As the constitutional provision is practically a dead letter there is no reason why by amendment to the Constitution the postmasters should not be chosen by districts laid off around their respective post-offices at the same time and in the same manner that members of Congress are elected.

Probably the most serious defect in the Federal Constitution is the retention unaltered of the mode for the selection of the Federal Judges at third hand through the instrumentality of the Executive and the Senate, and for life. In truth no provision could be more undemocratic than the manner of selecting these important officials and their life tenure. They are chosen in a manner that entirely negatives any expression of public opinion, and that permits their selection by powerful influences that usually have ready access to the appointing power. This is an anomaly in a country whose government is based upon the principle that it exists only by the consent of the governed. The power that has been assumed and maintained by the judiciary to set aside the action of the legislative and executive departments was unknown when the Constitution was adopted, and it has become vitally necessary, if such power shall remain, as is probable, in the judiciary, that the

judiciary shall at least be selected by the same element that chooses the Federal Legislature; otherwise the will of the people is at the mercy of officials who are under no control and are not selected by the popular will. It is due mainly to the high personal character of most of the gentlemen who have occupied the Federal Bench that this anachronism has not met with a stronger and more universal demand for its removal. The fact that nearly every State in the Union has made its judiciary elective by the people proves that the mature judgment and the deliberate will of the people of the United States upon this subject are well-nigh overwhelming. In 1787 there might well be ground, when popular government was itself a novelty, and when only one-sixth of the government was committed to popular election (the lower house of Congress), for hesitating to intrust the election of the Federal judiciary to the people. But now, with the experience of more than a century behind us and especially in view of incidents fresh in the minds of all, there are many reasons why the Federal judges should not be selected otherwise than by the people themselves, nor hold by different tenure from those who administer justice in the State courts. If the people can be trusted with the selection of one set of judges they certainly can be with the other. There can be no practical difficulty since the district judges can be chosen by the voters of their respective districts, the circuit judges by the people of their circuits, and the Supreme Court Judges either for circuits or by vote of the Union at large.

As far back as 1822, Mr. Jefferson, in his memorable letter to Mr. Barry, expressed the opinion that the Constitution should be amended by making the Federal Judges elective by the people, and that they should hold for a term of years and not for life. Nor is there any reason why the United States district-attorneys should not be made elective by the people of their respective districts.

There are other changes in the Federal Constitution that the popular will would probably require could we have a National Constitutional Convention to make that instrument more in accord with popular government and better to adapt

it to the changed condition of the country and the requirements of the age. The same causes that have from time to time required changes in the State constitutions now still more imperatively require it in the Federal organic law, because of the slowness with which it has responded to the needs of the times. The growth of education, the greater capacity of the people for self-government, and the confidence they have acquired in themselves from experience, and the vast changes in the environment of the times and in all the conditions of life make it clear that the eighteenth-century Constitution under which we live requires many modifications before it can be adapted to the needs of the twentieth century. Conservative as the legal profession is and always has been, we must admit this much; and the sole cause why the needed amendments have not been made or a constitutional convention called, it must be confessed, is the lingering feeling expressed by Hamilton and his followers at Philadelphia—that the people could not be safely trusted with their own government. The experience of more than a century has demonstrated the fallacy of his fears, and that this great American people is capable of governing itself; and indeed there are many who think that we are capable also of governing millions of people whom we have never seen, and of whom we know very little beyond the fact that we are stronger than they.

PROGRESS IN THE COMMON AND STATUTORY LAW.

The enormous changes that have been made in the Common Law by judicial construction or by statutory enactment are such that even the leading features could not be summed up in a volume. The general features of the Common Law of England as then modified by statute have never been better or more elegantly stated than by Mr. Justice Blackstone in his Commentaries, written something over a century and a quarter ago. A brief comparison with English law as it stands to-day and as it was when Blackstone wrote will show that scarcely a shred of the law as it then stood is now in force in England

We have been accustomed to speak of the Common Law of England as the perfection of human reason; in truth it was the conception of our barbarous ancestors modified and changed from time to time by the progress of civilization and by borrowing much, usually without acknowledgment, from the Civil Law. An eminent lawyer (the Hon. James C. Carter, of New York) has thus characterized it:

"In the old volumes of the Common Law we find Knight service, value and forfeiture of marriage, and ravishment of wards; aids to marry Lords' daughters and make Lords' sons knights. We find primer seisins, escuage and monstrans of right; we find feuds and subinfeudations, linking the whole community together in one graduated chain of servile dependence; we find all the strange doctrines of tenures, down to the abject state of villenage and even that abject condition treated as a franchise. We find estates held by the blowing of a horn. In short we find a jumble of rude, undigested usages and maxims of successive hordes of semi-savages, who, from time to time, invaded and prostrated each other. The first of whom were pagans, and knew nothing of divine laws; the last of whom came upon English soil when long tyranny and cruel ravages had destroyed every vestige of ancient science and when the Pandects, from which the truest light has been shed upon English law, lay buried in the earth. When Blackstone, who held a professor's chair and a salary for praising the Common Law, employs his elegant style to whiten sepulchers and varnish such incongruities, it is like the Knight of La Mancha extolling the beauty and graces of his broad-backed mistress 'winnowing her wheat or riding her ass.'"

The same writer further pertinently asks: "When is it that we shall cease to invoke the spirits of departed fools? When is it that in the search of the rule of our conduct we shall no longer be banded from Coke to Croke, from Plowden to the Year Books, thence to the Domes-Day Books, from *ignotum* to *ignotius* in the inverse ratio of philosophy and reason—still at the end of every weary excursion arriving at some barren source of pedantry and quibble?"

Probably the most succinct method in which to indicate not only the progress but the almost complete revolution that has

taken place in the law is to compare the status of the law on a few well-known subjects in England to-day with what it was one hundred years ago in that country; for in our forty-five States and our Territories we have in the main made similar changes, sometimes anticipating and sometimes following the legal reforms, as made from time to time in the mother country. First as to

THE CRIMINAL LAW.

In the year 1800 there were more than two hundred crimes in England that were punishable with death, of which more than two-thirds had been made capital offenses during the eighteenth century. Nearly all felonies were capital. As a late English writer says:

“If a man falsely pretended to be a Greenwich pensioner he was hanged. If he injured a county bridge or cut down a young tree he was hanged. If he forged a bank note he was hanged. If he stole property valued at five shillings; if he stole anything above the value of one shilling from the person; if he stole anything at all, whatever its value, from a bleaching ground—he was hanged. If a convict returned prematurely from transportation; or if a soldier or a sailor wandered about the country begging without a pass, he was hanged. And these barbarous laws were relentlessly carried into execution. A boy only ten years old was sentenced to death in 1816.”

It is owing to Sir Samuel Romilly and later to Sir James Mackintosh that the death penalty is now imposed in England for only four offenses, and very rarely in two of those. Similar, and in some States even greater, changes have been made in this country.

A traitor was drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, was hung by the neck but cut down alive, and his bowels were taken out and burnt before his face; then his head was severed and his body divided into four quarters and placed over the gates of cities to poison the atmosphere. Not until 1870 were these horrid requirements abrogated by statute, and they were pronounced (though not carried out) on Frost the Chartist as

late as 1839. We all remember how, on the Restoration, the body of the greatest sovereign England has ever had was dug from its grave and the head exposed on Temple Bar. These were not the doings of Chinese Boxers, but of enlightened Christian England. Just about the beginning of the nineteenth century the punishment of woman for high treason, which till then was by burning, was changed to hanging. In 1811 Lord Eldon was greatly alarmed by "a dangerous bill," as he termed it, which abolished capital punishment for stealing five shillings in a shop, and prided himself greatly upon defeating this revolutionary measure in the House of Lords. In 1812, when Bellingham was put on trial for the murder of Spencer Perceval, he was informed that one charged with a capital offense was not allowed to have counsel to speak for him, and he had to defend himself. The humane law in England not only prohibited argument by counsel to one on trial for his life, but he could neither have process to summon witnesses in his own behalf nor be allowed to cross-examine the witnesses against him. Bellingham shot Mr. Perceval, the Prime Minister, late on Monday, May 11; he was put on trial Friday, the 15th, and was hanged the following Monday, the 18th; and his body was ordered to be dissected. When the law in the above particulars was somewhat modified in 1836, 12 out of the 15 judges protested, and one of them wrote a letter to Sir John Campbell, then Attorney-General, that if he allowed the bill to pass he would resign. The bill passed, but the learned judge did not resign. Juries were not allowed to separate on trials for felonies or treason, and were locked up "without meat, drink, or fire." This produced the poet's taunt—"and wretches hang, that jurymen may dine." This law was not changed till 1870.

The rules of evidence in both civil and criminal cases disqualified as witnesses not only parties to the action but all who had been convicted of crime or who had a pecuniary interest in the result of the trial. Lord Denman's Act in 1843 struck the first blow at this absurd rule, which had caused so many miscarriages of justice. That Act has since been extended in Eng-

land by Lord Brougham's Act of 1869, and both, I believe, have been since adopted in all the States of this Union.

We recall the magnificent service rendered by Lord Erskine, when at the bar, in maintaining before Lord Mansfield that the question whether a publication was a libel was one of fact for the jury and not of law—a proposition that was enacted by Parliament in 1792; but it was not until 1843 that Lord Campbell's Act allowed the truth of a publication to be pleaded as justification. Till then the courts held the very lucid proposition, "The greater the truth the greater the libel," and punished the offender accordingly.

It was not till 1819 that trials by battle ceased to be legal, though they had fallen into disuse. Thornton's case, in which this barbarous right was invoked, occurred in 1818. There is some progress from that time to this, when no Governor will now allow two gentlemen of national distinction to box in the arena, even without weapons, unless possibly when they are members of the Legislature. It seems to me I have also heard that such diversion was recognized in the Senate of the United States as late as 1902.

Space will not permit me to go into many other ameliorations in the criminal law, including the vast improvements in the jails, which were formerly nurseries of vice and nests of typhus fever.

CIVIL PROCEDURE.

As to civil procedure, there was not only the distinction between law and equity, and three different Superior Courts of Common Law at Westminster, but there were the various "forms of action" from among which a plaintiff had to guess which suited his case. If he guessed wrong, he was non-suited and had to pay the defendant's costs as well as his own, no matter how plain it was that he should have recovered on the merits if he had guessed correctly. The court in such case would never tell the plaintiff whether he had a cause of action or not on his facts, nor what form of action was proper, but would simply leave him to guess again. It was only by a

costly process of elimination that a plaintiff could certainly determine what was his proper legal remedy. The other technicalities and legal fictions were numerous and rigidly adhered to.

Down to 1802, I think, the three Superior Courts of Common Law and the Court of Equity were all held in the great hall of William Rufus, within a few feet of each other, on the same pavement, without partitions. I have visited the historic room, and wondered at the mental attitude of great lawyers who held tenaciously to the idea that the distinction between law and equity was something foreordained in the very nature of things, indispensable, and in some indefinable way connected with the maintenance of our liberties. Yet that system would permit a man to obtain a judgment, as a sacred right, in one spot in that great hall, when a few feet away another court was sitting, within hearing, and without any wall to obstruct the view that would hold him an unconscionable rogue if he should offer to enforce his judgment, and would lay him by the heels if he attempted to do so.

And even on the law side of the docket a royal commission reported, so late as 1831, "there is at present no authentic enumeration of all the forms of action." So doubtful were even the most experienced lawyers as to the limits of the different forms of actions that it is said that old Judge Cowen, of the New York Supreme Court, died in the belief that we had "not yet sounded the depths of trespass on the case;" and the great Judge Story was possessed of the belief that equity could reform a policy of insurance.

It is little more than fifty years since the movement began that in England and in most of her colonies, and in the greater part of the United States, has swept away the distinction (so far as procedure goes) between law and equity, and between the forms of action, and has substituted one form of action in which the plaintiff shall plainly and intelligently, without undue repetition, state his ground of action and the defendant shall reply in the same way, so that the case shall be tried on its merits and in a business-like way. It was unavoidable that the

new system should be intrusted for its workings at first to judges and lawyers who had grown up under the old system of technicalities under which form was more important than the substance of legal proceedings. It was another instance of "putting new wine in old bottles." But the reform has made its way, and now by the evolution of time the administration of the Code system, wherever it has been adopted, is in the hands of its friends. In some States it has not yet been adopted, and in others only in a modified form.

Each State that has adopted the Reformed Procedure naturally thinks it has the best. In fact, however, England, ultra-conservative as it is, has the simplest and most advanced system. There Parliament simply abolished the old courts and distinctions in forms of actions and between law and equity, and authorized the single new court that was established to prepare rules to regulate procedure. This has been done in a most admirable manner. It is doubtful if a simpler and more logical procedure could be framed than that which now obtains in the mother country.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

The Statutes of Laborers 23 Ed. III., passed by a Parliament of landowners soon after the scourge called the Black Death had reduced the number of laborers, provided: "Every man and woman in England, free or bond, able in body and within threescore years, not exercising craft nor having of his own whereon to live, nor land to till, nor serving any other, shall be bound to serve such person as shall require him, at the wages heretofore accustomed to be given." If he refused he was to be committed to prison, and there was a penalty for paying or receiving more than the wages previously given. This was to prevent workmen from raising their wages on account of the scarcity of, and greater demand for, labor. This benevolent statute was not repealed in England till 1863. So, it seems, "paternalism" is not a new thing and is only objectionable when it favors the class it formerly repressed. Repeated statutes subsequently empowered justices of the peace to fix rates for

wages and inflicted penalties on any laborer asking or receiving more. These statutes were followed by a strong enactment in 1800 prohibiting any combination among workmen to raise wages and denouncing labor unions as conspiracies, punishable by imprisonment. As a well-known English lawyer writes, "To speak of contracts between master and workmen at this time (1800) is a misnomer, for there was no assent of will on the part of the workman or any real power to negotiate as to the terms of his so-called contract."

For the last century there has been a struggle carried on by the labor element, both in this country and in England, until they have reached their present status. I need not describe what that is now nor how far it is from satisfying the demands of labor; but it is enough merely to refer to the state of the law on this important subject one hundred years ago to indicate to the most careless observation that on this subject there has been marked progress in the law. Down to 1871 labor unions were illegal in England, and their members were often prosecuted for and convicted of conspiracy. The Trades-Union Act of 1871 legalized such unions, but the Act was amended and broadened as late as 1896. Nor till 1875 did it cease to be a criminal offense for a workman to break his contract of employment.

The statutes in England and this country restricting the hours of labor and fixing an age under which children cannot be allowed to labor in mines or factories are all the product of the last thirty years. Most of them, indeed, have existed only during the last dozen years, and there are a few States of the Union that have not yet reached that stage of justice, enlightenment, and humanity. In England a recent statute regulates the number of hours of employment of clerks and others in stores ("shops," as they are called there), and likewise, in common with some States of the Union, the English Act of 1899 requires that seats shall be furnished female employees in all mercantile establishments.

The doctrine of non-liability of the master for injury to a servant caused by negligence of a fellow-servant, laid down in

Priestly v. Fowler, and the doctrine of assumption of risk have been materially modified by sundry recent statutes in favor of employees, in England and in many of our States; while legislation requiring automatic car-couplers and hand-holds on cars used by interstate railroads shows that the laboring element have had some recognition of their existence even by Congress, in spite of the powerful corporation lobby that haunts the halls of the Federal Legislature. Lord Campbell's Act of 1845, giving compensation for a tort causing death, has now, I believe, been enacted by every State in the Union, though in a modified form in some of them.

MARRIED WOMEN.

Till the last few years our statute and common law placed married women in the same class with infants, idiots, lunatics, and convicts. A married woman had scarcely any rights; she could make no contracts, acquire no personal property, and even her earnings belonged to her husband. If left a widow, the husband could, by will, give the custody of the children to another, and during his life she had of course no right to their custody against him. Though England was ruled by a female sovereign, not till 1886 was the widow made the guardian of her children. Not till 1870 began the series of Acts that have emancipated a married woman, so that now she can make any contract with reference to her separate property just as if she were unmarried; she can now sell it or dispose of it by will, and her earnings are her own. Most of our States have in the last few years passed similar statutes, though few States have so absolutely and completely unfettered married women as has been done in England, and some few States even still retain the barbarous provisions of the common law by which a woman's personality was merged into her husband's upon marriage and her property became his. Sir William Blackstone, with delightful irony, complacently told us that the common law ever showered favors on woman with a lavish hand. As she became merged in her husband's existence, these favors were

showered on her *sub modo* by endowing her husband with the rights and property that till marriage had been hers.

Nay, more; as late as 1840 the English courts held that a husband had control over the person of his wife as well as ownership of the property that had been hers, and that if he saw fit to keep her under lock and key she could not be released by *habeas corpus*. Just fifty years later, in the Clitheroe case, the court, in a case just like the one fifty years before, held just the opposite and set the lady free. There had been no intervening statute, but the court had progressed. There was progress in the law. Mr. Justice Blackstone, while reiterating that "the female sex is so great a favorite of the law of England," takes care to recite that at common law a man could "shower the favor" of a moderate correction upon his wife. He does not assert that there had been any change to his day, and while deprecating the switching he points out, as a substitute, that the husband had a right to lock her up. In the Clitheroe case in 1890, the right to chastise the wife, under any circumstances, was for the first time emphatically denied in England, though the majority of the court held that it was authorized at common law.

Not only has the law been completely revolutionized on many subjects, especially in the last thirty or fifty years, but great branches of the law have been created, certainly within the last century, and largely within the last third of it.

THE LAW OF PRIVATE CORPORATIONS,

and of quasi-public corporations, which occupies so large a space in our text-books and reported cases, was almost unknown a century ago. Banks, railroads, telegraph, and a thousand different kinds of corporation have sprung up and grown like Jonah's gourd. The statute law is but a small part of the law applicable to these omnipresent and indispensable agencies of civilization. Laws concerning and conserving the public health; laws providing for the poor, the aged, and the infirm; laws providing for public education and in many cases

for compulsory education; laws simplifying the conveyance of real estate and the registration of deeds—these are subjects of legislation that have practically been created both in England and this country within the last century. While some of our States have been hesitating at the adoption of the Torrens Act as revolutionary, in England real estate now passes (in the absence of a settlement), not to the heir-at-law, but to the personal representative; and the following is now a sufficient conveyance of realty that has been registered:

“27 Jan., 1903. In consideration of £., I hereby transfer to A. B. my land, registered in Dist. Parish. No. of title. Signed, sealed, and delivered,” etc.

The growth of the law of negligence has been phenomenal, as has been the learning in regard to municipal, county, and State bonds. Municipal ownership of water, gas, electricity, street-cars, and (in England) of tenement and lodging houses, public laundries, public bakeries, ferries, and similar matters, bids fair to add many new features to our jurisprudence. In the marked growth of popular sentiment in this country in favor of governmental ownership of coal mines (which has of late received a sudden impetus), of telegraphs, telephones, and railroads, we are simply following the track along which public sentiment has forced government in nearly all other civilized countries. England stands almost alone with us in not owning her leading railway systems, though even she added the telegraph and the express to her post-office as far back as 1870. It seems to be foreshadowed that we must do in these matters what all other civilized people are doing, and, if so, the next few years shall see a still further development in our laws.

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THE MOROCCAN QUESTION.

THE recent fanatical outbreak against the power of the Sultan of Morocco and the mobilization of French zouaves upon the Moroccan frontier have again forced into the arena of international politics a question the importance of which to the peace of Europe has long been recognized by her most far-seeing statesmen. The importance of Morocco is due in part to its natural resources, but to a far greater extent to its position. While Morocco remains independent and either it or any other weak power controls the strongholds upon its northern coast, the possession of Gibraltar gives to Great Britain the mastery of the western gateway to the Mediterranean. But let a great power, other than Great Britain, gain possession of Morocco or become intrenched upon her northern coast, and immediately the possession of Gibraltar will have lost much of its meaning, as it will no longer carry with it the control of this great and historic highway of commerce. The position of Morocco, therefore, like that of Turkey, makes the question of its future one of great international importance, and, like Turkey also, the rottenness of its government and its inability or disinclination to protect life and property may at any time render some solution of the question imperative. For, whatever may have been, are, or will be the doctrinaire theories as to the rights of sovereign States, the logic of facts and the interests of mankind have rendered national isolation impossible. Intercourse is a part of the law of Nature and has become a part of the law of nations—a recognized necessity to the highest development of mankind. Yet, in order that intercourse may be possible, life and property must be protected; hence, the government that has lost the ability or the inclination to do this has forfeited its right to exist.

Given a country of considerable though undeveloped re-

sources, a decadent and despotic government, a population made up largely of fanatics, a position of great strategic importance, an undefined boundary line—and we have present the necessary elements of an exceedingly explosive compound, the handling of which demands the utmost delicacy and discretion. It is therefore not surprising that this question should have caused a certain degree of nervousness in the diplomatic circles of Europe three times during as many years. The first of these attacks of nervousness was brought on by the sending of a Russian minister to Tangier. The purpose of this naturally excited comment, as it is never customary to establish a legation in a country unless the government establishing it has trade or subjects in said country to be protected; whereas the entire Russian trade with Morocco was not then, nor is it now, equal to the cost of maintaining the legation. And as for Russian subjects in Morocco, there is but one—and he a Jew. When we remember the exceeding tenderness of the Russian Government for its Jewish subjects at home, it is most surprising that her extreme solicitude for the protection of this lone Jew in Morocco should have excited suspicion in London. But it did. Those unsentimental, blunt, beef-eating Englishmen were not prepared to appreciate so marvelous a manifestation of chivalric self-sacrifice upon the part of the Russian Government. By them it was felt that this move was made at the solicitation of France, and hence that it would be the first step in a combined move on the part of these two powers, the outcome of which would be either the partition of Morocco between them or a *quid pro quo* to Russia in the East for such assistance as she might render France in Morocco. There are not wanting circumstances tending to show that this suspicion is well founded. Thus far the time of the Russian minister has not been so completely taken up with protecting the interests of his beloved fellow-citizen, the aforementioned solitary Jew, that he has not had some time to devote to a study of the situation at close range, so that when the time comes for action he will be in a position to advise his government as to the more expedient course for it to pursue. As Russian diplomacy

moves slowly, it is too soon to pass definitely upon this question.

The next move upon the checker-board was the seizure of Twat and some adjoining territory by France. The chief value of these possessions consists, not in their soil or other resources, but in their strategic position. Lying as they do upon the French line of communication between Algeria and the Niger, their ownership was a matter of no small importance to France. When the projected French railway is built between the Mediterranean and Timbuctoo, and later extended to the Niger, the value of these little oases round about Twat will be evident. The same is true of the insignificant village of Igli, which was subsequently appropriated by the French. The opposition to these aggressions on the part of France against Morocco was perhaps greater at London than at Fez, but at neither place did it take a more substantial form than solemn consultation and diplomatic protest. The French insisted that these places were clearly within the French sphere of influence and formed no part of the territory of Morocco, although the treaty of 1845 between France and Morocco recognized them as a part of Morocco, and this treaty had not been abrogated. Notwithstanding this assertion of innocence, it must be confessed that there was something a trifle suspicious about the transaction. For instance, it is a little strange that France should have suddenly made the discovery of her title to this strip in North Africa just at the time when Great Britain was most preoccupied in South Africa, and hence not in a position to bring suit in ejectment against France in North Africa. In addition to rendering safe her line of communications, there can be little doubt that France was anxious to see how far she could proceed in filing title-deeds without meeting with any more serious opposition than diplomatic protests. It must also be admitted that she chose a very opportune time for the proceeding.

At the present writing, acts may at any time be committed that will offer an excuse for interference from without. The despatching of French zouaves from Oran to the Moroccan frontier looks ominous, as it cannot be for the protection of

French territory, which is in no danger of invasion. If they are not there for the purpose of searching out a line of titles that may have been overlooked in the previous hasty examination of the records, it would seem that they have been sent there not entirely for a change of climate and scenery, but rather that they may be on hand to turn the tide in favor of the Sultan, should he in his extremity request their aid. And for this valuable assistance they would very naturally expect a liberal concession. An arrangement of this sort would bring France one step nearer to the rounding out of her North African boundaries. In the event of such a proceeding it is difficult to forecast what action would be taken by England. We are convinced that, outside of a very limited area upon the northern coast, England does not wish to acquire territory in Morocco. Yet we are equally certain that she would feel compelled to oppose its acquisition by France, because of the commercial policy pursued by the latter in her colonies. At present very nearly one-half of the trade of Morocco is with Great Britain. That this would not be the case should Morocco become a dependency of France is made reasonably certain by a glance at the trade of Algeria, of which at present eighty per cent. is with France and only four per cent. with Great Britain. It is readily conceivable that this prospect of loss of trade might drive the British to a more vigorous course of action than simply diplomatic protest.

Unless France chooses to force a settlement of the question, England certainly will not. Her interests would impel her either to maintain so far as possible the *status quo* or else to back Spain, which has for centuries looked with longing, not to say covetous, eyes upon the Moorish Empire, the possession of which by Spain would be a sweet, though long postponed, revenge for her own conquest by the Moors several centuries ago. For this revenge, however, it is vain for her to hope without the backing of England. Unaided, Spain is a negligible factor in the solution of the Moroccan question. And it is fair to suppose that, as a price of her alliance with Spain, England would expect certain commercial concessions; nor is it at

all improbable that she would receive in addition a cession of either Ceuta or Tangier, although this would not be of transcendent importance, as neither of them would be dangerous to her in the possession of Spain.

While Italy would look with extreme disfavor upon Russia's gaining a foothold in Morocco, it is no doubt true that she would concede to France a free hand there in return for a like concession by France to her in Tripoli. In fact it has been repeatedly asserted that such an agreement exists between them.

Though Germany would not be averse to acquiring a strip of territory in Sus, which would give her a harbor upon the Atlantic, she is, with that exception, in favor of a maintenance of the *status quo*, and for much the same reason that Great Britain is.

The interest of the United States in the question is at present a purely commercial one, yet it is not at all outside the realm of possibilities that she may become the arbiter of the fate of the Moorish Empire. This is, however, too remote a contingency for serious consideration at present.

In view of what has already happened it is evident that we have here a most perplexing problem, a crisis in the solution of which may be reached at any time. I am not an alarmist, yet it is my sober conviction that this question may at any time develop complications that will convulse Europe. The fate of Morocco rests not upon its own inherent strength, nor yet upon its moral claim to longer life, but rather upon the jealousies of the great powers of Europe. There is something pathetic about this tottering remnant of the once vigorous and powerful Moorish Empire. Esthetically considered, there is no doubt something picturesque about this island of Orientalism in the midst of a surging sea of Western civilization that threatens at any moment to engulf it. Chronologically considered, Morocco is an anachronism—a relic of medievalism in the dawn of the twentieth century. Politically considered, it is a State hopelessly out of joint with the spirit of the times and its environment, and, as it no longer fulfils the primary du-

ties of a State,—the protection of life, liberty, and property,—reconstruction, either from within or from without, is a necessity. The question is therefore one of how, when, and by whom?

A sudden collapse of the present fanatical uprising, which may at any time occur, would simply postpone for a short time the solution of this question.

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THE PASSING OF CHURCH INFLUENCE.

IT was Mr. W. T. Stead, I believe, who said, in effect, on several public occasions during his visit to America some years ago, that the influence of the Church had come to be of secondary and minor importance in the affairs of mankind, and that the legitimate office and scope of the State or municipality are, and perforce ought to be, of paramount concern in human affairs. He would not have it different. It was Mr. Stead's contention that the Church, at most, was but a mere assistant of the State, attempting to do partially and locally what the State is bound to do on demand for the entire community, fully and completely. He illustrated his position by saying that the State or other political division of the country is both morally and legally bound to see that none of its wards suffer for food, clothing, or shelter. That this responsibility is a continuous one, covering the entire existence of the individual, and that it is universal in its application, is quite evident. To take care of the unfortunate, put it in whatever light you please, is the business and duty of human governments.

Mr. Stead was unable to discover that the Church had ever exerted such a beneficent influence over the vital affairs of men. There may have been instances, here and there, spasmodic in their nature, where real help has been extended to the suffering and the needy, and sustained locally by church influence. This has never been of long duration, and has always been confined to a limited territorial area. The condition precedent to securing this church charity was the renunciation of all notions of self-respect and of true manhood, and the assumption of a most belittling attitude that was damnable in the sight of every one possessing a particle of spirit or manly independence. This "condition precedent" rendered impossible or nugatory much of the aid that would otherwise have gone out under the influence or dictation of the Church. The idea that misfortunes

should make it necessary for the unfortunate to submit to degradation, however slight or remote, is abhorrent to every self-respecting person; it is, moreover, both un-American and unchristianlike.

But the idea of help, which the Church calls charity but which the State is bound to recognize as duty, is admittedly a herculean task, and beyond the ability of the Church as at present organized and conducted. It is within the easy reach of the State, however; and the State discharges its full duty in the premises without making its unfortunate wards any less worthy "citizens of the realm."

So far this discussion may appear to have confined itself to the temporal affairs of the human race. And it will be argued, perhaps, that the Church concerns itself mainly with "things spiritual." And yet "help"—real, substantial assistance—in time of need cannot be regarded as anything less than one of the noblest of virtues, and worthy of imitation by the choicest of "God's holy people." It is this wide-spread and pronounced departure from practical things in daily life, and the riding of a "hobby-horse" of theoretical right living and right doing, that has tended steadily to lessen the benign influence of the Church. It has done more: it has driven out of its walls a portion of its congregation, a portion who found no welcome or fellowship there, and who stood perhaps in direst need of the teachings of lofty ideals of living. We cannot expect poor people to accept as right or proper the dictum that "it is more blessed to give than to receive," when it is known that the "giving" of the poorer classes means the "receiving" by the wealthier or better classes of additional ease and comfort. The doctrine has some defective conditions that seem unworthy and inconsistent. And it is, nevertheless, probably within the recollection of every living person who has ever attended a church service that this doctrine of "giving" is drummed into the ears of the congregation.

There is a growing tendency to regard the Church as a merely human institution. It is, indeed, rarely more. It aims to assist and protect its members in whatever they may say or

do. If this aid and this protection were always directed along right lines there would be slight cause for complaint. It is within the knowledge of the writer that instances of downright crookedness, if indeed not crime, have been committed by members of a church organization; yet the church would turn a deaf ear to all accusations. It would neither discipline nor expel the unworthy member. Cases of this kind in great numbers could be cited that would be bewildering in their enormity. Churches of this character ought not to be denominated as even *human* organizations. It is certainly sacrilege to say that they partake of anything of a heavenly nature.

The failure of the pulpit to keep in close and intimate touch with living things, with the life of to-day, has done much to empty the pews and to cause the common people especially to drift away from Sunday services. Doctrines are no longer much desired. Those who talk along lines of dogmatic assertion usually know as much about the subject as their hearers and no more, and it often happens that neither speaker nor hearer knows anything about it at all. A talk or a sermon along practical lines, something that the individual can apply to his daily life and thought—that is the welcomed message from the pulpit to the pew. And the sooner the occupant of the former learns it the sooner the latter will be filled with eager listeners.

There is so pronounced a clannishness among church-going people that they are avoided by "the world" in sheer self-defense. This may seem like putting an old truth in a little too strong language; yet it is capable of full and convincing demonstration. How often has it been the experience of attendants at church services that those who are somewhat irregular in attendance are *unknown* to "the faithful?" And the reason for this is not hard to find. Mr. A. has lost heavily in speculations and cannot be expected to contribute anything to the support of the church. Mrs. B. dresses horribly, and her daughters are uncouth and mannish. C. is illiterate and poor. Mr. D.'s daughters give all their attention to making a show, and are never known to contribute anything to the church

work. Why should the others "know" them? These are but a few samples of actual cases. Is it any wonder that the Church is regarded as but a poor "human" institution?

The test of first-rate fellowship in the average church is determined, largely although not wholly, by the size of the contribution you may be able to make—or not necessarily *able* to make, but that you in fact *do* make. If your actual donation is small, you may be reasonably sure that your welcome will correspond thereto. There may be exceptions; but they, in turn, only prove the rule.

Is it any wonder that the influence of the Church is passing? Ought it not to pass if the contentions of this article are true? Has the Church any reason for continued existence if these things are capable of exact and certain proof and are general in their application?

DUANE MOWRY.

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GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.

A light is out in Italy,
A golden tongue of purest flame.
We watched it burning, long and lone,
And every watcher knew its name,
And knew from whence its fervor came;—
That one rare light of Italy,
That put self-seeking souls to shame.

This light which burnt for Italy
Through all the blackness of her night.
She doubted once upon a time,
Because it took away her sight.
She looked, and said there is no light.
It was thy eye, poor Italy,
That knew not dark apart from bright.

This flame which burnt for Italy,
It would not let her haters sleep.
They blew at it with angry breath,
And only fed its upward leap,
And only made it hot and deep.
Its burning showed us Italy
And all the hope she had to keep.

This light is out in Italy.
Her eyes shall seek for it in vain!
For her sweet self it spent itself,
Too early flickering to its wane—
Too long blown over by her pain.
Bow down and weep, O Italy!
Thou canst not kindle it again.

—Howard Glyndon.

I.

AMONG the great solitaries who from time to time throughout the history of our race have stepped forth from homes of plenty, culture, and refinement, and, turning from the siren voices of fame, personal honor, and wealth, and from those vocations which appealed to their natural taste, have

chosen exile, poverty, and almost every deadly peril that can confront the physical man, in order that they might assist in the august task of arousing the sleeping conscience of an age and calling it to the bar of judgment, I know of no man in modern times entitled to higher rank than the Italian scholar, philosopher, idealist, patriot, and revolutionist, Giuseppe Mazzini.

In many respects he seems nearer akin to the noblest of Israel's ancient prophets than any other child of Western civilization, but he possessed a far broader intellectual vision, a clearer conception of the full and rich meaning of life, and a sweeter, saner, and truer ideal of man's duties, obligations, and proper relationship to all other men than did the great solitaries who in more primitive times gave the marching orders to humanity's vanguard and spoke the divine word as it came to them.

Mazzini possessed all the moral enthusiasm of the old Hebrew prophets, the passionate love of the beautiful and the deep philosophic bias of the Grecian mind, together with something of the breadth of thought and judicial quality of intellect characteristic of the greatest of the ancient Romans; while above and beyond all these excellencies, his life and thought reflected much of that profound sympathy—that infinite pity and all-comprehending love—that was the crown of fadeless glory bequeathed to the ages by the Great Nazarene; and, finally, he was a luminous interpreter of the broadest and truest revolutionary ideals that marked the nineteenth century. He was one of the most deeply philosophic of the leaders in civilization's advance guard who have blazed the pathway for humanity to tread in happier ages yet to come.

II.

Mazzini was born in Genoa, in 1805. His father was a successful physician and a professor in the University of Genoa. His mother was a large-hearted, brilliant-minded, and deeply affectionate woman, who shared her husband's passionate love for liberty and free government.

The childhood and youth of Giuseppe fell in stirring times. All Europe was a seething ocean of unrest. From the date of the victorious ending of the American Revolution and the return to their native land of Lafayette and his comrades, with their boundless enthusiasm for the new Republic and their glowing stories of the heroism and single-heartedness of Washington and other patriotic leaders, the spirit of republicanism spread rapidly, and the great Old World philosophers who, consciously or unconsciously, had been preparing the thinking world for a larger and juster life, became heroes and apostles in the eyes of large-minded patriots throughout all western Europe.

The French Revolution came as a sudden breaking forth of a mighty volcano, whose pent-up fury had been gathering momentum for centuries. Lacking leadership at once strong and firm, yet temperate, clear-sighted, and dominated by moral enthusiasm, the Revolution soon fell into the hands of savage forces and a brutal materialistic leadership that carried it down from the high ethical and humanitarian plane upon which the European philosophers had conducted their agitation, and which, under the guidance of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and other leaders, had marked our great struggle, until brute passion obscured reason and exiled justice; while hate met hate on the animal plane, and the feud of generations culminated in the bloodiest day of reckoning known to man. Yet notwithstanding the excesses of the French Revolution and the betrayal of the cause of liberty by Napoleon, notwithstanding the far-reaching reactionary influence arising from the aggressive and united action of European monarchs against the spirit of republicanism, the fires of freedom still burned brightly in the hearts of hundreds of thousands of the noblest men and women of western Europe. Probably no brief slogan ever produced so magic an influence on the imagination of man as did the cry, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity!"

During the youth of Mazzini, Italy was under the influence of the wave of republicanism born during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The larger view of life led men of

thought and high aspirations to believe that once again Italy should take her stand as the leader of a world's civilization.

From early life Giuseppe evinced a love for books and an insatiable appetite for facts. His taste for literature was fostered by his parents and his early tutors, who were the best that could be procured in his native city. At the age of thirteen he entered the Arts Department of the University of Genoa. He also studied anatomy for a time, with a view to entering his father's profession. Later he decided to follow law and literature as a life work, and so gave up his medical studies. In 1826 he graduated from the Arts Department of the University. In addition to his college curriculum he took outside courses of study, including music and English, the latter of which was destined to prove of great service to him later in life. His natural bent was toward literature. He would doubtless have become a leading philosophic critic and a master in vital prose composition if at an early age he had not been overmastered by the light of justice and the larger truth as it pertains to man in his relation to his fellow-men.

He often observed in later life that one incident in his boyhood years was indelibly impressed upon his youthful imagination. He was walking with his mother along one of the thoroughfares of Genoa when a tall gentleman with long black beard and flashing eyes stepped up to the mother and holding out a white handkerchief said, "For the Italian refugees." The mother gladly contributed to the fund that this man, who had been a brave leader in the ill-starred insurrection in Piedmont against Austrian despotism, was collecting. The refugees had fled to Genoa and were preparing for exile. From that day Mazzini became convinced that all right-minded Italians should struggle for the emancipation of their fatherland. "I had," he observes, "already been unconsciously educated in the worship of equality by the democratic principles of my parents. But," he continues, "the idea that there was an existing wrong in my own country against which it was a duty to struggle, and the thought that I, too, must bear my part in that struggle, flashed before my mind on that day, never again to leave me."

III.

To natures like Mazzini's the command of duty is ever a divine mandate that must be obeyed; and, from the moment that he felt it to be his duty to consecrate his life to the cause of Italian independence, he put aside all the pleasing dreams of the future that had haunted his vivid imagination. Others might shrink from the perilous pathway, which it was more than probable would lead to an ignominious death, and satisfy their consciences with one of a thousand ingenious excuses; but for him there was nothing to do but to obey. He joined the Carbonari, an oathbound secret society whose efforts were directed against the ruling despotisms of the Peninsula and whose aim was the establishment of a free government. There was much about the organization that the young patriot did not like, and its program seemed to be chiefly destructive—or rather its leaders did not appear to have any clear perception of what should come after the old order had been overturned. Still, this society promised action. It aimed to destroy despotism, and it faced toward the dawn of freedom. Hence, he soon became an active member, doing much to further its success.

One day he was commanded to repair to a certain hotel and there initiate a certain captain into the second degree of the order. On receiving the summons Giuseppe felt a strange premonition of impending danger. So pronounced and oppressive was the presentiment that he went to the home of two brothers whom he dearly loved and who were fellow-conspirators. To them he imparted his fears, adding that so strong was the premonition that he desired to arrange with them a system of secret correspondence by which, in case he should be imprisoned, he could send them important messages and receive in return communications that would not reach him if the officials were cognizant of their contents. The plan decided upon was as follows: In the event of the incarceration of Mazzini, the prisoner would in all probability be permitted to communicate occasionally with his mother, and he arranged that the

first letter of every third word in the communication should spell in Latin the message he desired to send. His friends were to aid the mother in composing an answer that should likewise secretly convey important facts or news to him.

With these precautionary measures arranged, Mazzini repaired to the hotel where he met the Major Cotton who desired initiation. The man, notwithstanding his voluble protestations of interest in the cause, impressed the young patriot rather unfavorably, owing to his nervous manner and furtive look; but he had nothing to do but to obey the orders of his superior. What followed has been graphically described by Mazzini in these words:

"Having led me into his bedroom, he knelt down, and I, drawing a sword from my stick, agreeable to the prescribed form, was just beginning to make him repeat the oath, when a little window cut in the wall by the side of the bed suddenly opened, and an unknown face presented itself thereat. The unknown looked hard at me and then closed the window."

Mazzini was naturally indignant and much disturbed at this action, though Cotton was profuse in his apologies, declaring that the man was his private and confidential servant. He hoped the patriot would pardon him for having neglected to lock the window. This, however, was not the only suspicious circumstance connected with the initiation of Cotton, for after the administration of the prescribed oath the major said he was soon to set out on a journey to Nice, where he would be able to accomplish a great work among the soldiers, but unfortunately his memory was so treacherous that he would be greatly obliged to Mazzini for a written copy of the initiation formula. Giuseppe instantly refused, declaring that it was contrary to his habit to write such things, but that he would dictate it to the major and he might take it down if he desired. Accordingly, Cotton wrote down the oath from Mazzini's lips. "I took leave of him," says the patriot, "much dissatisfied with the affair."

A few days later, when about to leave his home, he was arrested by the police, and at the moment of his apprehension

he tells us that he had on his person enough for "three condemnations"—a letter in cipher from a fellow-conspirator, the formula of the second-rank oath in the Carbonari, rifle bullets, a history of the revolutionary uprising in Paris printed on tri-color paper, and a sword-stick. Great peril sometimes marvelously quickens the wit, and the young Italian succeeded in getting rid of all incriminating evidences before the police searched him. Their search of the home, though intended to be thorough, furnished them no evidence. Nevertheless, they conducted the young man, first to the barracks and later, in the dead of night, to the fortress of Savona, on the western Riviera. He was placed in a cell near the top of the building, from which he was able to look upon the sky and sea—"those two symbols of the Infinite." Here he was confined for six months. His mother was allowed to write him once in ten days, and he was also permitted to answer each of her letters. By employing the system of correspondence agreed upon between Mazzini and his comrades, the prisoner was kept apprised of revolutionary happenings, while he was able to direct the efforts of his fellow-workers.

Major Cotton had only consented to play the part of a spy on condition that he should not be compelled to testify in court, and, as Mazzini would admit nothing, the government failed to convict. The authorities, however, arbitrarily refused to allow him to settle in Genoa or any other large city. If he remained in Italy he must live in one of a certain number of small towns where he could be under the surveillance of the police. Not willing to agree to this proposition, he chose exile, and departed forthwith for France.

IV.

From the time of his banishment, Mazzini worked tirelessly for the cause of Italian freedom and unity, at first in Lyons and later in Corsica and Marseilles. When Charles Albert ascended the Sardinian throne, many of the patriots believed that this prince, who had been a carbonaro in 1821, would head the liberal movement and the struggle for Italian unity, and in a

measure at least further the broader ideals of the age. Mazzini, "interpreting a hope he did not share," addressed an open letter to the new king, in which he called his attention to his earlier connection with the revolutionary party and urged him to be true to his pledges. This letter, as the young revolutionary patriot anticipated, gave great offense to the government, and the order was issued to seize and imprison Mazzini if he attempted to cross the border; but the young Italian had no intention of running into the lion's jaws. Instead, he made Marseilles the headquarters for the new revolutionary movement and perfected his great historic organization known as "Young Italy," a body of as noble and single-hearted patriots as ever braved death and suffered all the privations of hunted exiles. The motto of Young Italy—"Liberty, Equality, Humanity, Unity, and Independence"—sums up the aim and object of the organization.

From Marseilles the revolutionists issued from time to time stirring appeals, and later published a regular paper, while in other ways pushing forward the propaganda in a systematic manner. They met with almost insurmountable obstacles at every step. The apostles of this movement were for the most part young men, and all possessed youth of heart; hence, into their work were thrown all the faith and enthusiasm of life's morning time. Moreover, they were under the guidance of a true prophet soul, whose whole existence was, from youth to death, dedicated to the realization of the noblest dream that has ever haunted the brain of civilized man.

The publications of the organization were, of course, proscribed in Italy, and it, therefore, became necessary to smuggle them into the peninsula. In spite of every precaution and the vigilance of the customs officials, the incendiary papers found their way in great numbers across the borders and were scattered broadcast over the land, creating consternation in government circles. Forthwith, large rewards were offered for seizures of any of the papers of Young Italy, while all persons who were found guilty of aiding in their distribution were to be fined heavily and imprisoned for two years. The informer

was to receive half the fine, while he was not required to disclose his identity. The vigilance of officers and spies, stimulated by the rich rewards of the government, made it exceedingly difficult for the revolutionists to carry on their work, and the insurgents were sorely taxed successfully to devise plans for evading the argus eyes of hired informers. Their zeal and determination, however, stopped at no obstacles, and at length they hit upon a unique method of introducing their political dynamite into the citadel of the foe. Says Mazzini:

"We now sent our papers inside barrels of pumice-stone, and even of pitch, which we filled ourselves in a little warehouse we had hired for the purpose. Ten or twelve of these barrels were despatched by means of agents ignorant of their contents, and addressed to others equally in the dark in various towns to which we wanted to send. One of our associates always presented himself shortly after their arrival as a purchaser, taking care to select a barrel bearing a number already indicated to him by us as containing our inclosures. I cite this as one of the thousand artifices to which we had recourse. We were also assisted in our smuggling by French republicans, and above all by sailors of the Italian merchant navy, toward whom much of our educational activity had been directed."

It was not, perhaps, strange that the Italian monarch, finding the flames of revolution continually fed from Mazzini's camp at Marseilles, urgently appealed to the French king to banish the patriot leader; nor is it altogether strange that King Louis Philippe, in spite of his pretended liberalism, should find the presence of the uncompromising, indefatigable, and brilliant young democrat a menace to his throne as well as a cause of strained relations between France and Italy. So the wishes of the Sardinian king were heeded, and the decree of banishment given at a moment when it seemed all-important for the cause that Mazzini should remain in Marseilles. Accordingly, a ruse was successfully perpetrated. An Italian, resembling the young revolutionist, was escorted to the borders of France, while Mazzini remained in hiding, and for a whole year directed by midnight councils and aided by his trenchant pen the progress of the cause of Young Italy. Later he sought

refuge in Switzerland, but from there he was finally exiled on account of the imperative demand of Charles Albert. From the Alpine republic he turned to England and sought refuge in her great metropolis.

V.

Mazzini reached London early in 1837. He was alone and without friends in this strange, dark, and gloomy city, whose somber skies contrasted as strikingly with those of sunny Italy as did his present condition with that of a few years earlier when he left the University of Genoa, and literature and law beckoned him into fields of pleasure and worldly success, provided he would silence the divine voice that from within called him to dedicate his life to the cause of human emancipation and happiness. He was entirely without funds, and, except for a few valuable love tokens and mementos given him by his mother and a few dear friends, he was wholly without resources. The demand for food and shelter, however, was imperious; and so we find him struggling on in silence and bitterness of spirit, pledging his few treasured souvenirs of the love of the absent ones. At last even these were gone; and then came one Saturday night on which he tells us he was compelled to carry "an old coat and a pair of boots to one of the pawn-broker's shops, crowded on Saturday evenings by the poor and fallen, in order to obtain food for Sunday."

His health, which from infancy had been exceedingly delicate, was broken now, and, what was still more frightful, dark and terrible thoughts and forebodings took possession of his mind, and for a brief interval the sinister shadow advanced upon the dial of the intellect. Had his course been a great mistake? Nay, more—was he not the author of a great wrong, if not crime? Was he not morally responsible for the execution of his friends, who through him had entered the new crusade only to find death awaiting them upon the threshold of early manhood? What right had he to inspire others to sacrifice fortune, home, and life for an idea, however noble? Then dark thoughts took possession of the highly sensitive and al-

most superconscientious mind of the frail and abandoned exile. For a time, he tells us, he felt himself "a criminal—conscious of guilt, yet without the power of expiation. The forms of those shot at Alessandria and Chambray rose up before me like the phantom of a crime and its unavailing remorse."

In the midst of his dark imaginings, however, his philosophy came to the rescue of his reason, and through it, he tells us, he was saved from insanity or suicide. He carefully and judicially examined himself and the cause to which he had so irrevocably consecrated his life. In the first place, he found that his own motives had been pure. Self-interest, success, fame, and glory had at every step urged him in an opposite direction from that which he had taken. He had dedicated his life to the unity and freedom of Italy, without thought of self and knowing full well that this step probably meant imprisonment and death or banishment; hence, he had not been prompted by any impure, sordid, personal, or unworthy motives. Next he examined the cause, and found it wholly just. If humanity was to go forward, it must enjoy that noble justice and large freedom and be permeated with that spirit of brotherhood for which he contended. If God had spoken in the passionate prayer of Jesus, that the children of the All-Father be one and that the Golden Rule be the law of life, God was with the cause of Young Italy, and the path of progress must be along the highway of brotherhood.

From such conclusions as these Mazzini turned to a contemplation of human advancement in the light of history, and here he encountered a fact as comforting as it was significant. The rise of the race had been achieved very largely through the sacrifice, suffering, and death of those who saw the higher truth, and who, with no thought of self, dared to brave enthroned injustice and become the servants of progress and witnesses to the light. From the soil watered by the blood of despised martyrs had sprung the flower of civilization. The world had been carried forward and upward by the thoughts, the deeds, the lives, and the death of the apostles of the ideal—the sons of truth, of justice, and of love. Socrates had not

died in vain. Jesus by being raised upon the cross had riveted the world's gaze upon his matchlessly beautiful life. Savonarola had lighted the beacon of hope and of holiness at a time when Church and society had sunk into a death-like lethargy, born of the eclipse of the ideal through corruption, self-interest, and materialism. Hampden, mighty in life, was even greater in death, having fallen with his armor on, battling for freedom and justice. These and comrade souls in all ages had exalted life, lifted the ideal of humanity above the mire, and carried civilization forward, though in so doing they had sacrificed all that conservatism, conventionalism, and self-desire esteem most precious in life.

After thus bravely facing the great doubt that had darkened his brain, and philosophically reviewing the issues involved in the light of reason and history, a great calm came into the soul of the lonely exile. The weight and burden fell from his heart. What was his suffering, his exile, his life itself, compared with the cause that carried with it the emancipation and happiness of millions of his brothers and sisters?

About this time aid came to the banished patriot, largely through certain Englishmen who had followed his brave struggle on the Continent, and who now became aware of the presence of Mazzini in London, and of his great need. Through the timely influence of these friends, literary work was secured, which, though very meager in its financial return, enabled Mazzini to live. Then it was that he appreciated the value of having studied English when younger, for through his knowledge of the language his brilliant intellectual powers were recognized by English magazine editors; and his essays on Byron, Goethe, Lamennais, George Sand, the Poems of Lamartine, the Genius and Tendency of the Writings of Carlyle, and other distinctly great papers that appeared from time to time during his exile, entitled him to a foremost place among the best essayists of the period.

Nor did he remit in any degree his ardent work in behalf of a free and a united Italy. In England, as in France and Switzerland, he proved a menace to the despotism that oppressed

the Italian people; and at the urgent entreaties of the Neapolitan government the ministry of Sir Robert Peel prostituted itself, to its everlasting shame, by consenting to act the part of spy and informer. For months the correspondence of Mazzini was intercepted by the government. The letters were first opened and a transcript of their contents made, after which they were forwarded to their destination, while the Neapolitan government was advised of the contents of the letters. It was long ere Mazzini secured the conclusive facts necessary to confute the denials of the administration; but at length such evidence was laid before the House of Commons that the government was placed in a most discreditable and compromising attitude. Then it was that Sir James Graham resurrected a shameful and utterly false calumny that had been published years before and that represented Mazzini as the instigator and director of a dastardly assassination, notwithstanding the fact that the exile had met the accusation at the time and had clearly established his complete innocence. Again Mazzini was prompt to defend his honor, with the result that Sir James Graham was compelled publicly to apologize in Parliament for his reckless assault on the character of the exile. It was at this time that Thomas Carlyle thus came to the defense of Mazzini, in a letter published in the *London Times*:

"I have had the honor to know M. Mazzini for a series of years, and, whatever I may think of his practical insight and skill in worldly affairs, I can with great freedom testify to all men that he, if ever I have seen one such, is a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity, and nobleness of mind; one of those rare men, numerable, unfortunately, but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr souls; who, in silence, piously in their daily life, understand and practise what is meant by that."

Perhaps nothing better illustrates the essential nobility of Mazzini than his work among the weak and suffering Italians, and especially his labors in behalf of the poor, defenseless children of his country in London.

Many reformers become so engrossed in a large issue or cause that they seem to have little time to consider the misery

or the needs of the units about them. Not so with Mazzini. The pitiable condition of little Italian boys and girls, brought to London largely under false representations and held in virtual slavery and kept in degrading ignorance, appealed to him with irresistible force. He opened and conducted a night school for these unfortunates, in which during his stay in London many hundreds of poor children received instruction in the rudiments of moral and secular education. He also so vigorously exposed the abuses to which these poor children were subjected by their brutal masters that much good resulted from his agitation. He organized an association of Italian workingmen and conducted a school on Sundays, where lectures on government, morals, and religion were given. He established a weekly journal, in which appeared the first part of his great work on the "Duties of Man," and in various other ways he became a great power in quickening the moral and mental faculties and bettering the condition of his countrymen in England. And all this was done in the midst of his battle for bread, and while conducting his propaganda for Italian unity and liberty.

VI. AFTER THE STORM OF '48.

When in 1848 the revolutionary storm broke with hurricane force upon western Europe it seemed for a time as if the world-dream of Democracy was about to be realized. Mazzini hastened to Milan, then the revolutionary storm-center of Italy. Here he worked with enthusiasm, and for a time bore arms under Garibaldi; but the rapid change in political and revolutionary conditions soon rendered helpful service no longer possible in that region, and he retired to Lugano. Early in the following year we find him in Tuscany, aiding with his presence and counsel in an attempt at a realization of the great national dream that he, more than any other human being, had awakened in the brain of Italy—the dream of unity and freedom.

When Pius IX. withdrew from Rome the people proclaimed a republic, and Mazzini was declared a member of the Assem-

bly. When Austria had the monarchic forces of Europe prepared to crush the free aspirations of the Papal State, Mazzini was chosen a member of the triumvirate, with supreme executive power.

From thenceforth the cause was hopeless, so far as immediate freedom was concerned, as the despotisms of all Europe were so terrified at the general uprisings that, having subdued or turned into harmless channels the revolts in their various domains, they now determined to aid the Pope, who had become an ultra-reactionary, and destroy every vestige of republicanism in Italy.

Mazzini read Napoleon Bonaparte better than did many of his time, and, like Victor Hugo, he saw behind his soft glove and pleasing phrasings the mailed hand and heartless soul of despotism. He knew that neither France nor Austria had any right to veto the overwhelming wish of the people of Italy, and he strongly advocated resistance. The Assembly, however, realizing the hopelessness of the conflict, voted to terminate the siege. Then the great patriot withdrew from Rome. "That he succeeded," says the Rev. J. S. Black, in his scholarly paper in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "for so long a time and in circumstances so adverse in maintaining a high degree of order within the turbulent city, is a fact that speaks for itself. . . . His diplomacy, backed as it was by no adequate physical force, naturally showed at the time to great disadvantage, but his official correspondence and proclamations can still be read with admiration and intellectual pleasure, as well as his eloquent vindication of the revolution." And we may add, what is far more important, that these and all the writings of Giuseppe Mazzini awaken a moral enthusiasm that fires the finest and best in man's nature and lifts him above the selfish and sordid things of life.

Mazzini knew that moral ideas never die; that it mattered little whether the earth drank up the blood of the martyr or not—the day would come when the thought-seed sown and the life and death of the high-minded apostle of human progress who consecrated his all to the cause of human emancipation

would inspire thousands of other men to carry forward the great cause; and that ultimately the supreme vision of the ages, born of Freedom, Fraternity, and Justice, would transform this old world and unchain laughter in the souls of men and maidens, of youth and age.

In 1850 we find Mazzini again in London, president of the National Italian Committee, and working with the same zeal that characterized his youth for unity, fraternity, and freedom for Italy. He was present in person or spirit in every attempt made for the liberation of his people; and in 1857, owing to his active part in a popular uprising, a sentence of death was passed against him by the monarchic power. In 1865, however, he was elected by Messina as a delegate to the Italian parliament, largely as a popular protest against the still uncanceled death sentence; for in all Italy no man lived who was more passionately loved by the great mass of the more thoughtful people than Giuseppe Mazzini. The patriot, however, declined to take his seat, as he could not swear allegiance to monarchy.

In 1866, after Venice had been ceded to Italy, general amnesty was granted to Italians, and the death sentence against Mazzini was raised. The great leader, however, promptly declared that he declined "an offer of oblivion and pardon for having loved Italy above all earthly things;" and he and Garibaldi were long feared by the king, who knew full well that they were republicans and patriots above price, and that they lived in the love of their countrymen as did perhaps no two other political leaders of the time.

In 1870, when Mazzini was *en route* for Sicily, he was arrested by the Italian government and imprisoned for two months, after which he was freed, and the remainder of his life was spent in Italy and England. For years his health had been poor, and in the early part of 1872 he repaired to Pisa, hoping that the mild climate would benefit him; but his condition grew worse rather than better, and in March he was attacked with congestion of the lungs, from which he died on the tenth of the month.

All Italy mourned the loss of one of the noblest minds and most single-hearted apostles of unity and freedom who ever left an impress on the brain of the world. A public funeral was held at Pisa on the fourteenth of March, and the remains were borne to Genoa, the city of his birth. More than 80,000 persons attended the funeral of this illustrious prophet of progress, who more than any other man made Italy yearn for unity, and who also sowed in the heart of the nation the seeds of freedom that will in the coming days blossom into a fraternal commonwealth. For the ideal he held before his people is in the main the true ideal, and the one to which civilization, if it continues to advance, must more and more nearly approach.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN OREGON.

THE advocates of the initiative and referendum in Oregon succeeded in having it submitted to the people partly because they appealed in a friendly spirit to the patriotism, the common sense, and the just and honorable ambitions of the politicians for a careful and unprejudiced study of the principle. Our experience in Oregon shows that the politicians are at least as anxious as any other class of Americans to improve our system of government, though it is already one of the best devised by man. The measure was persistently put forward, especially by the newspapers, as a non-partizan demand by the people. In this way it made many friends in all parties. A careful examination of the proposed amendment convinced almost all the successful politicians and members of the legislature that it was an attempt to make practical machinery with which a majority of the voters could decide any important question solely on its own merits, and separate and apart from all other matters.

Every possible effort was made, through newspaper articles, the distribution of tracts, leaflets, and copies of the amendment, as well as explanations by political speakers, to have it thoroughly understood by the people. Three things were thus made clear to a large majority of the voters, if the amendment should be adopted: First, a reasonable minority of the citizens could appeal to all the voters against any act that might be passed by the legislature and prevent its becoming a law, until it should be approved by a majority of those voting on the question (except laws for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety). Second, that the legislature would be able to refer any act or appropriation to the people for their approval or rejection. Third, that a reasonable minority of the citizens could propose any law or amendment to the constitution, and if it should be approved

by a majority at the ballot box it would become law, independent of the legislature.

The expense of operation would be a trifle, because it provided that all votes on laws should be had at regular general elections, except when the legislature might order a special election. It reserved to the people supreme power to make or repeal any law on its own merits, by majority vote on the direct question, regardless of party platforms or pledges, or whether approved by the legislature or not. This reservation of power in the people appealed not only to the patriotic American instinct of self-government, but also to the self-interest of every taxpayer and to the personal ambition of every citizen to increase his power in the government over the acts of lawmakers and office-holders. The more fully these reserved powers were understood the more popular the measure became among all classes. In a tract issued by the Direct Legislation League, and during the campaign placed by mail and personal distribution in the hands of a very large majority of the voters, a number of the men most prominent in the business, professional, and labor life of our State gave reasons for favoring the amendment. Space will allow only a few brief quotations.

H. W. Scott, editor of the *Daily Oregonian*, which is, both editorially and as a newspaper, one of the ablest in the United States, and of great power and influence wherever it is read, said:

"The referendum is an obstacle to too much legislation; to surreptitious legislation; to legislation in particular interests; to partizan machine legislation, and to boss rule. No predatory measure could be carried before the people. The legislative lobbyist would be put out of business."

Charles E. Ladd, of the banking house of Ladd & Tilton, one of the wealthiest private banks on the Pacific Coast, wrote:

"Referring to proposed amendment of Section 1, Article IV., of the constitution of the State of Oregon, it is my opinion that this amendment will give the people the power to make or repeal any law, by the initiative, and to hold up and veto almost any law proposed and passed by the legislature; and it will leave no excuse for holding a constitutional convention."

C. C. Loucks, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen:

"The people of Switzerland have succeeded in making laws by the initiative and referendum under which labor and capital live in peace, and I believe we shall be able to do as much under the same system in Oregon."

J. N. Teal, one of the most prominent lawyers of the State, and president of the Taxpayers' League of Portland:

"I favor the adoption of the proposed amendment to the constitution of the State of Oregon, popularly known as the Initiative and Referendum amendment, on many grounds and for many reasons. The fact that this power is reserved in the people will unquestionably have a decided tendency to discourage vicious legislation, for if an act is passed and the people are dissatisfied, by petition they can require its reference to them before it becomes effective, and if they then permit it to go into effect they can have no one but themselves to blame. Moreover, it permits the people to initiate measures, a reform which is an absolute necessity, as all who are familiar with legislative action are aware. It will prevent extravagance, encourage good government, promote home rule, and, above all, will bring home to the people a sense of personal responsibility—the very cornerstone of good government."

A. L. Mills, vice-president of the Security Savings & Trust Company, of Portland, one of the largest institutions of its class in the Northwest:

"I heartily favor the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the constitution for many reasons; but, if for no other, because it will be possible then for cities and towns to make and amend their charters without the consent or interference of any party machine."

Among others who contributed to this statement of reasons for indorsing the measure were the Hon. Donald MacKay, of the North Pacific Lumber Company; G. Y. Harry, president and organizer of the State Federation of Labor; the Hon. Ben. Selling, wholesale and retail clothing and furnishing goods; the Hon. Andrew C. Smith, M.D.; the Hon. Jonathan Bourne, Jr., mining capitalist; Arthur H. Devers, of Clossett & Devers, wholesale spices and coffee; R. P. Boise, past master of the State Grange, and who was a member of Oregon's constitu-

tional convention in 1857, is now serving as circuit judge, and has been on the bench more than thirty years; Louis G. Clarke, of the department drug house of Woodard & Clarke, and others of equal prominence. These names and their positions in our State are given only to show that it was not in any sense a class movement. Nor was it any sudden impulse, for the agitation for this principle in some form has been continuous in Oregon for the last ten years.

The brightest minds among our political leaders, as soon as they studied the details of the proposed amendment, believed it to be as safe for the legislator and office-holder as it is for the people: first, because with these powers reserved to the citizens, they are no longer obliged to defeat a useful public servant for reelection and thus destroy his political career in order to overrule his vote or opinion on some one question, no matter how important it may be; second, there can be no possible excuse for the creation of new political parties, because when a group of reformers have made a sufficient number of converts they can get the decision of the people on their measure without electing or defeating any candidate for office; third, they believed it would relieve members of the legislature and politicians generally from a host of "grafts" and schemes in various forms for getting something out of the public treasury for nothing, because the danger that the people might order the referendum on such schemes would prevent them from being offered in the legislature. The reelection of many candidates in 1900 and again in 1902 and the general comment since the last election seem to justify this reasoning.

Among the many successful politicians who rendered most effective aid, both in the submission and adoption of the initiative and referendum amendment, are U. S. Senators John H. Mitchell and Joseph Simon, Congressman-elect J. N. Williamson, Governor T. T. Geer, ex-U. S. Senator Geo. W. McBride, Governor-elect Geo. E. Chamberlain, the Hon. Sol. Hirsch, and Geo. H. Williams, mayor of Portland, president of the Direct Legislation League, and a leader in the politics and business of Oregon for fifty years, having been a member of Oregon's

constitutional convention in 1857, circuit judge, U. S. Senator, and Attorney-General of the United States under Grant's Administration—a man held in most affectionate honor and respect by all classes and all parties in our State. It was clear to thoughtful politicians and legislators that if this principle could be made to work as well on State and national measures as it has in our limited experience with one form of it in some city and local affairs, and in the people's vote on amendments to State constitutions, a man of ability and integrity might choose a political career for his life work and profession with good reason to believe it would be permanent as well as useful and honorable.

This has been one of the results of the system in Switzerland, where measures of the greatest importance, after passing the legislative bodies, have been overwhelmingly rejected by the people on referendum vote; and yet at the same election the members who voted for these rejected laws have themselves been reëlected almost without opposition. To such an extent is this true that it is unusual in that country for an efficient member to fail of reëlection so long as he is willing to serve. Such a sacrifice as that of Speaker Henderson and about seventy members of Congress at our last election because they did not agree with their constituents on the tariff, money, or any other question, is utterly unheard of in Switzerland since the adoption of this system in national affairs. No one in this country feels more cruelly than the able and patriotic politician the injustice of our system, which elects men to Congress and to the legislature to enact the will of the people into law, and yet gives them absolutely no method of learning with certainty the will of the majority on any question. Defeat for renomination or reëlection is usually the member's first notice that the majority of his constituents are opposed to his views on tariff, reciprocity, silver, or some other important issue. In most cases this ends his political career, though by reason of long service, positions on important committees, and thorough knowledge of public men and affairs he would be much more useful than any new and untried man could possibly be. But

without the initiative and referendum the people cannot express their disapproval in any other way than by retiring the member to private life. The general sentiment among our legislators was well expressed by one who said: "The least we can do is to submit to the people a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum, and see if they are willing to exercise this power and take upon themselves the direct personal responsibility that goes with it."

There were only thirteen votes opposed to the amendment in both houses of the legislative assembly of 1899. It was cautiously favored by the Republican and Democratic State conventions of 1900. But it was so clearly satisfactory to the people that there was only one opposing vote in the legislative assembly of 1901, and it was enthusiastically approved and indorsed by the Republican, Democratic, and Socialist conventions of 1902. It was approved and adopted by the people at the regular general election in June last year by a vote of 62,024 in its favor to 5,668 against it. This is the first amendment to the constitution of Oregon that has been approved by the people, though many have been rejected.

What may be called the field work of the movement was managed by the executive committee of the Direct Legislation League of Oregon. There were seventeen members of this committee, representing not only all the political parties of the State but also the principal factions of the different parties. The League was rather loosely organized; every one was counted a member who was willing to work for the cause, and who did not seek to make it a party question. Its members circulated literature, wrote letters to the newspapers, talked with their neighbors, collected funds, and some of them made speeches. The total amount of money expended by the League and the committee that preceded the more formal organization, from 1892 to 1902, was in round numbers \$1,750. The money was spent principally for printed matter and postage, as most of the work was cheerfully done by friends without pay.

W. S. U'REN.

Oregon City, Ore.

ZIONISM AND SOCIALISM.

IN one of the Jewish bookstores on the East Side of New York, an ardent member of a Zionist society was offering to sell tickets to its annual ball to all who entered. A young man came in to buy his daily Yiddish paper. He was accosted by the Zionist. "No," said the customer, disdainfully, "I do not want any of these tickets." "Ah," said the ticket-vendor, angrily, "you are one of those Socialists; you don't want to go to a Zionist affair."

This incident, in a measure, sums up a remarkable clash of interests in the spiritual and intellectual life of the Ghetto. There are many varieties of thought, differences of opinion, and diversities of belief in the Jewish quarter. They are to be expected among a people that in history and tradition reaches so deep into the past, and in dream and prophecy looks so far into the future—a people that has played so many-sided and versatile a rôle in the course of human events, and has during its wanderings encountered all the currents of communal life; but among all these mental activities there is no more striking phase than the struggle between the followers of the contrasting conceptions of Zionism and Socialism.

Zionism is as old as the beginning of the Diaspora. The fervid hope of Palestine's restoration was carried along by the Israelites through the cold and darkness of their exile, through the gloaming and gloom of all the Ghettos. "A year hence in Jerusalem." Wherever the Jew celebrated the Passover, these were the words at the close of the Seder service. If in the course of time the meaning of the words faded and they were uttered only mechanically, even while those who prayed made material arrangements and business transactions indefinitely to remain in the lands of their exile, the rise of some imaginative zealot, or a fresh wave of anti-Semitic persecution, rekindled the smoldering fire, nigh extinguished. "If I forget thee, O Zion, let my right hand forget its cunning."

Modern advocates of the Zionist idea may claim that their aim is practical, and utterly independent of religion, and Joseph Seff may at the convention of the American Zionists protest against the pious proposition of Professor Gottheil, and say that no one has any right to deal with religious questions on the Zionist platform; it is nevertheless true that, among the orthodox, Zionism was always part of their religion, and the strength of this hope was determined by the fervor of their faith. The pious believed in the miraculous redemption of the Holy Land according to Biblical prophecy. They prayed for Zion; and, when some practical Zionists arose who wanted to do things and give them their old home, they held up their hands in horror and raised the cry of infidelity. Those who preached the gospel of Hillel and of self-help were ever looked upon with suspicion by the pietists.

But the revival of Zionism in a political form by Dr. Theodore Herzl, five or six years ago, found the Jews at large quite responsive to the call for practical efforts. The spirit of the age knows no restrictions and has penetrated even the obscurest little Jewish towns in Russia. Years and years ago the Palestinian plans of patriots and of their own Ghettos were ignored or rejected; now the call of a modernized German Jew was hearkened to and answered with enthusiasm. The pious recognized the necessity of taking action toward the fulfilment of prophecy. The orthodox and liberal came into agreement. Renewed persecutions, anti-Semitism, and an awakening of the racial feeling of superiority helped to bring these things about.

When the first Zionist Congress was held at Basle, Dr. Herzl and Max Nordau and other agnostics entered the synagogue of that city, donned their hats, and prayed together with the other Israelites who came from all parts of the world. Of the great strides that the movement has made, and the formidable power that it became, it is not now necessary to speak.

But there is a large and growing class of dissenters, whose sympathies have not in the least been moved by the recent revival of all the sound and sentiment that surround the rebirth of the Zionist ideal. On the contrary, this class has

evinced more antagonism, enmity, and opposition than ever before. The Socialists and Radicals in Israel have gone on increasing their ranks and have continued to carry on their propaganda, utterly regardless of the claims of their patriotic brethren. The very inception of a Socialist movement among the Jews meant the rejection of the Zionist hope as a solution of the Jewish problem. This inception took place about twenty-five years ago, when Lieberman and Sundelewitz, talented products of Russian Jewry, published in Vienna *The Truth*, the first Socialist publication ever printed for the Jews in their own language.

Ever since, advanced ideas of collectivism and communism have found stanch and self-sacrificing adherents wherever there is a Jewish center and the pinch of poverty and the burden of joyless labor and the touch of new-time aspirations are felt. Iconoclastic, irreligious, atheistic, these growing elements of advanced idealism are; yet there is no lack of blind faith, fanaticism, and superstition among them. But these people, who had rejected Judaism to accept it again in the form of Socialism, will have nothing of Zion, or its promised "restoration." While the Zionists are zealously working for the maintenance of the sacred tongue, the preservation of the ancient faith, the regeneration of the national feeling, and the restoration of the Holy Land, their Socialist brethren are ardently laboring for the rejection of the antiquated speech, the abolition of the old-time creed, the dissolution of the national consciousness and all sectional boundaries, and the establishment of the coöperative commonwealth after the dream of the brotherhood of man. To be sure, the revolutionary idealists of the Ghetto—the Socialists, the Communists, and the philosophic Anarchists—differ widely in their aim, despite the Yiddish humorist who said that there is no difference between them, since they all want about the same thing and get just as much. Their respective ways to the millennium are ways that part, and the frequent strife among themselves and the wasting of ammunition often give peace to "the common enemy"—those who stand for things as they are.

But they are all universalists, with philosophies comprehending the salvation of the entire human race. They all unite in their hostile attitude and trenchant opposition to the Zionist movement, which they consider sectional, reactionary, and a hindrance to progress. They are sworn enemies of all movements that are narrow, national, patriotic, and aim at the elevation of any single class or people regardless of the welfare of the rest of humanity. And this war goes on in every part of the Ghetto, through the press, on the platform, in the cafés, in barber shops and stores, in the clubs, in the synagogues (not so frequently here, for few radicals venture into them), in the crowded streets, at social gatherings, in all places of public assemblage, and in hundreds of homes. Numerous tales could be told of family dissensions caused by the sore strife of ideals. It is often responsible for bitter, deep, and uprooting division between parents and children, between brothers and sisters, and others united by common blood. Most often these disputes, wherever they are carried on, take the form of profound and thoughtful argumentation, but sometimes they descend to mere squabbles in which only leaders and followers of the respective movements are discussed and often cursed.

"You—with your eternal Karl Marx!" said one enthusiast. "And you—with your everlasting Dr. Herzl and his silly scheme for a Jewish State!" retorted another partizan. And yet these two leaders of diametrically opposite movements are but a continuation of the prophets.

Some time ago the writer was one of many listeners at a striking debate devoted to the Zionist question, held under the auspices of an educational society made up of young radicals of Boston's Jewish quarter. There were many other debates given at this club, but none were so stirring, stormy, and obstreperous as this one on the question of the Holy Land, and no other public meeting of the society attracted so large a gathering of attentive and interested spectators. The question, as it read officially, was: "*Resolved*, That Zionism is the only true solution of the Jewish problem." The affirmative was held up by local members of the Zionist societies. Those who

spoke in the negative were typical radicals of the quarter. I give in substance the view presented by one of the Socialists, a young man connected with the Yiddish press and a hard worker in social reform movements.

It is doubtful, he said, whether there *is* such a thing as a Jewish problem; but if there is, it is only part of the great social problem that confronts all mankind. The oppression and persecution of the Jews, upon which the Zionists base their claim for a national home, are the same poverty and subjection that are undergone by the wage-slaves of all peoples and countries. The poor, no matter of what nationality, are everywhere dominated over, oppressed, harassed, denied the right to live, and robbed of the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, for the wealthy Jew, as well as for the wealthy Christian, every country is Palestine, and he need seek no place of refuge. It is social inequality and the unjust social system that are at the bottom of all evil. Palestine may give some relief to a few homeless Israelites, but after a while even here the people will be divided between rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed, and the bulk of the colonists will soon be confronted by the same corroding conditions they have just escaped. Besides, Palestine is barren, desolate, and sterile, and has no industrial opportunities of promise to offer. It is the soil of superstition, and the people there will go back to their fanaticism of old, and all the progress that they have made among the nations will be lost. The Jew should stay among the nations, help them in their upward struggle for a higher civilization, and aid them in the establishment of more harmonious social conditions. The Jew is a part of the country wherever he abides; he should not withdraw, and like a deserter retire into an obscure corner of the world and become a nonentity. He has ever given high ideals to the world; and now because he has suffered everything, has been everywhere, has drunk at all fountains of wisdom, and has lived to see the new dawn break upon humanity, he, the wandering Jew, is in the best position to help it to the higher harmonies of life and promote the cause of the brotherhood of man.

Zionists say that the Jewish State will be founded, as outlined by Dr. Herzl, on a Socialistic basis; that the social problem will be solved in the Holy Land, and that the ideal Democracy, which will then be established after the teachings of the ancient and modern Jewish prophets, will give the world a lofty example and teach it justice and righteousness. But you cannot solve the social problem where it does not exist. You cannot establish ideal industrial conditions where there is no industry, and you cannot form a model republic out of a pauper population; for none but the poorest and most poverty-stricken in Israel will go to Palestine.

In the world of action, in the world of industry, commerce, trade, and toil, continued the speaker, is the place to teach good lessons and make great improvements. As to anti-Semitism and prejudice and racial hatred, we cannot escape them by running away from the world: even in Palestine the Jews will be living among aliens. We must live among the nations, promote the cause of truth, and by our lives prove the absurdity of our enemies' accusations. We must wait until blind hatred and bitter jealousy will die out, as die out they surely will with the advance of civilization. We must ally ourselves with the forces of progress instead of deserting them. The Zionist, who is hostile to all the peoples of the earth, who admits that there is no place for the Jew in the whole world, who advocates separation and aloofness and constantly talks about the "superiority" of his race, takes the same premises as the anti-Semite, and is just as much in the wrong. Both Zionist and anti-Semite stand against the goal of human brotherhood. The salvation of the Jewish people lies in the salvation of the world.

The Zionists who spoke in the affirmative instanced the hardships and sufferings and trials that the Jews have undergone in all the countries—the insults, scorn, and degradation they have been subjected to, notwithstanding the glorious contributions they have made to the wisdom, the wealth, and the welfare of humanity. Israel, the light-bearer of the world, they declared, has ever walked in darkness. After hoping, waiting, and praying for centuries, we discover examples of "civilized" humanity

in the Dreyfus case, in the treatment of the Jews in Russia, in the persecutions of our people in Roumania and Galicia. This civilization is a snare and the hope for a better world—a delusion. We have tried all countries and found no haven of rest, no place of refuge. Even in this blessed land the finger of scorn is often pointed at the poor Jew. Besides, our brethren cannot all come to this country. To talk about human brotherhood while anti-Semites and darklings and fanatics are everywhere making life unbearable for our brethren is absurd. It is ridiculous to sing the "Song of the Universal" to the cries of outraged, hounded, and starving Israelites in many lands. Will you tell those crying for "a crust of bread and a corner to sleep in" to wait for the millennium? Will you, "merciful sons of the merciful," be so cruel? And you who have the welfare of humanity at heart, you devout altruists, who cherish such beautiful ideals—are you going to let your own people suffer and sorrow and sigh until your pet Utopia becomes realized? Would it not be better and wiser and more humane to begin at home to improve the condition of down-trodden Israelites? It behooves the reformer to do as much as he can to improve the condition of those near him. To wait for the coming of a perfect panacea is no better than to be utterly indifferent to their sufferings.

And what better can be done for the homeless, impoverished, and enslaved Jews than to bring them out of their bondage into the land of their fathers—create there a center of political safety, material comfort, and spiritual activity? The Sultan is willing. The Holy Land can be had, and the return of the wandering Jew to Palestine would mean a wonderful revival of Judaism. Our people would flock to that country because of the cherished associations and endeared memories that cling to it. The indigent and the impoverished would go despite all the hardships and tribulations before them. It is true, they admitted, that the advocates do not wish to go there themselves; but there are many who are homeless and who to escape persecution would willingly undergo all the suffering and toil until the dream comes true. This will be the establishment of the

Jewish State, an ideal Republic, fashioned after the teachings of the prophets and the laws of modern science. Here liberty, equality, and fraternity—in reality an old Jewish aspiration—will reign supreme; “and from Zion shall issue the law, and the word of God go forth from Jerusalem.” The world will listen, see, and understand, and again be benefited and blessed by the redeeming example of the rejected people.

Thus argued the Zionists; and Mr. Zangwill, asked to explain “why the Jews succeed,” wrote an article to prove that they do not, and to show that as a people they are a miserable failure, the bulk of them being poverty-stricken, homeless, oppressed, ignorant, and persecuted. And, in his plea for the cause to which he has recently been converted, the great interpreter of his race cries out: “Give back the country without a people to the people without a country!”

The debate I witnessed closed with even more excitement than characterized its opening; the audience, as before, was divided into two parties, each claiming to have the only right side of the argument, and a number of the speakers challenging each other to other debates. Similar and more intense contests and controversies are held in New York and in every city where there is a large Jewish population and the several varieties of idealists and dreamers are extant. Radicals often devote their speeches to bitter and vituperative attacks on the false and pretentious panacea of Zionism. They point to the fact that in the international revolutionary movement alone the Jew has been accepted on equal terms and given high places of honor, even in the most Jew-baiting countries. Singer, Bernstein, Adler, and others have been sent to the Reichstag of anti-Semitic Germany by their Socialist comrades, who knew no division caused by creed, color, nationality, or race. The Socialists were ever acrid foes of anti-Semitism, prejudice, and race hatred, and they ever defended the Jews and praised them for their visions of the future and their revolutionary efforts. Among the Socialist leaders of France, Dreyfus found some of his best friends. The very attitude of the movement toward them forecasts the position of the Jew under a Radical régime.

The hope of Israel is in the triumph of the ideals to which great Jews have given birth. These men suffered with their people, grappled with the Jewish problem, and found its only solution in the abolition of poverty and the establishment of just social conditions. As an instance, the Socialists point to their heroic leader, Ferdinand Lasalle. This is what, as a youth, he wrote in his diary: "I would not even fear the scaffold, if by this I could bring back my people to the position of an honored nation. Oh, when I give myself over to the dreams of my childhood, then I am possessed by my cherished idea—to rise in arms at the head of the Jewish people and lead them back to their place as an independent nation!" But a change came over the spirit of his childhood aspirations, and Lasalle afterward saw the emancipation of his people in "the emancipation of the *world* from the yoke of capitalism." To this day the Jewish workingmen bow their heads in reverence before the memory of that deified saint, "The Savior of the People." Said a New York agitator in a recent speech: "We who have laid a flower on the grave of Lasalle, the champion of freedom, the enemy of all tyranny, can never follow Theodore Herzl, nor countenance his servile courtings of kings and potentates. We who follow Lasalle can have nothing in common with the man who was proud to shake hands with Wilhelm the Insane."

In any of the Jewish bookstores of New York you will find a little Yiddish pamphlet on "Zionism or Socialism?"—published in Russia (underground) by the General Federation of Jewish Workers of Russia and Poland. This is an able exposition of the question as well as a most biting, bitter, sarcastic, and scathing criticism of "the misleading aim of Zionism." This writer, whose real name is for an obvious reason concealed by a pseudonym, is full of scorn, wrath, and indignation at the thought of Jewish class-conscious working people and radicals giving up their revolutionary mission for "the false hope of Zionism," and bending their proud heads in subjection to sultan or king. The middle classes and well-to-do Jews, who are in sympathy with the Herzl movement, are strongly taken to task for this, their most orthodox way of avoiding the

real issue, which is the problem of poverty and wealth over again. "The intelligent workers cannot be blinded; they know that Palestine would only mean more poverty; that the colonies now existing there have never been self-supporting; that hope for them lies only in uniting with the toilers of the world and demanding the full fruits of all their labor." As Zangwill has said, before he became a Zionist, the Juden-weh is only a fraction of the Welt-weh.

Speeches along these lines are heard in New York every day, and the enthusiastic replies from the Zionists that they bring forth cause no end of perturbation and excitement. "These radicals," said one Zionist, "who desert their own people, and embrace the whole world in a hallucination of universal brotherhood, afterward find that it was only a phantom, and that they were far, too far ahead of time." Even Daniel De Leon, the Socialist leader, whom they have raised to a high position, after a while mocks and ridicules the Jews and talks about their "long noses." There is one Zionist preacher in particular in New York who treats the universalists in a merciless, narrow, bigoted manner.

But perhaps the staunchest anti-Zionist in the radical movement is A. Frumkin, a native of Palestine, who escaped that country, because of its bigotry, narrowness, superstition, and poverty, and came to America. His father is a noted rabbi, a Hebrew publicist, and a leader of the liberal element among the Jews of the Holy Land, and the son, going a step farther, became a radical, a Communist, and could no longer remain in the land of his birth. He was for a time a compositor on the Socialist daily of New York, and the editors found that he could write so well that they made him a member of the staff. He now ranks among the ablest Yiddish journalists of New York. His papers on Palestine and its possibilities, with which he is naturally as well acquainted as any one can be, his disclosures of the ill-managed colonies, his revelations in regard to the abuses of the Jewish institutions there, and his trenchant reviews of the Zionist movement made many a startling sensation in the Ghetto. His graphic descriptions of the poverty-

stricken colonists moved many of his readers to tears. When Mr. Frumkin came here he helped his uncle, Rabbi Rodkinson, translate the Talmud into English; but his opinion of Talmudic questions differed from that of his uncle, and so, after a while, he took to typesetting, a trade he had learned on his father's publication in Jerusalem. Mr. Frumkin intends to keep up his propaganda against Zionism and to prevent as many people as he can from going to Palestine.

In the office of the *Vorkwarts*, the Socialist daily, the question of Zionism recently came up. The young adherent spoke of the national fund that is now being organized in the interest of colonization, and of the large opportunities that were open in the East for the struggling, starving, suffering Jews of Europe. "Palestine can be built up even as the West was built up in this country by the men who went out there," he said.

"But this is not so," replied the editor of the paper, a noted leader of the Ghetto; "it was really the West that built up the men who went out there. The West had the material, the resources, the economic basis. This must be at the bottom of any substantial settlement or social growth. The West had the means, and only lacked the people. Palestine already has a large population, without any visible means of supporting it. Even a country without a people had better remain so if it has not the means of welfare for a population. Only such countries are holy as give people an opportunity to labor and love, live and enjoy, and bring out what is best in them. Zangwill talks about people who are willing to go to Palestine and take out their wages in religious emotion. I always say he has the heart of a poet; but we all know that the poor Jews, who have so long been deprived of the common necessities of life, would much rather go to the East End of London or the East Side of New York and work and drudge in the sweat-shops and slum factories for a piece of bread and a peaceful place to lay their heads—for a breath of freedom and a bit of hope for their children. They prefer to come here, and they become very emotional when they strike for higher wages. Yet who will

sneer at the religion of those who desire to straighten up their souls, for generations bent by the yoke of poverty?"

Such anti-Zionist views, it must be said, are shared by masses of intelligent, thoughtful Jewish working people, here as well as in the Old World; while the middle classes, the pedlers, middlemen, speculators, and business people are largely faithful followers of the movement. Between these and the former the strife of ideals goes ever on and constitutes a permanent war in the Ghetto. But in each camp there is the quality that makes its cause ring true—the quality of sincerity. Time will not utterly discredit even those who are sincere in their folly. Whatever one believes in is true, not only to his personality, but to the facts as he perceives them.

BERNARD G. RICHARDS.

New York.

THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

AN article in THE ARENA for November, 1902, on "Desirable Reforms in Motherhood," seems to leave something still to be desired on behalf of the children. We are reminded by the writer that *mother* is a sacred word, full of hallowed associations, and that to become motherless is a sad fate to befall any child—all of which is undoubtedly true; but why should we continue to ignore the sacredness of *fatherhood*, and the loss the world sustains through bad and incompetent fathers?

The civilization of to-day is held back by a dead weight of barbarism and hopeless inefficiency, and since the sympathetic nerve of the social organism has been so developed that we cannot accept the advice of a late writer on heredity, and gently and painlessly put to death those who fall behind in the race and disturb the peace and order we desire to establish, we are compelled in self-defense to ask what makes it so, and seek to remove the causes.

The article referred to answers this social problem with unthinking fluency: "All the wickedness of the world can be traced to incompetent motherhood." Let us see. We will begin by examining the prison inmates, of whom we find a large majority physically deficient in some way. If we follow them back to what by courtesy we may call their homes, we are quite likely to find ourselves in the city slums, where families live in one or two rooms, for which they pay excessive rent—rooms in which privacy and cleanliness are well-nigh impossible; where the high price and poor quality of food, bad air, and lack of sunlight and drainage combine to check physical development.

Going to institutions for the care of other defectives we find on examination of the records that most of these unfortunates were born with a defective physical organization, for which, by

the way, fathers and mothers are equally responsible; and often circumstances over which they have no control are more responsible than either.

The interaction of physical, mental, and moral forces is not yet fully comprehended, but nothing is more certain than that poorly nourished, overworked, nervously exhausted fathers and mothers will produce children that are weak, unbalanced, and defective, lacking in power of resistance either to disease or temptation. In our factories and shops there are multitudes of boys and girls forced by grim necessity to long hours of exhausting toil, under very unwholesome conditions, just at the age when they should be storing up vitality for future generations.

Again, our author tells us that the best mother is the one who understands how to *work*—how to cook, how to prepare the washing, etc. Then a washerwoman in my neighborhood is well qualified for motherhood, for she can do all these things admirably and goes out washing till within two or three weeks of the birth of her babies; while her husband, who earns \$2.50 a day, comes home and abuses her because she is having babies—which necessity interrupts, ever so briefly, her possibility of wage-earning.

We hear a good deal about the “fashionable mothers” who do not want babies to interfere with their pleasures; but the story of the *fathers* who do not desire babies has never been told. It is a harrowing tale, and shall be left to a more graphic pen than mine.

The washerwoman’s children, when they manage to survive, are generally neglected; but it is a hard-hearted person that can blame the *mother*.

The first great right of children is to be well born, and the second is like unto it: the right to have a good, wholesome environment. The man who said, “Give me a child until it is seven years old, and I will make it what I will,” was not, after all, very wise. Emerson, who said, “I am a part of all I have met,” was nearer the truth.

In my home town six boys under eleven years were arrested

for throwing a railroad switch, and the police judge gave them some fatherly advice and sent them home, because though the act was a criminal one the State does not recognize a child under ten as a criminal, knowing full well that character at that age is yet unformed. Impressions are easily made and easily effaced at that plastic period of life, and the more "delicate, hot-house care" is given to the child the more likely it is to go down before the rude blasts it is sure to encounter later on.

There are latent forces in most of us unsuspected till some circumstance reveals them—sets them loose, as it were—and we find ourselves borne irresistibly into strange waters.

The Elmira Reformatory gave the world a splendid object-lesson in demonstrating the possibility of transforming character all through the period of adolescence, and the New Psychology encourages us all by teaching that we should discipline ourselves constantly to form and to break habits as a means toward the ever-developing realization of the good in us. The women's clubs, the mothers' congresses, and even the despised "female lecturer" are helping to bring the great mass of mothers to a better understanding of their duties and their rights.

Parentage has been too long haphazard and ignorant on both sides. If a child is to go into business or a profession we recognize the need of preparation and training, but the highest and holiest function of human life is considered an "improper" subject of discussion or of education. The growing interest in physical culture gives promise of a better heredity; and the slow awakening of our educators to the fact—so succinctly stated by Oliver Wendell Holmes, I believe—that the *whole boy* goes to school, and that his hands, his eyes, his ears, and all the rest of his body need training in order to give him a good mental equipment, gives greater hope for the development of character.

If *love*, with all its blessings, came into the world through the mother, *law* is the father's gift. Some fathers have abdicated this right in family life, which is bad for the children; but they still maintain it vigorously in public affairs. Now, as in

the days of Paul, law is a schoolmaster ; and it is high time to ask what are the lessons our growing youth are learning from law and its administration. Are the representatives elected to this high duty of a character to serve as models for boys? If not, what can the *mothers* do about it? Boys, you know, want to be men—do as men do and vote as men vote: and the mothers' loving wisdom can hardly prevent them.

That some of our wise women are not exactly patient under their limitations is quite true, and it is for the sake of the *child* that they are asking for a wider coöperation with men. The race can never come to its best without the united effort of men *and* women ; neither one can escape the divinely appointed burden of parenthood without irreparable loss to the child.

CARRIE L. GROUT.

Rockford, Ill.

A CONVERSATION.

WITH

HENRIK G. PETERSEN, M.D.,

ON

HYPNO-SUGGESTION AS A THERAPEUTIC AGENT.

Q. Dr. Petersen, as the result of your experience and observations in Europe and through your extensive practise in Boston, do you regard hypno-suggestion as an important therapeutic agent?

A. Hypno-suggestion, which has found an ever-enlarging place in my medical work during the last twelve years, both here and in Europe, has by its scope and possibilities, beneficial facts more than expectant theories, strengthened my conviction that, scientifically understood and practised, it broadens the usefulness of an educated physician. For its greatest success it demands to be associated with the insight of an alienist and neurologist. Such is to-day the indisputable position of physicians having recognized experience and authority in this branch of medicine.

As a remedy it is an adjuvant of great efficacy in diseases of mind and body, without claiming the impossible, and admitting failures. Properly applied it is safer than drugs, quantitatively and qualitatively. It creates nothing, but corrects and cures through energized coöperation of mental and physical faculties; its efficacy being proportional to the intelligent knowledge of the physician and the non-obstructive disposition of the patient. Without establishing such a combination, the remedy remains inert and frustrates the best efforts. The preliminary work to be done is not always appreciated by the patient, who does not understand that so much has to be undone and there-

fore often undervalues what is perhaps the most essential step toward recovery. He recognizes, of course, that the process of tearing down is more rapid than that of building up, but is, nevertheless, likely to think that it should be the other way in his particular case. In laying the foundation of health, he considers the time needed for removing the old rubbish from mind and body far in excess of its necessity and importance, and the demand upon his own assistance and willingness too great. He exacts the immediate arrival of new, sound material, and that it shall be put together in time of his own choosing. If this same person were to build a house, however, he would be most punctilious as to having the foundation laid in conformity with the best sanitary conditions, allowing no decayed substance in its proximity, apt to make the cellar moldy and carry insidious disease into the house itself. Strangely enough, one often gets the impression that this building should begin with the roof, or that the whole material is to be heaped together from the very outset instead of being accessible at its proper time.

The impatience of result is one of the many obstacles that the physician has to encounter and battle against. Injurious as this is to the patient under all kinds of treatment, it is especially obstructive in suggestive therapeutics, but at the same time no method is more effective in breaking down such morbid barriers and relaxing the antagonistic tension. When the tug of war declares in favor of the physician,—and it is but a question of time, individually measured,—the reconstructive work proceeds. In the sufferer's own interest and to avoid loss of valuable time, it must be very evident that we prefer to meet with an intelligent and patient mind. If he has been made irritable and unreasonable through a long and painful illness, let this disposition be softened by a confident belief that the physician will honestly do his best and speed him on the road to recovery according to circumstances and the amount of work his condition requires. It is imperative that this belief be established, and here the physician's own individuality, in all its shades, is a factor for or against his success.

While such morbid dispositions are pathetically excusable, they generally reflect a former, strenuous life of hurry, and in this respect the American is at a decided disadvantage. Although this remark would seem to confirm an old assertion that his peculiar fiber is less suited to psychological influence and hypno-suggestion, and therefore not so widely resorted to here as in Europe, yet this purely hypothetical argument has been sufficiently controverted by experience and results. As an antidote and a protection against a nervous, self-destructive existence, no one has more need of the calming and preserving effect of hypno-suggestion than the American people, irrespective of class. If, as yet, its application is but gradually increasing, other and more palpable reasons are in evidence.

Q. What percentage of persons in your judgment may be brought sufficiently under hypnosis to render them susceptible to the positive influence of the operator?

A. By "positive influence" I understand one that leads to positive results; consequently, the only one that I recognize as remedial. According to conservative statistics, such susceptibility claims eighty per cent., comprising all degrees of hypnosis. One must bear in mind that psychological medicine is delicately adjusted as to dosage and not adapted to platform performances, where the suggestive influence is discounted and void of interest unless exhibiting the brute obedience of the body. Such positive influence we condemn as a violation of the subconscious self and its legitimate right of independence whenever the motive is not to assist it to a healthy and beneficial equilibrium. This is also the stumbling-block of inexperienced and ambitious physicians, who in their endeavor to obtain results strain delicate cords. It is only through the restraint that mental discipline and discerning knowledge give that one learns to subordinate quantity to quality. One also requires moral courage and force of character to withstand the temptation of appearing wonderfully apt before the gaze of ignorance and curiosity, and by dutiful patience to renounce rapid successes when they are not only incongruous, but even dangerous. Judge of a physician who would master pain and disease by

the use of narcotics alone, when; by gradually eradicating the causative ill, he would obtain a safe and legitimate result! A blacksmith could have done as much and been the less guilty of the two. This is not pleasant to say nor agreeable to confess, but a sensible, honest observer will recognize its truth.

It is of the greatest importance in suggestive therapeutics and a strict maxim—to aid, not to subordinate, the laws of Nature. It is true that, in the early, struggling days of developing scientifically this medical agent, the erroneous idea then prevailed that deep hypnosis was a *sine qua non* condition; but our present advance has modified this by studious experience, just as it has shortened our prescriptions and made our medicines less crude. We frequently arrive at the most satisfactory results in the lowest degrees of hypnosis, thus proving them to possess positive influence, but we must know how to follow it up and balance every advantage.

Q. Has hypno-suggestion a potentially positive ethical value? A friend of mine who has had some experience in this direction informed me that he had cured quite a number of confirmed drunkards without the aid of drugs, but simply by suggestion. He had also met with marked success in one case in curing a patient who was affected with kleptomania; and I think I have read that in Nancy thousands of morally weak children have been materially benefited through suggestive therapeutics. Have your observations and experience proved its value in this direction?

A. I answer this question decidedly in the affirmative. The information given by your friend is absolutely creditable. In other writings I have dwelt at some length upon the ethical value of hypno-suggestion in educational and reformatory work. As we know to-day the dualism of our nature, its good and bad propensities, either emphasized by a strong hereditary taint or acquired through contaminating contact in life, so we know that if we can reach deep enough, penetrate the crust that prevents light and warmth from operating beneficial changes, then these will become manifest in many and often desperate cases. Thus, the raising or lowering of the scales brings into view our virtu-

ous or vicious nature, and effective manipulation decides which one of the two shall prevail when subject to the influence of our surroundings. In ordinary, normal instances, education and example suggest sufficiently; while, for correction or eradication of vice, prisons give seldom or never ethical results. These are but walls that shut out instead of letting in moral sunshine. If hypnosis is induced to deepen suggestibility and prevent auto-suggestion, this passive state promotes cerebral automatism and strengthens the conception of the projected image. It may be called an exalted state, but only in the sense of concentration that excludes habitual or irrelevant ideation. We thus establish inhibitory or check centers, permitting control that effects the desired changes from abnormal to normal life.

The psychic field for hypno-suggestion as a physiological brain process is very large, and because it brings the operator in direct contact with the real man, appeals to him as such, strengthens his will and courage, his self-esteem, and makes the inherent desire for light, freedom, and happiness vibrate. This obtained, the scale holding his moral self begins to ascend. While this is done every day by the genuine educator and preacher, it is never done by the technical, merely polished sermonist. As hypno-suggestion commands concentration and holds it, one can easily comprehend why its effect becomes profound and finally triumphs over obstacles. If the lymph then is moral, such vaccination contains no poisonous matter. It is applied abroad, and largely, in this form, thus benefiting the degenerated ones, who are again included among those that may be fit to survive. The first evidence of its successful possibilities dates from 1886, when Dr. Bérillon, inspector of insane asylums in the department of Seine, France, laid the subject before the Congress for the Advancement of Science at Nancy, and it has been voiced still stronger through undeniable proofs at the International Psychological Congresses of 1896 and 1900 in Munich, Florence, and Paris. My own observation and experience permit me to corroborate, and therefore seriously recommend, therapeutic psychology as a

process counteracting mental and moral virus when recognized in irresistible impulse or premeditated act, whether in the family or in the community at large.

Q. I suppose that hypno-suggestion is of positive benefit in functional rather than in organic diseases. Is not this the case?

A. This question must also be answered in the affirmative, and that both as to quantity and quality. Functional diseases naturally outnumber organic ones and have unfortunately a large share in rendering life miserable, mentally and physically. As they are forerunners of final organic conditions, early discrimination and correction become imperative to prevent such degenerative stages. Although the physical sphere of action for hypno-suggestion cannot as yet be sharply defined, yet it seems principally indicated in functional diseases of the nervous system and frequently causes a complete disappearance of morbid symptoms, terminated by a radical cure. Favorable results also follow where local lesions are produced by nutritive or circulatory deficiency, as the tonic value of this remedy is quickly imparted. It has, moreover, a diagnostic value, enabling us to determine whether the cause is due to nervous reflex, or to an apparent material injury.

Concerning the assistance that hypno-suggestion can offer, and the ills it is able to relieve and cure, often in an astonishingly short time, after other remedial agents have been exhausted, I might refer you to a number of standard works, translated into English, as, for instance, those of Bernheim and Wetterstrand. The opinions they express and the facts they illustrate have been subjected to keen scientific scrutiny by the medical profession in all lands, and have passed through the ordeal with honor and confidence. Their clear, unburdened text enables the non-medical world, any one who reasons soundly and without prejudice, to obtain a vast amount of information that can but enlarge the mental horizon.

Q. Have you known any cases of organic disease that have been beneficially affected through hypno-suggestion?

A. Yes. It need not appear too great a presumption for

those whose larger experience with hypno-suggestion brings them in contact with organic disease to state that here also benefit is more the rule than the exception. It is different, however, when speaking of cure, although in some trustworthy instances such cases could be reported. Nevertheless, from a conservative point of view, we will say that cure cannot be expected. A brief explanation of these points may sufficiently elucidate the position of hypno-suggestion in regard to relief and cure of organic disease. I have already remarked that the remedy has no power to create. What is dead through preponderant decay remains a dead portion. The area of destruction can be circumscribed, and thereby we may save remaining parts, if these are still serviceable for continued mental and physical normal life, from anatomical death. This is done by its ability to infuse the adjacent parts with vitality to resist. Now, even if such arrest of decay does not mean what is generally understood as a "cure," it certainly can claim to be a benefit, and if the part already destroyed does not play an absolutely important rôle in the human economy, but leaves the sufferer more free from pain and comparatively in possession of normal life, although partly the victim of an amputation, as it were, why consider it less curative under circumstances so adverse?

In surgery it is looked upon as a success if nutritive stimulation preserves after an operation, and I believe it fair and good reasoning that we should be entitled to the same consideration if results are similar. That it can be done is undeniable, and with more certainty later when we know more through greater experience. This is not a mere assertion or utopian expectancy, and I will remind those who are aware of the suggestive effect upon the blood vessels, of their contraction and dilatation, evidenced in hypnosis by the pallor or redness of the body and the varied heart-beat and pulsation. It is, further, a well-known fact, and witnessed by visitors to the European clinics of nervous diseases, that the application of a postage stamp, suggested to be a blistering plaster, will cause all the stages of inflammation produced by a real vesicant. Just as the blood can be drawn to a part, so can it be made to depart

from it if susceptible and suggestible conditions are actively present.

The importance of such facts is self-evident in regard to mental and physical disease, functional or organic. The conclusion to which one arrives after such demonstration, in my opinion places the question of efficacy possessed by suggestive therapeutics, in organic as well as functional diseases, within the grasp of common sense and removes much hypothetical and hypercritical theorizing. As to the mental side of suffering from organic or general disease, it may be positively asserted that hypno-suggestion is in every sense superior to narcotics, which deaden pain at the expense of vital energy and are devoid of mental stimulus that gives fortitude, resignation, or hope.

Q. It has been claimed by some that hypno-suggestion tends to weaken the mind of the patient, and I think there is no doubt that in the hands of ignorant or unscrupulous persons this might be the case. If, however, the physician leaves the patient with the strong suggestion of mental strength, it would appear that the mind might be fortified rather than weakened. What are your views on this phase of the question?

A. The answer accompanying your question is correct. The hypnotic state is not analogous to cerebral neurosis, and the result is not a morbid pathological condition, but a healthy physiological brain process. The proper use of hypno-suggestion, therefore, does not tend to weaken the mind. That presumption was exploded long ago when as an argument it served the opponents of suggestive therapeutics. Accumulative medical experience in every part of the world contradicts positively any injurious effect from hypno-suggestion, rightly administered. It has no more detrimental action upon the mental equilibrium than ordinary sleep with its ever-recurring dream hallucinations and illusions during more than one-fourth of our mortal existence. There is no hypnomania, and it has never been imputed as a result. It is also erroneous to believe that there is control of the will. A person can be made to do a thing, but no one can make him will to do it. A patient gives his will to the physician in whom he has confidence, and

the two wills blend for the mutual purpose of obtaining relief, or cure. It is equally false that a person, once hypnotized, henceforth becomes subservient to another's will. The physician having the healthy and therefore the stronger will, the confident or weaker one leans upon that of his medical adviser as upon crutches as long as needed; but, having gained strength of body and mind, he stands no longer in needful, dependent relationship to former means of assistance.

In regard to the ignorant operator, the danger lies in overdoing. A brain cannot, naturally, be more exempt from the bad effects of overloading than a stomach or other organ. As before remarked, knowledge of dosage is all-important. Besides knowledge of technical conditions, the operator must understand hypnotic phenomena clinically. The method being largely a psychic one, his education should extend to a comprehensive study of psychology, so that he may early appreciate and discriminate between psychic states and their subtle manifestations in mind and body. There is no possible routine application of psychology, but a constant individualization. Therefore, an intelligent, well-trained, and educated mind, earnest self-confidence, the confidence of his patient, gentle firmness, resourcefulness, and perseverance are needed for the equipment of the operator, and will make his task easy and the results beneficial. As the ignorant one, so is the unscrupulous and malicious operator dangerous, and the more so because he may not be ignorant. If he weakens the mind, it is because he wishes to do so and does not suggest, for the protection of his patient, that only by giving his free consent can he ever become susceptible and suggestible, and then only for well-directed and beneficial therapeutic purposes.

Q. Do you regard hypnotic suggestion as of much practical value as a substitute for anesthetics in cases calling for surgical operations?

A. Severe operations have been satisfactorily performed under hypno-suggestive conditions as far back as in the days of Braid, the British surgeon and author of "Neuro-hypnotism." Of late this has been the case in dentistry as well. A

perfectly susceptible person goes through the operation without the effects accompanying chloroform or ether. Nevertheless, although it is both feasible and satisfactory, this method will not, from the emergency point of view, supplant the use of anesthetics, because no means exist whereby a person's susceptibility and suggestibility can be accurately foretold, previous to hypnosis. Chloroform and ether do not require such conditions. A sane medical man, understanding the practise of hypno-suggestion, will consequently not lose valuable time in urgent cases—in diphtheria, for instance—by first finding out whether his patient is a psychic recipient or not, and he certainly never assumes him to be, thus imperiling life by delay of immediate and absolutely sure action. Hypno-suggestion in surgical operations is, therefore, only in a degree of practical value.

Q. How does America compare with the countries of the Old World in regard to instruction and use of hypno-suggestion?

A. For about two decades the clinical teachings of hypno-suggestion have been honored by chairs of prominence in the great universities of Europe, and embodied in their medical instruction of nervous and mental diseases. Among professors of universally high standing, I need but mention my old teachers, Bernheim at Nancy, von Krafft-Ebing at Vienna, Charcot at Paris, and Forel at Zürich. The fact that seats of learning so conservative, under government control, have admitted hypno-suggestion to their course of study indicates assuredly that this branch has emerged from the doubtful and prejudicial stage. As clinical instruction it holds a position as experimental psychology of a higher degree; it is in closer touch with man and his surroundings, is individual instead of mechanical. Under such auspices, the study naturally presupposes mental maturity and adequate preparative knowledge. Thus imparted, the trustworthy source becomes a safeguard to the public. Besides, there does not exist the disadvantage of having unqualified individuals perorate and practise their tenets.

It is, unfortunately, different in America, where psychology,

in the educational as well as in the clinical sense, is very young and relegated to the text-book and the laboratory. The best educated physicians have received but a technical idea thereof and lack clinical application and experience; but, being in touch with the Old World's progressive study in this field, they can if they will appreciate its just and practical claims. The time has passed when one can afford to conceal ignorance or prejudice by a supercilious air or idiosyncrasy, and a mere smattering of knowledge throws a false light upon the subject. If the physician possesses the necessary insight, his intelligent differentiation is welcome, as frictional thought emits mental sparks, which may illuminate; but he must investigate, not theorize, before judging. It is, however, somewhat better now. Many physicians are more than interested, yet, so far as I know, they are still deprived of the important clinical experience in colleges and hospitals.

This apathetic disposition in regard to a progressive and valuable branch of medicine is singular and not characteristic of the genuine American spirit, which is eager to know and possesses talented energy to overcome difficulties. The position is not one of school, although those of the old one may not like suggestive therapeutics because apparently limiting their preference for crude medication; on the other side, the homeopaths may still be sensitive to the old charge that infinitesimal doses are nothing but suggestion. Neither position can be called scientific, and neither is tenable nor dignified. A physician does not become a "hypnotist" because he adds this efficiency to his medical knowledge. Aside from its current vulgarity, this term is properly relegated to pursuits of a limited and especial kind. A nomenclature that demands exact definitions rejects even hypnotism as insufficient and misleading in its relation to therapeutics, because hypnosis is but a part of the psychic process, a state only, of which suggestion is the dominant factor. Otherwise, a surgeon might be also called an etherizer or chloroformer. Whatever reasons may be adjudged as the true ones, the former medical opposition, which now exists as a more or less lingering paresis,

has served to create and support a multicolored number of psychologists (?), who offer to teach everything they do not know themselves, in magazines and books of nebulous verbosity, and promise to make clinical experts by correspondence, as if even boots could be fashioned without practical teaching in the workshop! It is really humiliating. Let us, then, confess that the medical attitude of haughty letting alone simply aggravates and is a poor strategy whereby to oppose presuming ignorance and imposition. I hold that the assistance which a law paragraph would furnish is of less service than the competent example of those who call that paragraph into being. Such conditions, and not because the American nature, mentally and physically, is less adapted to profit by a beneficial application of hypno-suggestion, confuse and repel a public that does not receive a clear, true image thereof from those whose liberal education should furnish the most trustworthy and experienced information. Intelligent, prudent sufferers would not then be obliged to go long distances to seek the assistance of the few in whose knowledge they have confidence, but be able to find help in their own cities and in every educated and reputable physician.

THE IMPASSABLE GULF.

A SOCIAL INCIDENT.

BY LEANDER S. KEYSER.

The skating was excellent. Over the broad river lay a coat of mail as hard as rock and smoother than polished steel. What wonder that the young people of the city made day and night hilarious, and that the clash of their skates and the sound of their merry shouts went echoing up the ravines of the high river bluffs!

None of the skaters enjoyed the winter sport more than our young friend, Clarence Danton, who, after working all day over his briefs and law books in the office, found exhilaration for both body and mind in the excitement of curveting on the ice by moonlight. It was during one of these evening outings that he had an adventure that will never be erased from his memory.

As a rule, he preferred to skate alone, keeping on the rim of the crowd and taking jaunts far up and down the river as the whim impelled him. On the evening in question he was passing near the east bank, a little above the long bridge that spanned the river at that point. A young woman was skating a short distance ahead of him, moving in the same direction. With a sense of pleasure he noted the gracefulness of her form and the skill with which she glided over the ice. Suddenly, however, one of her feet flew out from beneath her, and she tumbled in a heap into a snow-bank, uttering a low cry of fright as she fell. Of course, Clarence was young and gallant. He circled swiftly and sped to her assistance, saying as he reached her:

"I hope you aren't hurt."

By this time she had gathered herself together, and was sit-

ting demurely in the snow, holding one of her skates in her hand.

"I'm not hurt in the least," she replied, in low, musical tones. "For a wonder, too; I was going so swiftly."

"What caused the accident?"

"One of my skates came unbuckled. How I can't say. I don't think the strap is broken."

"With your permission I will examine it," he said, reaching out his hand. "If it's broken, perhaps I can mend it."

She had now risen, and he was looking her full in the face. A thrill passed through him when he saw how fair she was, her features being as symmetrical as her form was lithe and graceful. The sheen of the moonlight falling upon her seemed almost to encircle her head with a radiant crown. However, he put the braces on his excited feelings and took the skate from her hand, which he noticed was small and slender. After examining the highly polished skate, he said:

"It is quite sound. Perhaps the buckle wasn't well fastened. Allow me to put it on your shoe."

She hesitated a moment, and then thrust forward her left foot, which was as trig as the rest of her attractive figure, and he buckled the skate securely upon her dainty shoe. Having done this, he straightened up and looked smilingly down into her fair face.

"Well, this has been quite an adventure," he remarked. "It seems that we ought to be acquainted. I suppose we shall have to introduce ourselves. My name is Clarence Danton, of the law firm of Wendell & Danton."

"And I am Eunice Cartwright; I live on North Queen Street."

"I'm pleased to make acquaintance with you, Miss Cartwright. Why should we stand on the social conventions when accident or providence, or whatever it was, has brought us together in such a—a—unique way? Do you agree with me?"

"I'm very pleased to meet you, Mr. Danton," she answered, innocently.

"Shall we take a turn together on the ice?"

"If agreeable to you," she consented, after a slight pause.

As he took her arm, he experienced another thrill; for surely she was a most captivating girl, and her voice, speech, and lady-like manner told him that she was not without a fair degree of culture. Her modest demeanor was certainly very taking.

Afterward he often looked back to that night upon the glittering ice as one of the idyllic episodes of his life. Up and down the river they sped, now on one side, now on the other, curving gracefully hither and yon, the girl responding to every movement on his part almost as if she could interpret his thoughts. Thus the hours flew until the town clock struck eleven, when she said:

"It is time for me to go home, Mr. Danton."

"May I go with you?"

A slight shudder passed through her frame.

"My brother was to meet me, but in some way we must have missed each other," she replied.

"Your brother's services aren't needed," he declared, warmly. "Permit me to take his place."

"If you will be so kind," she responded, after a moment's hesitation, during which a strangely constrained expression came to her face. "I really fear, though, I oughtn't to trouble you to accompany me home, as I—I—am—as you are—that is, as we are strangers; but I can't go home alone at this time of night."

"Indeed you can't, and you mustn't. I shall not let you. No doubt it was my fault that your brother missed you, and so I must bear my punishment as gracefully as I can."

She laughed musically at this, and took his proffered arm, though not without a slight show of reluctance, and the young couple walked up the street, conversing in low and earnest tones. She was quiet and modest, and he mentally decided that she was beautiful, albeit he had seen her only by moonlight. But there was something about her manner, a kind of constraint, that mystified him.

How should he contrive to see her by daylight? If she was as beautiful and good as she appeared, it would be worth his

while to cultivate her acquaintance. What young, unmarried man would not have thought the same? As they neared her home, he asked, tentatively:

"Do you ever skate in the daytime?"

"Oh, yes, indeed!" she replied. "I'm so fond of the exercise that I can't get enough of it. I expect to make use of the ice while it lasts."

"Shall you skate to-morrow?"

"I intend to spend a couple of hours in that way to-morrow afternoon."

"Would you care if I should meet you then?"

The girl started, and seemed to shrink from him with a shudder. After a moment's thought, she replied:

"You may come if you wish."

"Thank you, Miss Cartwright. It will be a rare pleasure."

By this time they had reached her gate. The home was a neat and modest cottage in the suburbs, everything about it betokening thrift and cultivated taste. He bade her good-night and walked home in a highly exhilarated frame of mind, and spent most of the night tossing on his bed, thinking about the fair girl.

The next afternoon he met her on the ice, and noted with a thrill of delight that she was even more fascinating than he had supposed, her complexion being of that clear, pearl-like fairness that always challenges the masculine admiration, while her lips were ruby in their redness. Clarence was now deeply in love, and was resolved to know more about this lovely girl who stirred his heart as no other had ever done and at the same time mystified him. Of course, most men rather like a mystery. At parting he asked the privilege of spending the evening with her on the ice. What made her hesitate, and flush, and start as if she were on the point of refusing and making a confession? His pulse almost stood still as he waited for her answer. But she consented, although her eyes dropped before his intent gaze.

He waited for the evening's tryst with what patience he could command. It was an ideal moonlight night, and the

young couple fairly reveled in their favorite recreation. Clarence was in an ecstasy of delight. In the twenty-six years of his life he had admired many a beautiful girl, but none had ever before stirred him beyond the feeling of admiration.

It was a foregone conclusion that he would escort her home that evening. It was about ten o'clock when they arrived at the little gate. A light shone in one of the rooms of the cottage, showing that some of the girl's friends were still up; but the window curtains were closely drawn, so that Clarence could not see within. He wished she would invite him to step in and spend an hour in social chat. At all events, he was loath to say good-night without making another appointment.

"Miss Cartwright," he began, "I fear the ice won't last very long, and so I think we ought to improve our opportunity. Shall we skate again to-morrow night?"

He could see that her face had turned as white as the petal of a lily. She caught her breath, and her bosom throbbed painfully. Evidently the girl was violently agitated. It was some seconds before she could master her emotions sufficiently to speak.

"No, Mr. Danton, I cannot go with you again; indeed, I must not!" she said, carefully controlling her voice.

"Why, Miss Cartwright," he exclaimed, "I'm surprised at this. I can't understand you at all. We have had so much pleasure together—at least, it has been a rare delight to me, and I fancy that you, too, have not been displeased. Why shouldn't we continue our acquaintance?"

"We mustn't meet again," she replied, decisively.

"You can't mean it, Miss Cartwright! Is my company offensive to you?"

"By no means, my good friend," she hastened to say. "I frankly confess that I have never spent two pleasanter evenings than the last two have been. But, I repeat, our acquaintance must stop here."

"Why do you say that, Miss Cartwright?" he protested, almost angrily.

"There is very good reason, or I shouldn't say it."

"But I can't be satisfied to be dismissed in this mysterious way. For my own peace of mind, please let me have some clue to this strange proceeding."

She dropped both hands to her sides with an air of utter abandon, as if despair had seized her, and then said:

"Do you still persist? Well, if you must know, come into the house a minute or two, and you will discover the reason of this 'strange proceeding,' as you call it, and I think you will be satisfied to say good-by forever."

"I'm willing to take the risk," he stoutly declared.

With throbbing pulse he followed her through the door. She led him into a warm and cozy sitting-room, where two persons, a man and a woman, sat reading by an electric light. They turned toward the young people as they entered the room.

"Mr. Danton, permit me to introduce you to my parents," the girl said, in low, even tones.

A great gulf suddenly seemed to yawn before the young man—between the girl and himself—a gulf that was impassable.

"Your parents, Miss Cartwright! Good heavens!" he gasped, unable to hold back the speech. "Why, they are—they are——"

"Say it right out, Mr. Danton!" she challenged, defiantly. "They are mulattoes, although almost as white as you are."

"You can't mean it, Miss Cartwright!" he cried.

"I do mean it," she retorted, holding up her head imperiously. "Do you suppose I would deny my parentage? As you see, I have a strain of negro blood in my veins. Whether I am proud of that fact or not can make no difference to you. Forgive me," she added, more gently, "for my apparent deception. When I first met you last night I thought, in the dim light of the moon, that you might belong to my class of mixed blood, as your complexion is somewhat dark. Our meeting yesterday corrected that error. Besides, I wanted to know whether I am really so fair that a stranger would not detect the negro strain even by day."

During this speech Clarence Danton was growing pale and crimson by turns, unable to utter a word.

"But you talk like an educated girl," he managed to say, after some moments of painful hesitation.

"Oh, as for that," she replied, "I graduated from the city high school, and have been a student and diligent reader ever since."

There was another embarrassing silence.

"And now good-night," she added, presently. "I think you are satisfied now to cut short our acquaintance at once."

"Good-night, Miss Cartwright," he said, with not a little regret in his tones. "I suppose we must part; but, believe me, I shall always think you as good and noble as you are beautiful. Will you shake hands?"

They clasped hands for a moment, and then he rushed from the door—and spent the rest of the night in walking the streets and curveting on the ice, his thoughts too agitated to permit him to sleep. The next morning he returned to his office looking quite haggard.

This incident occurred between fifteen and twenty years ago. Clarence Danton is to-day a successful lawyer. No one save the parties concerned knows aught of his adventure. He smiles a little sadly, however, when he says to his friends, as he frequently does:

"The race problem is one of the most complicated problems with which the American people have to deal."

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

IMPORTANT WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

I. OUR GREATEST SOURCE OF MATERIAL WEALTH.

Few people are aware of the magnitude or the beneficial character of the work being carried forward by the Department of Agriculture; yet it is one of the most effective feeders and fosterers of national wealth that challenge the support of the people. Indeed, it is doubtful whether any other special appropriation in recent years has even measurably so increased the material wealth of the nation as have the sums that have been grudgingly appropriated for this Department. We have been so long accustomed to listen to the special pleadings of the protected manufacturers, who have enlarged on the vast importance of our commercial superiority and the material wealth of our manufacturing industries, that many have come to imagine that the manufacturing interests of the Republic overshadow in commercial importance and wealth-producing value any other branch of productive industry. And yet, according to the last census, the agricultural industries of the United States tower above all the material wealth-producing agencies.

"Products of agriculture," says Secretary Wilson in his recent report, "form about two-thirds of our entire export trade." Our exports from the farms during the year 1901 amounted to \$860,000,000. The facts disclosed by the last census are well calculated to astound the general reader, because the phenomenal growth of agriculture is seldom enlarged upon in the public prints. Thus, for example, the fixed capital of agriculture in the United States in 1900 amounted to \$20,436,000,000, divided as follows: 5,740,000 farms, comprising 841,000,000 acres, of which, however, a little less than half is at present improved land. (The value of these farms is \$16,675,000,000.) Farm implements and machines on the farms, not

included in the above estimate, \$761,000,000. Live stock on the farms, over \$3,000,000,000.

The output from the farms for the year 1899 aggregated nearly \$5,000,000,000. The imagination staggers before figures that reach the billions, and perhaps we can better comprehend the significance of the report if we notice a few of the leading sources of agricultural wealth. Thus, for example, the value of the maize or Indian corn crop alone reached the enormous aggregate of \$828,000,000; while wheat and oats amounted in value to \$587,000,000. The yield of cotton amounted to \$224,000,000, while the value of the live stock sold and slaughtered during the year reached an aggregate of over \$900,000,000. The value of the dairy products—milk, butter, and cheese—was \$472,000,000. Eggs and poultry amounted to \$281,000,000.

The great industries that represent this vast investment of wealth—industries that so largely sustain the life of our eighty million inhabitants—afford employment to over ten million persons. As the total number of those engaged in “gainful occupations” is, according to the census, but twenty-nine million people, it will be seen that agriculture claims more than one-third; while forty million, or fully one-half of our entire population, live on farms.

Another interesting and important fact disclosed is that there are over three million more persons engaged in agriculture than are employed in manufacturing and mechanical occupations in the Republic. These facts not only show that agriculture is our greatest source of material wealth, but also suggest the vital importance of a liberally sustained Department whose work shall assist in the beneficent labor of making two blades grow where one formerly grew, or of utilizing in a productive manner hitherto barren and waste lands and of wonderfully diversifying and improving crops and successfully battling against the natural enemies in the plant and animal worlds.

II. THE WIDE SCOPE AND PRACTICAL CHARACTER OF THE WORK.

It would require far more space than is at our command to enumerate in full the distinctive lines of practical work being effectively carried on in the interest of the Republic by the Agricultural Department. The mere mention of a few will, however, indicate something of the scope and importance to the nation of the efforts being scientifically and systematically pushed forward:

(1) The introduction of grains and other seeds, of desirable trees and shrubs, many of them fruit and nut bearing, and of animals from foreign lands.

(2) Effective work in combating the enemies of plant and animal life that imperil the wealth-producing crops.

(3) Introduction and cultivation of hardy and disease-resisting varieties of plant and animal life.

(4) Systematic study of soils to ascertain and demonstrate how land in various sections, now idle or of little productive value, may be utilized in highly profitable ways.

(5) The establishment of experiment stations and the dissemination of important information to the millions engaged in agricultural pursuits.

(6) Coöperation in object-lesson road work and in otherwise fostering efforts to build great permanent highways throughout the Republic.

(7) The introduction of special varieties of plants that thrive in regions hitherto not utilized; as, for example, the malaria-breeding swamps of the South, the rocky slopes of the mountains and the arid plains and alkali expanses of the West and Southwest.

Thoughtful men and women will readily understand the immense importance to the nation of work that results in the transforming of swamp-lands into vast fields of rice; in barren mountain sides made beautiful with vineyards laden with purple, ruby, and emerald wealth; in vast arid plains waving with the golden wealth of the macaroni wheat—land that had hitherto lain unimproved because the light fall of rain seemed to make its cultivation impracticable. Now, these things have resulted very largely through the initiation or the fostering care of the Agricultural Department, and they are merely typical of the far-reaching work in that direction being effectively carried on.

At present the Department is engaged in the introduction of the date-palm into the Southwest. If the experiment prove the success that is anticipated, vast tracts of arid plains in New Mexico, Arizona, and southeastern California can be rendered immensely valuable by the cultivation of this delicious fruit.

In like manner experiments are being made that promise to be successful in the introduction of Turkestan alfalfa and of certain special varieties of cotton in the alkali regions of the Southwest, which have hitherto been regarded as valueless for raising plants. The potential commercial and national im-

portance of this work is forcibly illustrated in the phenomenal growth of the rice and macaroni culture. In these instances the expenditure of small amounts by the Department has led to the development of industries that utilize enormous tracts of hitherto idle land, give employment to an army of individuals, and increase the national wealth many millions of dollars per annum.

III. THE RISE OF THE RICE INDUSTRY.

It was about eighteen years ago when the more enterprising farmers of Louisiana, who were attempting to raise rice, began to introduce improved machinery and methods of cultivation. With the employment of labor-saving machines, improved plows, harrows, seeders, and reapers, the cost of production was greatly reduced. The result of the experiment, however, could not be said to be satisfactory, as the percentage of broken grain was so great as to make the crop of little commercial importance, the Louisiana rice bringing only the price of a second-class product. At this juncture the Department of Agriculture came to the aid of the rice-growers. It was believed that varieties could be found that would prove of sufficiently high milling qualities to make the American product equal to the best grown abroad. The Department accordingly sent an expert to Japan, who after careful search found in the Kiushu rice a variety that promised to give the desired results. Experiments fully confirmed the accuracy of the agent's conclusions, and the great drawback to the cultivation of rice was overcome.

As soon as the result of the successful experiments had been made public, a general movement was inaugurated looking toward transforming the vast malaria-breeding swamps of Louisiana, eastern Texas, and other Gulf States into rice plantations. Not less than \$20,000,000 was quickly invested in the industry, and in 1900 about 8,000,000 more pounds of rice were produced than in the preceding year; while in 1901 65,000,000 more pounds were produced than in 1900. The result of this rapid transformation of idle swamps into rice plantations was seen in the decrease in three years of the imported rice from 154,000,000 pounds to 73,000,000 pounds; and from the present outlook the day is at hand when the United States will be a great rice-exporting nation.

IV. THE RISE OF THE MACARONI WHEAT INDUSTRY.

Another typical illustration of the practical work of the Department is found in the introduction of the macaroni wheat and the surprisingly rapid development of the industry in our land. The United States has been importing about \$800,000 worth of macaroni annually. This popular food product is made from a special kind of wheat, which, up to a few years ago, had never been given a thorough trial in this country. With the enterprise that has characterized the Department during the last decade, however, a quantity of macaroni wheat was secured and experiments in several widely distant parts of the Northwest were made. The result was most gratifying. The wheat was found to thrive excellently in regions too arid for other wheat to be grown, while in many of the fine wheat-growing belts it was found that the macaroni wheat yielded from one-third to one-half more per acre than the other kinds. The success of this experiment was most pronounced from the beginning, and not only was a good foreign market ready to purchase the wheat but American enterprise was quick to act. Large mills were built and macaroni factories started. In his recent report Secretary Wilson, in noting the progress of this experiment, observes that—"About 2,000,000 bushels have been harvested this season, but this will not meet the demand for it coming from all quarters. The macaroni made from the wheat is pronounced equal if not superior to the imported product."

These two illustrations are typical of the commercial importance of the work of the Department in the introduction of food products that enormously add to the real material wealth of the nation.

Equally valuable and indeed potentially promising far greater results is the soil survey work, by which the Government is examining the soil and climatic conditions in various sections with a view to aiding agriculturists greatly to increase the productive value of lands through devoting them to the special crops for which the soil is best adapted, and pointing out how much waste and idle land can be made enormously profitable through the introduction and cultivation of fruit, vegetable, cereal, and forage plants.

A very interesting illustration of the practical value of this work and also of the aid extended by the Department in the introduction of valuable new crops is found in the introduction of shade-grown Sumatra tobacco in Connecticut.

V. SUMATRA TOBACCO IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY.

Some years ago the soil survey experts became convinced that Sumatra tobacco could be raised in the valley of the Connecticut River, provided the plants were shaded. The cost of the frame-work and coverings would be great at the outset, but it was believed from the character of the soil that a wrapper every whit as fine as that imported annually at a cost of about \$6,000,000 could be raised on this soil, which otherwise was of comparatively little value. So strong was the conviction of the Government experts on soil and on tobacco-growing, that they succeeded in interesting a few farmers and tobacco raisers in Connecticut. These men offered to go in in a coöperative way, provided the Department would furnish gratis experts to oversee the work, the farmers paying all other expenses. The proposition was accepted on the condition that the Government should superintend the sales, as it was desired to make the test complete, not merely as to the feasibility of raising but as to its commercial importance if successful, and also because the Department wished to follow up the investigation and trace the result of the product in the finished cigars.

Accordingly, a little over thirty-five acres was cultivated under shade at an average cost of \$657.17 per acre, not counting the value of the land, barns, or storehouses, but including the frames, which it is estimated will last for six or eight years. The total cost of production amounted to \$23,579.26. The yield was sold at auction at Hartford and brought an average of \$1.20 per pound, the entire crop bringing \$49,255.20, or a net profit to the growers of \$25,675.94. The average net profit per acre was \$715.63. The Department carefully followed its investigations by inquiring from the manufacturers of cigars who had bought the tobacco. The results were highly gratifying, the manufacturers agreeing that, save for the fact that about nine per cent. of the leaves were not so fine in color as the Sumatra tobacco, in other respects they were better than the imported product.

This result was so satisfactory that last year thirty-eight growers in Connecticut and Massachusetts put in 645 acres of shade tobacco. At the time the Secretary prepared his last report the tobacco promised to be better than that of the preceding year. On this report the Secretary based the estimated value of last year's crop at \$960,960, with a net profit to the growers of over one-half a million dollars. The Secretary believes that the success of this experiment has been so con-

clusive that, instead of the United States paying out from five to six million dollars every year for the imported article, our own farmers will be producing all that is required.

There are few other places in the United States where the soil promises such results as have been attained in the Connecticut Valley, but the Government is now carrying on experiments in three or four widely separated localities where there have been found small tracts of land that it is believed will produce an excellent article.

Another almost equally interesting chapter might be written showing how through the investigation of the soil survey experts large tracts of idle land, regarded as practically useless, have been utilized for orchard and vineyard purposes, to the great benefit of numbers of industrious workers and the augmentation of the national wealth; but sufficient has been said to show how the material enrichment of the Republic is being conserved by this division of the Department's labor.

VI. FIGHTING THE ENEMIES OF VALUABLE PLANT AND ANIMAL LIFE.

There is another line of work that probably equals, if indeed it does not exceed in its value to the agricultural interests of the Republic, any other branch of its labors, and that is the systematic and scientific attempt to combat the destructive influences of the enemies of valuable plant and animal life. Two principal lines are followed in this work. The first embraces laboratory experiments in search of chemical exterminators, and the investigation of efforts in other parts of the world where the pests have been substantially controlled. Also in many instances, as when the scale and other forms of life have been introduced from foreign lands, agents have been sent to the countries from which the pests came, and here they have usually found other forms of insect life that so prey upon the objectionable intruders that they are not able to multiply to a sufficient number to become a real scourge. In such instances great efforts have been put forth to introduce these insects into this land, in order that they may feed upon the pests; and this work has been measurably successful in several instances, notably where a species of ladybird has been introduced from Australia and New Zealand to feed upon certain forms of scale that are ravaging the citrous trees of the Pacific Coast. Other varieties of ladybirds are being introduced from China with a similar purpose in view.

The second course pursued by the Department is the introduction of more hardy and disease-resisting varieties of plants, fruits, and animals where any species appears to be unable successfully to withstand its enemies or climatic conditions. Among many other experiments at the present time a systematic effort is being made to introduce hardy oranges that will withstand considerable frost, and cotton that will resist the blight and the insect life that has been ravaging many sections during recent years.

The publication of practical treatises on the most important subjects at short intervals and their wide dissemination are also having an immensely valuable influence. It is in fact serving as an agricultural schoolmaster whose lessons are reaching the most thoughtful and enterprising of our farmers and horticulturists in every section of the Republic.

In discussing this great work we have found it impossible more than to mention a few of the leading lines of research and practical work being carried on, and to cite a few typical illustrations, which while highly interesting fairly indicate the inestimable value of the labor being performed. We believe there is no Department at Washington to-day in which the true American can take greater pride than in that devoted to the enlarging, fostering, and developing of the agricultural resources of the United States.

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BENEFACTIONS THAT REPRESENT HIGH-HANDED PLUNDER.

Toward the close of last year some of the great railway corporations announced with a flourish of trumpets that they would make a substantial raise in the wages of their employees on or about the first of the year, at which the corporation-owned dailies immediately lighted their censers and began religiously to burn incense before the shrine of beneficent feudalism. While, however, these faithful servants were in the midst of their acts of adoration the announcement was made of an increase of freight rates that will take from the shippers and consumers of the Republic and put into the pockets of the railroad corporations several millions more annually than the amount of the increase in the wages of the employees. In other words, the American people are called upon, directly or indirectly, not only to pay the increase in the wage of the working-

men, but also to add other millions to the plethoric pockets of the Wall Street gamblers and the railway magnates.

Next came the Steel Trust, with the announcement of a profit-sharing plan by which its employees are to become stockholders in the concern, through a sum of money being set aside to buy preferred stock for this purpose. This proposition was hailed with delight by the corporation journals, doubtless partly because it served to divert the attention of the public from the ugly discussion called forth by the joyous report of the enormous acquired wealth of the Trust during the last year. It will be remembered that the report showed that after meeting all expenses, including an appropriation of \$24,500,000 for repairs and maintenance of works and \$113,000,000 for running expenses, it had a net profit of \$81,500,000, most of which had been made out of American consumers; for at the time of the publication of the report Mr. Schwab stated that they had been too busy at home to pay much attention to working up their trade abroad. The joyous showing of the Trust called forth the exposure of the fact that this phenomenal profit was largely due to the shameless extortion rendered possible by the influence that the steel interests had been able to exert in government, resulting in the securing of a protective tariff by which the Steel Trust was able to and did charge every American buyer from six to eleven dollars more a ton for every ton of steel bought than the Trust charged for the steel that it sold in London; while, furthermore, Mr. W. C. Whitney declared that "we are able to produce steel here cheaper than it can be produced abroad, notwithstanding our higher wage." The pitance paid in preferred stock to employees would only represent a moiety of the amount that the Trust has extorted and is daily extorting from American consumers over and above what it charges for the same product when sent to Europe or out of the United States.

Next came the much-heralded Standard Oil beneficence, by which it was announced that the employees who had been fortunate or unfortunate enough to reach the age of sixty-five years, and who had furthermore been in the employ of the Standard Oil Company for a quarter of a century, were to have a pension. But do not for a moment imagine that the ever-growing dividends of this great corporation are to be diminished by this step. No. The recent high-handed plunder of the American people by this father of American monopolies and most iniquitous of all Trusts would enable it to pay pension claims for years to come, and yet have additional millions for

other purposes, as will be seen by a glance at the facts relating to its last stupendous moral crime.

On the 20th of September, 1902, coal oil was wholesaling in bulk in New York at seven and one-half cents a gallon; but, when the price of coal ran up to from ten to fourteen dollars a ton and the poor turned for relief to petroleum, the rapacious Trust immediately increased the price of the oil, and between the twentieth of September and the twentieth of December the price was advanced four times, so that on December 20 oil was wholesaling in New York at four cents a gallon more than it was three months earlier. On that date the *New York American* published a table showing what the increase meant, based on the sales for 1902, which was as follows:

Refined oil sold by the Standard Oil Company.	2,337,000,000 gals.
Value of same on September 20, at 7½ cents.	\$175,312,500
Value on December 20, at 11½ cents.	268,812,500
The increase in profits per year.	93,500,000

It can be readily seen that, with an increase on its already enormous profits of over ninety million dollars per year, this corporation could easily set aside, say, twenty-five million dollars for pensions, twenty-five million for influencing legislation and public opinion-forming agencies and for further intrenching itself in the general government,—if that be possible,—and thirteen million for leading members of the corporation to use in indirect bribery of churches and educational institutions by donations, and yet have a residue of thirty million dollars in addition to its formerly immense revenue, all of this ninety-odd million dollars being blood-money wrung from the misery of the American people.

Nor is this all. Another strong sidelight has recently been thrown upon this company, as will be seen from the following news item. On January 15 State Senator John A. Hawkins introduced a bill in the Legislature at Albany aimed at "the suppressing of human slavery as practised by the Standard Oil Trust." This bill prohibits the twelve hours and the twenty-four hours every alternate Sunday that, it is charged, is enforced on employees of the Trust, and makes it a misdemeanor to work them more than ten hours a day, or sixty hours a week:

Senator Hawkins, in explaining his motive, said:

"Evidence has reached me that the Standard Oil Trust is treating its employees like white slaves. Even the two-dollar-a-day man is compelled to work twelve and sometimes more hours without extra pay. Every other Sunday the men are on duty twenty-four hours at a

stretch. No human being can endure this. I, for one, intend that the cruelty shall be stopped. Perhaps the good Mr. Rockefeller could with advantage take up the task of reform, and maybe the members of his Bible class would gladly aid in releasing his employees from bondage."

Such is the vaunted beneficence of these predatory bands called Trusts, which the capitalistic journals are just now so wildly applauding.

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THE PEOPLE'S RULE VS. THE RULE OF THE CORPORATIONS.

The most important non-partizan movement in the interest of free or truly republican government that has been inaugurated this year was recently started in Massachusetts under the leadership of the Hon. George Fred Williams, bearing the name of "The People's Rule." Members of all political parties belong to the organization and are actively engaged in federating into a compact organization all voters who believe in the three vital demands of the movement, which are: (1) Direct Legislation. (2) Popular ownership of public utilities. (3) Restriction of the power of judges in equity to fine and imprison citizens without the accused having the right of trial by jury.

The aims of the new movement are set forth in the following statement:

"Great social, political, and economic changes, involving incalculable consequences to humanity, are now being forced upon us, and in them the people's interests seem to be feebly guarded. There is, therefore, supreme necessity in our politics for the impulse of a public opinion, directly, boldly, and decisively expressed. We believe this impulse will be furnished by an organization of voters of all parties, with a new purpose, a new method, and a new program. We suggest:

"The purpose—to restore, extend, and effectuate the sovereignty of the popular will.

"The method—to force our principles upon the parties and insist upon their loyalty thereto.

"The program—three articles of faith:

"First, direct legislation, or the right of the people at the polls to vote laws or veto legislation.

"Second, the ownership by the people of public utilities.

"Third, a restriction upon the power of judges in equity to take the liberty of the citizen without trial by jury.

"We do not propose a new political party, but an organization within which members of any party may unite to bring their party to the support of our principles. We would organize for the distribution of literature, for full and free debate and for questioning and pledging candidates, to the end that our politicians, officials, and legislatures may be turned from mastery to service of the people.

"The name of the organization shall be 'The People's Rule.'

"The various organizations shall be known as 'councils,' and be identified by the name of the political subdivision to which they belong.

"The council units shall be towns and wards, but a provisional State council shall be formed at once to promote immediate local organization, secure State headquarters, and perfect a plan for adoption by the members as a permanent State council.

"Unions of local councils may be formed temporarily or permanently in any political subdivision of the State.

"A citizen of the State may become a member by signing his name and post-office address to the pledge printed below, and sending the same to the State treasurer with the sum of 25 cents.

"Any member paying the established dues shall retain his membership until he resigns, violates his pledge, or is removed by vote of a majority of the local council of which he is a member."

At the present time there is probably a large majority of the rank and file of the voters belonging to both the Republican and Democratic parties in most of the Northern States, who have given any thought to the subject, who are strongly in favor of the principles of Direct Legislation; while a very large proportion—though probably not so many—are also in favor of the popular ownership and operation of public franchises. And yet, thanks to the power of the corporations, the party bosses, and the political machines, the wishes and desires of these individuals find no expression in the party platforms. Wherever the people have been enabled to vote on Direct Legislation in a non-partizan way they have voted overwhelmingly in favor of it; while the recent brazen-faced robbery of all the people by the Beef Trust, the Oil Trust, the Coal Trust, and all the other predatory bands down to the Pin and Needle Trust, has been so notorious and so oppressive that hundreds of thousands of members of both the great parties who heretofore have been opposed to governmental ownership or control of monopolies are now heartily in favor of at least public ownership of the natural monopolies, because they recognize the fact that the power and the extortions of the Oil Trust, the Beef Trust, and the Coal Trust have all been rendered possible through the railroad corporations acting with the predatory bands against the interests of the people. "The key-note,"

rightly observes Mr. Williams, "of monopoly in this country is the transportation system. The Standard Oil Company and the Beef Trust were built upon railway discriminations, which can ruin all competition. The Coal Trust lives upon its possession of the railroads, the Steel Trust upon its ownership of the lines of transportation from ore beds and upon railway rates discriminating against competition. The tremendous fabric of monopoly in this country will never be shaken until the people have possession of the avenues of trade and passenger transportation, just as they now have control of the highways."

The more the thoughtful citizens meditate upon this question of governmental ownership, the more clear it appears to the great majority of them that it is one of the most urgent demands of the present hour. An illustration of this character is given by Mr. Williams in the following words, when referring to the call for the new movement :

"Within the last hour a prominent Republican, to whom I gave a copy of the call in confidence a week ago, has called at my office. When I gave him the call he read it and said he regretted that he could not agree with me on the question of public ownership of public utilities, because he feared the influence of the politicians in such great business enterprises.

"I asked him if it is not true that our legislatures to-day are held captive by the private owners of these public utilities, and whether the post-office employees were invading our legislatures with corruption funds and lobbies; in other words, whether the evil of extending the public service could by any possibility be equal to the terrible effects which have come to our Republic from the ownership of these utilities by private individuals.

"This morning he appeared and with great enthusiasm stated that as he reflected upon this plan it seemed to him to be almost a plan for saving the country; that he had discussed it with some of the leading men, mainly Republicans, in his town, and found a remarkable welcome from almost all of them to the idea."

We know of no movement that promises so quickly to meet in a successful manner the existing perils as this federation for the People's rule. If reformers, the labor organizations, and thoughtful, patriotic citizens generally in the various States will follow the initiative taken by the Massachusetts statesman, the knell of the power of the corrupt corporations, party bosses, and political machines will be sounded, and the people will enjoy a renaissance of republicanism that shall not only renew

the nation but place it in the position to accomplish the next great progressive step—that of securing justice for all the people through coöperation, without the shock of arms or the destruction that always attends revolutions of force. For this reason the thoughtful conservatives no less than the earnest and conscientious reformers should everywhere welcome this outspoken stand for “The People’s Rule.”

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

IN OUR MIDST. The Letters of Callicrates to Dione, Queen of the Xanthians, concerning England and the English. Anno Domini 1902. Review of Reviews Annual. Paper, 112 pp. Price, one shilling. London, W. C.: *Review of Reviews* Office, Mowbray House, Norfolk Street.

It has for many years been the custom of Mr. Stead to publish an Annual, in which important events intimately connected with Anglo-Saxon civilization are discussed in the easy, flowing style of this always entertaining and suggestive writer.

This Annual is especially notable, being an impressive satire on the England of to-day, and illustrates in a striking manner the "unctuous rectitude," to use the apt phrase of the late Cecil Rhodes, of the Anglo-Saxon world with its lofty pretensions, so conspicuously at variance with its unworthy practises. The romance that serves as a vehicle for the satire, though somewhat conventional in that it is not unlike those employed by numerous authors of social visions, is nevertheless quite ingenious. There is scarcely more to it than to the plot of a comic opera, as will be seen from the following outline:

In darkest Africa, surrounded by the Mountains of the Moon, exists, according to the vivid imagination of our author, a wonderful little kingdom ruled by women. Its founders were a partly Hellenized body of people who worshiped Cybele, the "Divine Mother," and held to the idea of the supremacy of woman, at least in government. The founders came from Phrygia, in the legendary age when the Amazons were being sorely pressed by the masterful tribes that surrounded them. After threading their way up the valley of the Nile to the rich, beautiful, and secluded realm upon which they settled, they founded the Xanthian State, erected noble temples to the Divine Mother, placed a guard of Amazon soldiers as a cordon around their frontiers, and decreed that any outsider who invaded their territory should be immediately offered up as a sacrifice to Cybele. And for thousands of years this edict was rigidly enforced; but it chanced that one day an English missionary,—one Francis Tressidder,—who had been twenty years evangelizing in the Dark Continent, crossed the borders. He was immediately seized and taken to the temple, but his life was spared because the Queen was at the point of death, and according to the law the sacrifice had to be made in her presence.

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In the temple the priestesses used only the ancient Greek language in its purity, and Tressidder, being a Greek soldier, learned from the priestesses of the condition of the Queen. He thereupon offered to try to cure her, as he was skilled in the healing art. Amazed to find one speaking their language, the priestesses brought him to the palace, where he effected the cure of the queen, who in turn accepted him as a divine messenger sent from Cybele.

But Tressidder was nothing if not a missionary. He longed with all the fire of a religious fanatic to Christianize the Xanthian State. He had left England when that nation was in one of her nobler moods. Moreover, his life had been so wrapped up in religious devotion that he had known little of the world beyond the narrow sphere of his pious duties, and absence like distance lends enchantment to the vision. England, to the idealist missionary, twenty years an exile, represented the flowering of the Christian ideal in a great State. Therefore, he sought to bring the Xanthians to imitate the Christ ideal, to disarm the Amazons, to abolish the dances in the temples, to banish all fermented drinks, and to lead them in other ways to conform to the most austere religious concepts; while all the time he held up England as the ideal land where the religion of Christ found its fullest and most happy expression. His power over the Queen and her chief counselor, Callicrates, enabled him to effect many of his desired reforms, and emboldened by his success he one day strove to force the Pauline doctrine of the subjection of woman upon the woman-ruled land that gloried in the worship of the Divine Mother. This was too much. He was a second time arrested, and but for the esteem of the Queen would have been summarily offered up as a living sacrifice in the temple of Cybele.

The Queen, however, determined to send Callicrates, who during the missionary's stay had learned the English language, to Great Britain to see if Christianity had in deed and in truth made a paradise of one spot in the world, insuring the triumph of peace, love, justice, good-fellowship, and progress, as the missionary averred. If, she declared, the reports of her counselor should confirm the statements of the missionary, she would agree to the introduction of the fundamental reforms. If, on the other hand, the teacher had prevaricated, he should die.

On arriving in England Callicrates is amazed at the material progress and superiority of the British. In this respect he finds that Tressidder has even understated rather than exaggerated the material marvels, the telephone being a notable illustration. But, when he studies the government, the church, the press, and society in general, his heart sickens. And here follow his letters, which, as we have observed, constitute one of the most striking satires of modern times.

The English, Callicrates found, were strange people, who constantly did what they decreed should not be done, and practised the opposite of what they professed. On every hand he beheld the most gross and glaring inconsistencies; and, though one of their gods was Common Sense, they constantly exhibited amazing stupidity. One reason for this, however, was explained by a friend with whom he was conversing about

the failure of the citizens of London so to deepen the Thames as to allow vessels to enter without waiting for the tides. His companion pointed out that, instead of placing the management of the river in the hands of one strong central council, fifty different bodies had to be consulted, and they never agreed, so that nothing was done. Then this colloquy follows:

THE GODS OF VESTED INTEREST AND CONSERVATISM.

"But," I replied, greatly marveling thereat, "are not the English practical people, and is not Common Sense one of the greatest of English gods?"

"Yes," said he, "we say so, but we act otherwise. When you say that Common Sense is one of the greatest of our gods, you forget that there is one still greater."

"Which is that?" I said. "The House of Lords?"

My friend laughed and replied: "You say truly, for the House of Lords is one of the many incarnations of the greatest of all our gods. Great is Common Sense, but greater still is Vested Interest, and greater even than Vested Interest is Conservatism."

"I know not the names of either of these strange English gods," said I. "Explain to me their attributes."

"Vested Interest," said he, "is the firstborn son of Conservatism, and the worship of the Father and the Son is almost universal in this island. Vested Interest plants a terribly fixed foot, and wherever he is there he stays, and levies tax and toll on the public. On his first appearance he renders real service to those in the midst of whom he dwells, and they willingly pay him homage and bring sacrifices to his altar; but when the conditions change, and the ancient service has become a present-day nuisance, he still continues to exact his dues. His altars, however, would long ago have been pulled down but for the protection given him by his father Conservatism, the greatest of all the English gods, to whom all the English offer sacrifice. Even those who have repudiated his divine right to govern wrong nevertheless build him a small altar on which they offer sacrifice, it may be in dress, in religion, in business, or in politics. There is no Englishman, high or low, who does not burn some incense on his altars. His worship is ingrained in the very nature of the Englishman. The first article in the creed of his worshipers is that whatever is is right; whatever has been must be. As it was in the beginning, and is now, it must ever be. The inspiring principle of the Faith is unfaith, a fear born of unbelief, showing itself in a dread of change. Hence, in all his images his face is ever turned backward."

HOW THE PRINCE OF PEACE IS HEEDED IN WARLIKE ENGLAND.

The missionary had enlarged on Christ's message of peace, and represented England as a nation that was a city set on a hill, illustrating to the world the blessings of peace. But Callicrates found that—

"England was now spending more money every year upon her man-slaying machines on land and sea than any other nation in the world. From every man, woman, and child of the English there is levied, to pay for war and preparations for war, the sum of 70s. every year, which is thrice as much as is paid for all the other services of the Government. Of every pound spent by the English through their Government, 15s. goes for war—past, present, or to come—while only 5s. remains for the services of peace. It is a madness which has smitten the whole people. They spend their money for naught, and waste their resources for that which profiteth not."

RELIGION IN ENGLAND TO-DAY.

In regard to religion the outlook was quite as amazing. He found that the English had many religions, but not much religion:

"They have many churches, which differ among themselves about many questions of belief and also as to the best method of performing the Temple ritual; but these are only things that they talk about and that they preach about. The real religion of the English is to get on in the world. Their idea of Heaven is to have a good time, and their idea of Hell is failure. This is their practical religion. . . .

"The churches maintained for the worship of Christ are divided about many questions, some of them so minute I am afraid I could not make any Xanthian understand them. Some, for instance, hold that their God would be sore displeased if they did not burn candles in daylight on His altar, while others hold that if they allowed a candle to be lit He would turn away the light of His countenance from them. Again, a great dispute arose about the pattern and the color of the dress in which Christian ministers should appear in church. Some held that their God would not listen to their prayers unless they wore white; others were sure He would be angry unless they wore black. Another long dispute raged, and indeed is still raging, whether incense should be burned in their churches. Over the discussion of these tremendous issues the churches expended immense energy, and developed so much hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness that families have been divided and riots have been caused by differences of opinion as to the use of incense and the cut of a vestment. . . .

"The people who go to church on Sunday call themselves religious. They are a very small section of the nation, not more than one in seven of the whole. The majority of this minority are women. But no woman is allowed to minister in the churches. Nowhere is the dogma of the Divine Right of Man to monopolize all positions of trust and power more religiously enforced. In some of their churches it is even forbidden to the minister to be married to a woman. More than a thousand years ago a Council of the Church decreed that women should neither approach the altar nor arrange anything upon it. It was even ordered that women should only touch the consecrated emblems of salvation with covered hands. Woman was the incarnation of original sin. . . .

"The same curious contrast between their Sunday creed and their weekday practise is to be found in their internal legislation. The only saying of their professed Master which is embodied in their laws is that which speaks of giving to him that hath, and taking from him that has nothing even that which he has. They taxed the poor man's bread to pay the rich man's rent; they gave the man all the property of the woman whom he married, and in defense of their property they hanged the starving man who stole a morsel of bread; while the money left to educate the poor was made over to the sons of the wealthy. Of late years the 'Have Nots,' as they call them, have amended some of these things; but the 'Haves' are all-powerful, and the House of Lords is maintained with absolute power to prevent any insult being offered to the great god Property."

On his return home, Callicrates sums up his impressions of England:

"He had come expecting to find a land in which the Golden Rule was the law of life, where every man did to his brother what he wished his brother to do to him. He had found a land of cut-throat competition, of social caste, and one where internecine feuds raged even within the pale of the Church. He expected to find a sober nation—he found a people sodden with strong drink. He had been told that in England he

would find religion pure and undefiled, and divine worship in primitive simplicity—he had found churches like idolatrous temples, and a proud priesthood arrogating to themselves sacerdotal privileges. He had hoped to find an ideal commonwealth, a social Utopia—he had discovered a minority wallowing in luxury, a majority dehumanized by the conditions of their existence. He had looked to find Woman exalted by her abasement, glorified by her humiliation—he found her everywhere excluded from all that was best worth having, a pariah in Church and State, an alien in the commonwealth, mocked with the homage of lips, but sternly forbidden by the law to share in the government of the realm. Above all, he had hoped to discover a land where the benign rule of the Prince of Peace had given prosperity to the humblest home, and he had found the whole land given up to the worship of the god of War, sacrificing on his blood-stained altar the choicest of their youth and spending in preparation for battle the resources which might have rebuilt their slums and remade man in the image of God."

It was therefore decreed that Tressidder must die, but, as the Queen insisted that he should choose the time and place of his death, he chose to return to England and seek a martyr's fate in attempting to call the nation from her apostasy. The work closes with these lines:

"After they had bidden him a sad farewell, Dione said to Callicrates, 'What will happen to the Teacher when he reaches England?'"

"And Callicrates replied: 'If he preaches Christ's gospel they will kill him as they killed Kensit, or if he pleads for the Prince of Peace they will call him a pro-Boer and kick him to death in the market-place.'"

This is a work that will greatly delight every friend of woman suffrage; and as the satire in most parts is quite as applicable to the United States as to England, it merits wide reading on this side of the Atlantic.

JONATHAN: A TRAGEDY. By Thomas Ewing, Jr. Cloth, 148 pp. Price, \$1 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

Mr. Ewing has added a new charm to the ever-beautiful and touching story of David and Jonathan in his long poem, written as it is in excellent blank verse and evincing in places much dramatic power. The author makes no pretense to the splendor of imagination displayed by Milton, nor to the profundity of thought and the compelling power of a Browning. He is content to tell anew the old sweet story of a love greater than the love of woman in a simple, direct, yet fascinating way, investing it with the witchery of the poet's charm, free from inflated or stilted utterances and the artificiality that marks the writings of mere rhymesters. So simple yet beautiful is the tale in the hands of the poet that the reader will be loth to lay down the volume until he has finished the story.

It contains many very touching lines. Here, for example, are the parting words of Jonathan to his wife as he goes forth to death:

"Loved Ahinoam,
The wife I wedded in my stainless youth,

The dear companion to my plighted vows,
 Thou hast rejoiced the heart that trusted thee,
 And done me good, not evil, all our days.
 Beauty and grace and dignity have clothed thee,
 And kindness ruled thy life. . . .
 All that the chastened spirit wants is promised;
 The eternal God to be thy dwelling-place,
 And, underneath, the everlasting arms."

Here, too, are some exquisite lines from the last meeting between David and Jonathan, in which the noble son of Saul, with the prescience of approaching death, sees in David the hope of Israel:

"The heavens, indeed, are black! Thy star alone
 Shines through a rift. Under thy shoulders rests
 The covenant of God with Israel,
 The hope of all this world. Through thee must come
 A universal brotherhood, where now
 Each man doth turn his arm against his neighbor.
 Not in all the earth hath one appeared
 On whom such hope hath rested. Art thou, David,
 He that should come, or wait we for another?
 Thy heart—is it so fair as thy fair face?
 And is thy soul so high as thy great courage?
 Canst thou upon thy slender body bear
 The crushing weight of anguish cast on him
 Whose single life shall change the heart of man?
 Wilt thou wear out thy life, thy soul, thy heart,
 Like Moses struggling toward the promised land?
 Oh, brother! stand for God, though all the herd
 Shall trample thee to dust, or wife and children—
 All who may claim a seat beside thy hearth—
 Shall rend thee. Be a king in deed and truth,
 Though all thy subjects mock and buffet thee.
 The wrong may seem to triumph, but the right
 Is still eternal."

CHILD CULTURE. By N. N. Riddell. Cloth, 229 pp. Price, 65 cents. Chicago: Child of Light Publishing Company.

This is a very thoughtful little work by a scholar who has given long and deep thought to the subject. The treatment is comprehensive and richly suggestive. The hope of our civilization and the future glory of our Republic lie in the spiritual, mental, and physical development of the children. Hence, no subject is more richly worthy of the careful consideration of parents than that with which this little volume deals. One may not at all times agree with Mr. Riddell, but on the whole the book is a valuable contribution to the vital literature of child culture.

A GRAIN OF MADNESS. By Lida A. Churchill. Cloth, 228 pp. Price, \$1.25. New York: The Abbey Press.

In "A Grain of Madness," Miss Churchill, the well-known author of "The Magic Seven," has departed from hackneyed and conventional lines in the treatment of the theme; while its deep human interest and

cleverness, the refinement and deftness with which delicate subjects are handled, and the pure, fine atmosphere of the work give to the novel a peculiar charm. Though permeated with metaphysical, philosophic, and idealistic thought, the story does not suffer from sermonizing, as is the case with most of the New Thought and metaphysical novels that have appeared in recent years.

The chief interest of the romance centers around a priest who has in a passion-swayed hour committed a deed that he cannot undo, but for which through life he seeks to atone; his illegitimate daughter, who becomes a great artist under the tuition of an English painter; a musical genius, and two weirdly interesting children. The scenes of the story lie in a picturesque nook on the coast of Maine and in Italy—chiefly in Rome. Love, suffering, high and lofty aspirations, music, painting, and the exaltation of the spiritual over the physical are here happily woven as threads of many hues into the fabric of a romance that never flags in interest.

The work is pitched in a very high moral key, although we do not agree with the author at all times, as, for example, when she would have us believe that the creations of a genius are weakened by marriage, it proving the source of distraction and division of affection; whereas, if the marriage is one of pure love, we believe it must greatly reinforce genius, adding to the power, richness, and beauty of all its creations. On most points, however, the book rings true. It has a vital moral quality that is not found in most present-day romances; and, if it lacks something of the vividness and power of realistic creations, it is rich in high ideals and suggestive philosophic speculations that will haunt the mind long after the volume has been perused.

HYPNOTISM AND ITS APPLICATION TO PRACTICAL MEDICINE. By Otto Georg Wetterstrand, M.D. Authorized Translation from the German, together with Letters on Hypno-Suggestion, by Henrik G. Petersen, M.D. Cloth, 166 pp. Price, \$2 net. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

I know of no work better illustrating the practical value of hypno-suggestion in the treatment of disease than the above volume. Dr. Wetterstrand's work, which has been admirably translated into English by Dr. Petersen, is materially enhanced in value by the supplementary chapters from the pen of the translator.

Dr. Wetterstrand's work differs from the great majority of volumes on hypnotism in that, instead of being chiefly devoted to theoretical discussions and philosophic speculations, it clearly and succinctly sets forth the facts shown by the exhaustive and remarkably successful investigations of Liébeault, Bernheim, and others of the greatest masters in the practical employment of suggestive therapeutics. And the facts are emphasized by the introduction of a great number of cases successfully treated by suggestion, and which clearly show that functional diseases—including neuralgia, insomnia, and nervous prostration—

have been entirely cured by hypno-suggestion after medical treatment had failed to produce the desired results; while this subtle agency has greatly relieved the sufferings of patients afflicted with the gravest organic maladies, such as consumption of the lungs, paralysis, and heart disease.

Volumes like Dr. Wetterstrand's cannot fail to compel the thoughtful attention of even the most superficial and skeptical physicians who measurably desire to utilize in a helpful way the new discoveries that have proved effective in ameliorating and curing disease.

Not the least valuable portion of the volume, however, is found in the extremely thoughtful and suggestive papers by Dr. Petersen, which appear under the titles of "Practical Teachings on the Use of Psychology in Medicine," "Suggestive Treatment in Reform Work," "Post-Hypnotic Responsibility," and "Music, not Sermons, in Insane Hospitals." The first of these papers contains extended and valuable notes from clinical studies with Bernheim, Forel, von Krafft-Ebing, and others. Dr. Petersen has long stood in the front rank of the medical profession of the New World as an authority on hypno-suggestion, and he was also one of the official committee of patronage representing America at the International Congress of Experimental and Therapeutical Hypnotism at Paris in 1900. Years ago he made an exhaustive study of the subject, spending much time at Nancy, under the personal instruction of the greatest masters, and since his return to Boston he has employed hypno-suggestion largely in his extensive practice, with the most gratifying results. He, in common with other scholarly physicians who have successfully employed this agent, has found it extremely valuable in overcoming unfortunate moral tendencies and in curing drunkenness and other drug appetites. His discussions of the subjects in the above chapters, based as they are on knowledge largely derived from personal experience, are in themselves an extremely important contribution to the literature of hypno-suggestion.

This book is one that we can conscientiously recommend to physicians and others desiring better information regarding the practical value of hypno-suggestion as a therapeutic agent. In a new book on medical psychology, which is shortly to appear, Dr. Petersen treats the subject at greater length.

SCIENTIFIC SIDELIGHTS. Compiled by James C. Fernald. Cloth, 917 pp. Price, \$5.00 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

This is a large and carefully compiled volume in which thousands of topics are treated, not after the manner of the encyclopedia, but by succinct quotations from great thinkers and recognized authorities in the world of research. Thus at a glance, and without the time and labor necessary to peruse a large volume, the views of the greatest authorities are found in quotations of from two to four inches in length.

There is much to be said in favor of this method of direct quota-

tion, and yet it has its disadvantages, not the least of which is the possibility of conveying the conclusions of a thinker less accurately than would be given in a brief digest of his views; for such quotations as are here given must necessarily be very incomplete expressions, and are frequently subject to important modifications in preceding or succeeding paragraphs. For busy students whose opportunities preclude comprehensive research on various scientific and philosophic subjects this volume will doubtless prove a great aid. The quotations seem to have been made with great care and excellent discrimination. The compiler has endeavored to utilize whatever could most vitally illuminate intellectual, moral, political, and religious truths among the works of those whom conventional society esteems as the most authoritative thinkers.

The arrangement leaves little to be desired, as every citation is accompanied by the name of the author, the work from which the quotation is made, chapter and page, and the publisher of the book; while the four full indices, under the headings of "General Topics," "Cross References," "Proper Names," and "Authors and Publishers," will enable the reader immediately to find any subject desired. It is a book that will appeal especially to ministers, lecturers, and teachers.

THESE ARE MY JEWELS. By Stanley Waterloo. Cloth, 232 pp.
Price, \$1. Chicago: Coolidge & Waterloo.

Stanley Waterloo's latest work, "These are My Jewels," is one of the most healthful and helpful volumes for children that have appeared in months. The book is published without illustrations and is plainly bound, but the contents, which are supposed to be the work of a little girl of eleven years, concern the doings and sayings of her father, mother, Uncle Fred, her brother, and her playmates. The telling of the story is so artless and natural that it will delight any normal child, while the volume is rich in wholesome thoughts for the young, so stated that they cannot fail to sink into the child's mind with the details of the narration and helpfully influence life. A pretty little love story connected with the uncle constitutes one charming feature of the volume. The more books of this kind can be substituted for the old-time nonsensical child stories, the better for the oncoming civilization.



LITERARY NOTES.

"BEHOLD THE MAN" is the title of a short story, by Channing Pollock (cloth; The Neale Pub. Co., Washington, D. C.), dealing with the Passion Play of Oberammergau. In it the girl selected for the Virgin has been wronged by a man whose identity is unknown. She is refused the part. When the person who has assumed the rôle of the Christ is on the cross he is accused by the girl, who, frantic with

her humiliation and disgrace, cries, "Behold the man!" The story is well written and wrought out with much power.

* * *

"How to Control Fate Through Suggestion" is the title of a pamphlet (price 25 cents; the Now Pub. Co., San Francisco) by Henry Harrison Brown. The author attempts to prove that the future progress of civilization depends chiefly on the knowledge of the psychic laws and the utilization of the finer vibrations of the universe. He holds that through this knowledge man may not only master disease, but secure business success and happiness. The author also gives rules and suggestions for those who would succeed through calling to their aid the latent powers of the thought-world.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Poems of the Heart." By T. F. Hildreth, A.M., D.D. Cloth, 176 pp. Norwalk, Ohio: The Laning Company.

"The Lovers' World: A Wheel of Life." By Alice B. Stockham, M.D. Cloth, 470 pp. Price, \$2.25. Chicago: Stockham Pub. Co.

"The Next Step in Evolution." By Isaac K. Funk, D.D., LL.D. Cloth, 106 pp. Price, 50 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

"The Vital Touch." Poems. By Victor E. Southworth. Cloth, 48 pp. Published by the author at Denver, Colo.

"What is Spiritualism, and Who Are These Spiritualists?" By J. M. Peebles, M.D., M.A. Cloth, 131 pp. Battle Creek, Mich.: The Peebles Print.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE amount of space occupied by the leading article in this issue of THE ARENA compels the withholding of three others that were announced for insertion this month. The appearance of this feature is itself somewhat belated, as its publication was arranged for several months ago; yet as a review and epitome of the progress of statutory law during recent periods it is a most timely contribution to popular knowledge. This is ordinarily a "dry" topic, but as discussed by Chief Justice Clark it is seen to have a most interesting and progressive aspect, and is thus thoroughly in line with the spirit and purpose of this magazine. The principle of *growth* is irresistibly active throughout the whole of Nature's domain, and it is not less evident in the realm of pure intellect than in any other factor of civilization. It is on an instinctive reliance upon this truth that the most encouraging hopes of all genuine reformers are based.

Another important article of unusual length for which room has been made in this number is Editor Flower's "Giuseppe Mazzini," the first of a series on "Nineteenth Century Apostles of Progress." This month's paper will be followed by "The Message of Mazzini," containing a digest of the Italian patriot's gospel gleaned from his voluminous writings, with special reference to those portions that apply with the greatest force and significance to the demands of the present time.

The Direct Legislation movement, to which considerable attention was paid by THE ARENA's February contributors, and which during the last few weeks has made great strides under the guidance of its recognized leaders and of the American Federation of Labor, will receive fresh impetus from Mr. U'Ren's article in this issue on "The Initiative and Referendum in Oregon." A movement backed by a million organized laborers in a single country assumes commanding importance

by reason of that fact alone. No one is better fitted to speak on Oregon's great victory for Direct Legislation than our contributor, to whose intelligent and energetic work it was largely due; and his description of the methods pursued is commended to all friends of this fundamental reform as well as to the managers of the campaign.

The "Hebrew" and "negro" questions are the two race problems that persist in defiance of all religious and political changes. That the former is very largely one of economics is clearly shown in Mr. Richards's article on "Zionism and Socialism," which is the outcome of personal study and impartial observation on the part of a trained New York journalist. But in Dr. Keyser's story of "The Impassable Gulf," also in this number, it is seen that the matter of "color" has a deeper and more vital relation to the social problem than any question of ethics, commercial procedure, or political opportunity can possibly have. This writer is the well-known author of "Birds of the Rockies," "In Bird Land," and other interesting and instructive works.

Our "Conversation" with Henrik G. Petersen, M.D., is among the most important of the series of interviews with prominent persons that is one of THE ARENA'S unique and most popular features. The question of suggestive therapeutics is entirely separable from the vagaries and abuses of hypnotism, and the real value and possibilities of the practise as a branch of modern medicine are explained by Dr. Petersen in the modest but lucid way that characterizes the master of any subject. He studied the question for several years in France, and is a thinker, a scholar, and a linguist capable of reading the German, French, and Norwegian scientific publications in the original—a great advantage to a student of psychology.

In addition to the articles by Dr. Berdan, Mr. Gibson, and Mr. Bennett that have been crowded out of this issue, The April ARENA will contain a timely paper on "Modern Dramatic Realism," by Mrs. Fannie Humphreys Gaffney, "A Study in Advertising," by Henry C. Sheafer, and other essays of up-to-date importance and suggestiveness.

J. E. M.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

THE ARENA

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AMERICAN LITERATURE AND THE HIGH SCHOOLS.

IN such a paper as this, there are two propositions to be assumed: first, that we as Americans have not yet had a great literature, and second that we wish one. The purpose here is to suggest a way to realize this natural ambition. The first proposition is the statement of a self-evident fact. Compared with the list of great poets whom England has produced during the last century, men whose names sound chords of feeling wherever the English language is spoken, the American contribution is singularly slight. Longfellow, Lowell, and Poe are international in their reach, but the vast majority in Mr. Stedman's "American Anthology" may be safely described as "minor." This condition is not flattering to our national pride, but, as any one may discover from a few minutes' conversation with the average foreigner, it is unfortunately so.

The historic explanation of this fact is not difficult. Critics tell us that we are too engrossed with material things to care for those of the spirit. However true that may be now, we may frankly grant that in the beginning our literature was necessarily material. The first settlers, to be sure, came of the stock that produced the great Elizabethan drama; they may have been the friends of Shakespeare, Jonson, and Donne, but the energy that had previously been expended in literary production was transferred to the felling of forests and the

draining of waste lands. Ben Jonson was right when he termed his plays "works"; creative literature is hard work, and when the mind and body are tired with the physical struggle for existence, as was found by the Brook Farm experimenters, there can be no *literature* in the proper acceptance of the term. The "Day of Doom" is interesting, but it is not to be compared with "Paradise Lost," which was written at the same time.

Scarcely by their victory over the forces of Nature were men free to devote themselves to literature than they were again diverted by a series of national crises. Washington Irving, Cooper, Poe, and Hawthorne had appeared; our literature had begun when the slavery question and its resultants absorbed all the vitality. A literature, to be great, must first be national. Our nation was as a house divided against itself; we find the Concord School, the New York School, the Southern writers, but we look in vain for that man who could represent the *nation*. The "Bigelow Papers" and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" were not favorite books in the South; nor did Poe's criticism on Longfellow find many sympathetic Northern readers. The ideals of each section were represented, but they were bitterly antagonistic ideals. The very storm and stress of the Civil War did not produce the great singer—the silent poem of heroic action certainly, and that magnificent belief in the justness of his cause which makes a man ready to die for it, but no *literature*.

There is another significant fact, which is apt to be overlooked; yet it has differentiated the development of American literature from that of any other. From the very beginning the rate of illiteracy has been so small that the reading public has been almost coincident with the census returns. Sixty-five per cent. of the inhabitants of New England read the "Day of Doom" published in 1662. From the very beginning our literature was popular; we have been the true "republic of letters." Literature is affected by the laws of supply and demand, exactly as is any other commodity; therefore, it is characterized by the nature of the demand, which in turn

is limited by the desires of the reading populace. Under the previous conditions, during which the other literatures came into being, the percentage of literacy was small, the price of books was high, and naturally it was at a court where all the conditions were best satisfied. The taste of the king determined the taste of the courtiers, and thus a public opinion was created. With a fine mind on the throne, or even a dilettante, fine literature was the concomitant, and equally the reverse. Elizabeth, Leicester, Walsingham, Burleigh, and Southampton are the fathers of the great age, exactly as Charles, Rochester, Buckingham, and Clarendon stand sponsors for the disgrace of the Restoration comedy.

This condition of a one-man power in literature does not exist to-day. The people can afford to pay, and do pay, far more than any one man, be he emperor or prince. This is the explanation of the dominance of the light novel as the characteristic literary form of to-day. Bill Smith or Mrs. Jones—while excellent people in their every-day lives, good fathers and fine mothers—at the end of their day's work distinctly prefer to pay one dollar and twenty cents for a book that is forgotten as they read than any sum however small for a volume of poems however good. This is the age of the Philistine; we are told that poems do not sell. To change to an allied art for the illustration, the majority of our countrymen honestly prefer such a picture as "Breaking Home Ties" to any Italian madonna double starred by Baedeker. Literature normally follows this demand. The truth of this statement, if there be any who doubt it, may be easily tested by a visit to the leading bookstore of any town in the middle West. There you will find all the new novels and the new magazines, and some antiquated editions of Shakespeare chosen for the bindings; but you will see represented neither Stephen Phillips, nor Rostand, nor Carducci, nor any American poet. The proprietor will tell you that he is not in the business for the sheer love of it, but to make money. He therefore keeps only those books that will sell.

The first step in literary improvement, then, is to create a

demand for fine literature. This demand must arise from the people themselves, not as in former ages from any single coterie that leads the people. This is being done in a variety of ways, especially in such work as the university extension courses. The limitation of that, however, is the fact that they deal only with adults whose taste is already formed and on whom at best only a veneer of culture can be laid. To accomplish widespread results we must begin when the mind is as yet untrained—we must begin with the high schools. The vast proportion of future readers cannot go to college, but can and do pass one or more years in the high school; it is here that the demand must be created—the future of American literature rests in the hands of the English teachers of the high school.

It seems evident, then, in view of this great responsibility, that the English teacher should be more carefully chosen and adequately paid. Unfortunately, it is here that the average school board determines to economize. There is the hampering conviction that anybody who can teach at all can teach English. A text-book is put into the hands of a raw girl graduate from the normal school, and she proceeds to shove indigestible facts down the throats of her unwilling class. Secretly she herself really prefers the works of Laura Jean Libbey, or Marie Corelli, or Bertha Runkle to those of Shakespeare, or Spenser, or any other passé author. But she realizes that she is paid to teach the reverse of this, and so from the beginning an element of falsehood is introduced. Our class-rooms have too long been the training ground for literary hypocrisy. The class quickly learns the important distinction between those authors who are "great" and modern writers who are "interesting"—to talk about the first but to *read* the second. This they never forget. The idea that Shakespeare can be read for pleasure without being studied for an examination is so foreign to them that for the future they carefully avoid ever disturbing the dust on his leaves. It is good to have read Shakespeare once—it is a bore to read him!

The present high school course usually consists of four years. In a high school in the middle West that has the reputation of

being up-to-date in its methods the system is as follows: The first two years are spent in a drill in rhetoric supplemented by a reading of two of Shakespeare's plays and of certain books in the list of the Committee of Ten; the third year is passed in a superficial review of the history of English literature; the fourth year is practically non-existent, as the pupil is only required to produce an "oration" written out of school hours. The principal explained that this last year was not satisfactory, but that the time was taken up by the requirements in the other languages. In that school every pupil is required to have had four years in either French or German, and two or three years in Latin or Greek; his *own* language is the only one that he can afford to neglect!

To all the pupils, both those who expect to go to college and those who do not, is given exactly the same training in English. This is defended on the ground that the college and high school should be closely allied. It is unnecessary to repeat that the vast majority of the pupils who enter the high school do not go to college. Of the last senior class in this same school two-fifths actually went to college. I am indebted to this principal for the surprising and illuminating statement that if you divide by two the number of pupils in any given grade you will have the approximate number in the following grade, because fifty per cent., through lack of money, sickness, or other causes, are unable to continue their studies. Suppose we assume an entering freshman class of one hundred; there will be then fifty in the sophomore, twenty-five in the junior, and fifteen in the senior class. To enable two-fifths of this class, six pupils, to enter college, ninety-four have been forced to take nothing but the preparatory drill; that is to say, the high school believes that the best preparation for a life of work is measured by the ability to pass the entrance-examination papers of a college.

But the object of the college preparatory course and that of the proper high school is vastly different. The college professor requires in those pupils who are to sit under him a certain maturity of mind guaranteed by a definite prescribed training; the love and appreciation for the subject he expects to give

them himself. On the other hand, the high school affords the only opportunity the great majority of the pupils ever have had, or will have, to acquire literary training. Here, if at all, they must be given the love and appreciation for the good in literature that will be a source of comfort and culture in the succeeding busy years. This it is impossible to do under present conditions. What love for Shakespeare can a pupil have who has spent two weary months in looking up the obscurities in a single play? Intensive study is fine in its way—we all believe in laying good foundations; but when the collegiate superstructure can never be added—an abandoned cellar is a feature neither ornamental nor useful in the landscape. President Hadley takes the only rational ground; namely, that the high school should have two distinct courses, and that for pupils who can never go to college the training should approximate college courses.

Surely, with the great interests at stake, the high school pupil has a right to a definite conception of what he is expected to acquire. This object is twofold: first, ability to express himself in clear, logical English, and secondly an appreciation of the fine English of others. From the point of view of business success the first is the more important. The present high school course is, if nothing else, sternly practical. The first two years are given up to an elementary drill on punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing, and rhetorical devices. Boys whose favorite literature is "Jesse James and the Wild West" daily recite that "metonymy is a figure of speech," or learn to differentiate all the metaphors from the similes in the first act of "As You Like It." The result of the two years' work is a fair ability to express a simple thought concisely. By rough, hard drilling, by constant written exercises, by staying after school hours with refractory pupils, the teacher has inculcated in the minds of the most unwilling the fact that each new sentence must begin with a capital.

The great difficulty lies in the fact that the pupil makes a sharp distinction between the language in the class-room and that which he uses when out of it. The expression of the play-

ground is full, racy, and vernacular; his home surroundings train him in idiomatic short-cuts. All the mental environment outside of school hours makes an expression radically different from that which produces high marks in a composition. Good English must necessarily be unconscious English. It is impossible to attain this with the terror of the red pencil flaunting before his eyes as he writes. He should be familiarized with good style until he unconsciously copies it.

But with the second object of his English course, appreciation, the high school pupil has little to do. One year devoted to a cram of historic facts, one year spent in learning *what* to read and not *how* to read—and that is all. Yet one has to learn how to enjoy any of the finer things. Raphael, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare presumably appeals to everybody, but not surely to the extent that these immortals appeal to the thoughtful and refined mind. The appreciation of such work is in itself the greatest pleasure. The greatest gift that the teacher of Shakespeare, for example, can give to his class is a genuine love for the master—not the sentimental appreciation that is the product of pride, but a true desire to read him. This is the one aim that every teacher of Shakespeare should set before his eyes. Gaining this, the other results will follow; failing this, no matter whatever else he may have accomplished, the course has been a failure.

This condition is double-edged. If the English teacher in the high school does not rise to the occasion, he sins not only negatively but positively; he has not only failed to give the love that he should, but he has given a distaste for the beautiful—which is harmful. It is far better for the boy never to have read any given author than to have read him in such a manner that a dislike is created. A boy's unperverted taste is healthy; it is only in school that he learns to hate what is good. The teacher must feel the very serious problem that confronts him. It is a grave moral responsibility; he may be robbing the lad of something that can never be replaced, and that is none the less valuable from the fact that it can never figure in a law case. It would have been far better for the boy to have spent the time

in playing ball and thus improving the body, rather than, cooped up in badly-smelling and unventilated rooms, in desecrating and destroying his taste for the great master.

The English teacher in the high school has thus a double responsibility—a duty due not only to the class under him but also to the nation at large. The individual pupil should at any cost be led to appreciate what is fine in literature, and by so doing he becomes a factor in the great society for national improvement. The average teacher does not appreciate this. The men on the average school board, themselves the product of the old conditions, do not appreciate this. The pupil grows up with a hearty, although concealed, dislike for the great writers. He naturally will never appreciate what he has missed except vaguely; his son will go to college. But the popular novel of the day satisfies his literary craving—and *voilà!* our American literature.

JOHN M. BERDAN.

Toledo, Ohio.

A PLEA FOR SIMPLER LIVING.

THE following words from a flaming advertisement recently caught my eye: "Why don't you marry the girl? We'll help you." They were from the advertisement of an instalment house—that is, a business house that sells furniture on the instalment plan, generally asking a very large price in the first place, only to take it back in many instances after those who have purchased have partly paid for it, and after months and perhaps years of agony in trying to extricate themselves from the burden of debt have in the end seen their goods taken from the house, put in the furniture van and conveyed back to the instalment house, usually to be rubbed up, repolished, and again sold to the next confiding victim whose ambition has been stimulated to venture beyond the limits of his ability to pay, and who by so doing takes upon himself involuntary servitude or slavery to the instalment people.

These operations are repeated indefinitely, and the result of the successive surrenders and heartrending sacrifices on the part of the poor is by the alchemy of business converted into dividends and vulgar luxuries, both of which are supposed to be enjoyed by idle owners. But in reality the ultimate effect of these luxuries and dividends is moral disintegration to those who possess them.

I do not believe that there is any one delusion or evil that is responsible for more misery, wretchedness, and downright despair than that which seems completely to possess the large majority of those who esteem themselves the best society, and which may be summed up in the belief that life consists in *things*. The shrewd business man, knowing this weakness, turns it to his own selfish advantage in a thousand ways similar to the one alluded to above. After much serious reflection I have almost concluded that it is just as immoral to get things that we cannot pay for, by running in debt for them, as it is to get them in any other way without paying for them.

Let us not delude ourselves into the belief that it is the fault of the dealer. It is his business to sell his goods, but he cannot compel any human being to buy them; and the misery that I would avert is due to the yielding temptation born of the imperfect understanding as to what constitutes the true end, aim, and enjoyment of life. Before we can be free we must be emancipated from these misconceptions of the fundamentals of life, and this emancipation must come from *within*.

I can conceive of no more important or worthy work for ministers, teachers, and other molders of public opinion than a high-minded and serious attempt to stimulate in the minds of all the people a noble and consistent ideal of a perfectly simple, free, yet artistic and beautiful life. We have not yet begun to understand how very little we really require—how easily our actual necessities incident to a happy life may be supplied.

In proportion as we get away from the artificiality and from the slavery that requires us to do as other people do—in proportion as we live a wholesome, normal, free life, and allow our varying tastes to express themselves untrameled by the arbitrary dictates of conventionalism—we will grow in health, happiness, independence, and true greatness.

Now, as to what we actually need. I believe a condition of life is possible—nay, is attainable here and now—where each one can have free access to everything that is needful to develop the individual to the highest possibilities of soul and body. And first I find that we need air. We have a right to pure air, and singularly enough we each need about the same amount of air in order to have a healthy body and in order to have a beautiful body—for this, too, is our right. But we do not need to hoard the air; we do not need to lay up air for a rainy day; we cannot store it; but we can freely have as much as we will use, and no matter how much we use the supply is not lessened.

Now, this law in every detail, I believe, applies to every other thing required for the development of a perfect life just as clearly as it does to air. Though we may not be able to understand its application, it only requires a little study of this fundamental principle to bring us to an understanding of the

sound philosophy set forth in the German saying: "*Zu viel und zu wenig sind ungesund.*"

It is perfectly clear to me that in the development of a pure democracy we have much to learn about the value and importance of simple living. In the social philosophy that fills the air to-day, I am constantly impressed with the thought that there is altogether too much importance attached to the stomach. Again and again it is dinned into my ears, "A man must eat." While admitting the truth of this statement I must add that it will be well for a man to remember that it is probable more human life is destroyed by overeating than by starvation. Of the truth of this proposition I do not think any careful observer can have a doubt. Probably a hundred people are made sick or plant the seeds of disease within themselves by overeating or improper eating for every one that is injured by fasting.

Only to-day at the hospital in the police station a poor man sought to appeal to my sympathy by telling me that he had fainted in the street from want of food. "How long had you fasted?" I inquired. "I had nothing but a sandwich for two days," he replied. He was rather discomfited when I replied: "That ought not to injure you, I am sure, for I myself have fasted once five days and another time four, taking absolutely nothing but water." "And did you walk?" he said. "Walked every day; besides that I was suffering from a real sickness, and the fast cured me." I really felt that it was worth while to have had such an experience to shock this unfortunate brother into a realization of the fact that "man does not live by bread alone."

The fact that we can have life and have it more abundantly, while practically ignoring or living above the anxieties that distress the common mind, seems to be coming to me day by day with a force that makes it in the nature of a revelation, and without any apology I become personal. I am writing truth, and truth never needs apology. For more than a year I have eaten but two meals a day, leaving out breakfast and taking my first meal at 11.30, and some of the very best meals that I have eaten during that time have consisted of rye or

whole-wheat bread and Schweitzer cheese, with perhaps a few dates as a dessert.

"Hunger is the best sauce" is a true adage, and, when we understand the processes of life to the extent that we learn to eat to live rather than to live to eat, we begin to have a conception of the outrage that we perpetrate by eating when we are not hungry. Much depends upon the plane we are living upon. Gluttony and drunkenness are the same sort of offenses. As long as one is a victim of appetite, it matters not particularly what form the dissipation may take, although there is more hope for the salvation of one who is the victim of almost any kind of an appetite than the insatiable one for "things"—useless things. The appetite for luxuries and the idleness and laziness that luxurious living breeds are, without doubt, the most destructive agencies that civilized man has to contend against to-day.

When the working young man and working young woman become emancipated from the desire to ape the idle rich, they will not be attracted by such appeals as that to which we have referred. They will learn the beauty of simple living; they will learn that along all the highways that lead to happiness, to health, to life, there are well-defined guide-boards, and each one bears the magic label, *Simplicity*.

All hope for democratic America must rest upon the production of a race of healthy, able-bodied fathers and mothers that can only be developed by an entire abandonment of the lazy and enervating kind of life that is destroying the idle and depraved, both rich and poor, and the adoption instead of the simple and natural modes that lead to life and life everlasting. Goldsmith saw it when, contemplating the beauty of the simple lives of the villagers, he said:

"O Luxury, thou curst by heaven's decree,
How ill-exchanged are things like these for thee!
How do thy potions with insidious joy
Diffuse their pleasures only to destroy!"

SAMUEL M. JONES.

Toledo, O.

HAMLET, PRINCE OF DENMARK.

THE 26th of July, 1602, a volume was registered at "Stationers' Hall," London, bearing the title: "A booke called 'The Revenge of Hamlet, Prince (of) Denmarke,' as yt was latelie Acted by the Lord Chamberlayne his servantes." It is furthermore mentioned that the "booke" was a drama, and lately performed by the Lord Chamberlain's stock company—the company to which William Shakespeare seems to have belonged.

And thus a dramatic production was launched upon the tide-waters of fortune—a drama that was destined to make the name Denmark a household word reverberated on the lips of nations from continent to continent over the entire globe. Of all the Danes whose genius has obtained for them a name in the index of fame, there is but *one* whose memory has reached that calm, serene height of unfading, time and change defying glory—but *one* who after the lapse of centuries still occupies a cherished seat in the minds of Europe, America, Australia, Asia, Africa—wherever the light of culture has blazed out a pathway for thought and love; and this one is not even a concrete historic fact, but partially and fundamentally the creation of a human mind: the semi-phantom *Hamlet!* Denmark has produced a few men whose names and genius have not been without a deep and lasting influence on the minds of humanity—men whose minds have been luminous centers in far-reaching spheres of light, and whose memories we revere under the names of Tyke Brahe, Thorwaldsen, Hans Christian Andersen, and Georg Brandes; but none of them have reached even a hundredth part of the fame of Hamlet, who, single-handed, occupies a literature embracing the traditions and intellectual subject-matter of entire nations.

So much can the magic power of genius accomplish. Out of

"airy nothings" it "builds in time and space a habitation and a name." Like the creative archangel, who once from his vantage-ground of ungenerated void, launched out worlds and orderly universes, so the genius of man, by the fiat of its mystic, unanalyzable power, molds the chaotic and nebulous in the world of mind into law and destiny abiding characters, humanized with motives and purposes. Genius unravels the *ideal* and makes it known to the *form*. The good, the true, and the beautiful must for their deeper interpretation always look to the genius. Thus in Shakespeare we not only find historic motives dramatized into their due order of evolutionary life and activity, but are likewise made to witness the colossal impersonation of the Titanic, non-historic (or rather prehistoric) vast into movements of beauty and affection, fate and destiny.

There is no exaggeration in the statement that the drama "Hamlet" has stamped its mark of influence on the sum total of modern literature and installed eras and epochs in the dramatic world. No deep student of Goethe can avoid the conviction that "Dr. Faust" owes most of his vital philosophy to the ominous day-dreams of the Danish prince-philosopher, and that the relation between Faust and Marguerite offers points of striking resemblance to what took place between Hamlet and Ophelia two hundred years before. Similar lines of comparison may be traced between the growth of the characters outlined in "Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre" and the unfoldment of moral powers exhibited in "Hamlet."

In no less degree do the productions of Lord Byron and Alfred Musset show this irresistible influence of the Shakespearean master-genius. Lord Byron himself is a Hamlet figure in bold *haute relief*, and his "Manfred," "Corsair," "Childe Harold," and "Giaour" are ghosts of the melancholic Dane masquerading in Byronic sentiments. Over the literature of the Slavs the Hamlet-type continues to hold an ennobling sway, as can be witnessed in the development of the heroes in the literary productions of Mickiewicz, Pushkin, and above all Turgeneff. Once indeed Hamlet became the rep-

representative character of a whole nation, as happened when in the middle of the last century Börnes of Freliggrath initiated the famous phrase, "Deutschland ist Hamlet;" and readers of Sienkewicz will be struck by the old familiar traits of Hamlet exhibited anew in "Plowski," which latter is made to represent the predominant characteristics of the Polish nation. Finally, it is not difficult to trace the continental *Weltschmerz* that invaded literary Europe in the early part of the last century to the heartrending emotions of Hamlet, who

"From the table of his memory
Would wipe away all trivial fond records,"

in order to consummate his great, absorbing, irrevocable resolve.

The question has arisen in the minds of thousands how a drama so profound as "Hamlet," and involving riddles of psychology that for centuries have defied the keenest and most thoughtful commentators of all nations, while giving rise to the most contradictory opinions, could have exerted such singular influence on almost every degree of human intelligence. The sequel to this phenomenon is probably not to be found in the purely literary qualities of the great drama, which are often eclipsed by the poetic brilliancy, romantic glow, and symbolic coloring of other Shakespearean productions. Nor perhaps will we find it in the purely tragical, which in depth of feeling, intensity of pathos, and realization of unavoidable, awe-inspiring destiny has in "King Lear" a far stronger exponent. And yet, of all the works of Shakespeare, "Hamlet" has become the most popular and the most loved.

There is exhibited in this play a unique power to express, in one prodigious master-stroke of genius, every virtue, every passion, every tone in the whole gamut of *man*—not only as he *was* and *is*, but likewise as the prophetic vision of genius pictures him *to be*. In the mystery, "Hamlet," the whole available mentality of man—with its sharps and flats, its heights and depths, its instinct, reason, and intuition—is called upon to wrestle with the great sphinx of sacred, mystic, awe-inspiring, incalculable human nature. Every faculty of the mind, and the

mind of every individual, is invited to enter the arena and take a part. As the ocean, which in its deeper part floats mighty ironclads with playful ease, is yet shallow and calm enough at its shores to serve as bath-tub for an infant, so the fathomless range of Hamlet's mind presents subject-matter for all levels of human thought and emotion. And it is perhaps in this universality of character, in this cosmic brotherhood of feeling, that Hamlet's popularity may find a clue to its explanation.

The commentators and augurers that for three hundred years in increasing numbers have disciplined their minds and sharpened their wits on the riddle, "Hamlet," have never ceased to wonder at this unparalleled phenomenon: how a man of the Renaissance, born in a time just awakening after long centuries of murderous nightmares, could evolve a genius not only able to flash out light to illumine the enigmatical in human nature of his own time, but possessing a self-generating power through which this light in mighty shafts was shot athwart vistas of the future, unraveling the characters and idiosyncrasies of generations yet unborn.

The process of identification proceeding between humanity and Hamlet is increasing both in magnitude and intensity; for even though "Hamlet" at its earliest appearance was intensely popular,—which is readily to be inferred from old English sea-journals in which its performance is mentioned as a great and constantly recurring sport of the sailors,—yet it is first in the last century, with its accelerated growth of culture, that the appreciation and popularity of the melancholic Dane have grown to the world-embracing significance and mind-fashioning power that, to quote Georg Brandes, "has made Hamlet the trusted friend and confessor of all sorrow-bound and thoughtful men." And this vantage-ground of human trust and sympathy is his by virtue of the unfailing accuracy with which he reflects the "impulses of deeper birth" arising from the innermost recesses of human thought and feeling, and through which is portrayed with overpowering mastery the eternal struggle between the *ideal* and the *concrete*. Readers or spectators of "Hamlet" have been made to realize with him

that the individual at his first serious encounter with life does not find what he anticipated—does not find life as he dreamed it, but a thousand times more formidable and incalculable. We suddenly become struck by the fact that there is “something rotten in Denmark.” Denmark is the world; the world is a prison—the enchanted palace of the tale; and Hamlet is the “prince-warrior,” the undaunted, unconquerable hero, with superb courage and consummate chivalry, the representative of the world’s moral and physical ideal of all ages, and equipped with power to dispel the enchantment. “The time is out of joint,” he cries. “Oh, cursed spite—that I was ever born to set it right!” And again:

“O all you host of Heaven! O Earth!
And shall I couple Hell? . . . Hold, hold, my heart,
And you, my sinews, grow not instant old,
But bear me stiffly up. Remember thee!
Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat
In this distracted globe, I shall remember.”

What a world of pathos and tragic majesty in this display of wild, uproarious, ominously resolute personality, with its convulsive rush of the strongest, because the most natural, of human emotions—the soul-consuming yearning for revenge! These accents are familiar to us as *feelings*, but they require the genius of a Shakespeare to interpret them in terms of *intellect*. We have heard the echo of this volcanic eruption reverberated from the deeps of the smoldering subterranean fire-sphere of the human soul. We have seen with the “mind’s eye” lava torrents of unquenchable, uncontrollable emotions roll out from an outraged and maddened human nature, consuming with convulsive energy the obstacles in its course.

Hence, we sympathize with Hamlet because we understand him. His grief and emotions are human; but *he* is not only human—he is *humane*, and holds captive our sympathy and love, not only because of the personal element in his grief and revenge, but because of his transcending and self-denying reverence and affection for his murdered father, which qualities furnish the mainspring and motive of his rôle. May it not,

then, in truth be said that "Hamlet" as an *ideal* stands back of the whole human situation, manifesting its life in the deepest of man's emotions? Hamlet is not only in himself a genius, conceived and sketched by the unfathomable intuition and intellectual superiority of a genius, but withal is a *man*, and as such equipped with a wealth of rare personal excellences: irresistible charm in demeanor, fascinating in wit, sincere and unreserved in sympathy, warm and deep in emotion—a nobleman *sans peur et sans reproche*.

While the Danish prince thus occupies the central position in our admiration and affection, he does not exhaust the general resources of the tragic drama. He is surrounded with a most luminous sphere of scenic excellences and dramatic powers. Indeed, if he be a gem he has received the noblest setting. Every function in the grand scenic organism is engaged in thrilling, unflagging action. The spectator is hurried along from situation to situation of matchless scenic effect; passes through dialogues and monologues of blazing, soul-stirring oratory, exploring the loftiest regions of thought and feeling, and sparkling with all the effusions of a mind charged to the point of bursting with love, wisdom, and power; while the train of events rush in and unload in breathless rapidity of action.

Perhaps nothing better could be said of the great dramatic masterpiece than to apply to it the words placed by its author on the lips of Laertes, in speaking of Ophelia:

"Woe and affliction, passion, Hell itself
She turns to favor, thought, and loveliness."

AXEL EMIL GIBSON.

Los Angeles, Cal.

DEMOCRACY OR AUTOCRACY—WHICH?

THERE is a convincing roll and volume to the words, "Triumphant Democracy." They sound well. But the author of this phrase overlooked several somewhat important considerations. Democracy is not yet triumphant even in America. After it has gained control of the country in which it is supposed to have reached its highest development, predictions about its ruling the world will be more to the point. Such an idea at present is but a dream of hope. Democracy has its hardest battle yet to fight—right here in America.

America, as a nation, is leading a dual life. It is preaching democracy and practising autocracy, like a temperance lecturer who takes a drink of whisky to give inspiration to his words. For 126 years but one political philosophy has been taught in the United States—the philosophy of freedom, equal rights, "the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It has covered newspaper pages and resounded from public rostrums and in legislative halls. The doctrine has been laid down in courts; schools have taught it; books are full of it; the nation is saturated with it. Judging by our political standards, every American must be free and equal in his political rights to every other American. He must be exercising liberty and pursuing happiness unhindered. Everybody, theoretically, has an equal voice in the government. Each citizen is an uncrowned sovereign.

This is one side of American life. There is another. Interests involving the lives and happiness of thousands are in the hands of one man responsible to nobody. He has as absolute control within his sphere as any autocrat now on earth, or as any autocrat who ever existed. His employees are his subjects, owing him closer and stronger allegiance than they owe to any government. Their time and their energies are his to do with them as he pleases. He cannot decree that one of these

subjects be beheaded. That is not necessary: our modern methods are not so crude. The autocrat of to-day can control his subjects without any such revolting brutality. It is usually sufficient to deprive the subject of his means of livelihood, and thus make him his own executioner. This the autocrat of to-day has ample power to accomplish. The insurgent subject can be cast out, an exile in the industrial world. He who controls your means of livelihood controls your life.

"I will not do this thing," says the "free and independent" citizen-employee, asserting his proud prerogative. "It is against my own best interests and the interests of my country."

"Very well," replies the industrial autocrat; "I have no further use for your services. You may go."

"Whither shall I go?" inquires the "free and independent" citizen, finding his freedom rather embarrassing at the very first step. "I know no business but this. My life has been spent in learning it. No other means of livelihood is open to me. You control this branch of industry absolutely."

"Your troubles are nothing to me. This business is my business. Do as I say or go."

The "free and independent" citizen does as the industrial autocrat says. He does it absolutely and unquestioningly thereafter. A "kicker" is not appreciated in the industrial world when the autocrat to whom he is subject is the target for his protests. When the "free" man may be sent into the world without an occupation at the whim of an autocrat to whom he owes allegiance, it behooves the "free" man to please the autocrat. In other words, the "free and independent" American citizen-employee must of necessity be the willing and submissive slave of an industrial autocrat.

Usually the demand to do this or that thing concerns the business of the autocrat only; usually, too, it is a reasonable demand—at least from the standpoint of the autocrat. Everybody concedes that the autocrat has the right to conduct his own business in his own way. The law upholds him. Public opinion is not adverse. It is not sufficiently enlightened—or, if one cares to take the opposite view, it has learned better. The im-

portant fact is that the industrial autocrat is able to exact unquestioned obedience from the "free and independent" citizen-employee. It may be more or less important to consider that the obedience may take the form of using the employee's literary skill to write for publication in a great newspaper an article that he knows to be false, misleading, and vicious. To be sure, the autocrat does not think it so. Perhaps he does not know enough to think straight upon such questions, or his interests may lie in a different direction. At all events, the hired literary skill expresses the views of the autocrat, not of the writer. The employee may be called upon to take an unconscionable advantage of a business rival; to falsify corporation records or destroy them in order to carry out or cover up a conspiracy to defraud; to twist the law so as to cover up or permit some villainy. When the "free and independent" citizen becomes an employee his conscience is one of the instruments he turns over to the industrial autocrat.

Of course, the citizen-employee has the right to vote and hold office. He may listen to political speakers paint his proud position among the peoples of the earth. Indeed, he may find happiness in practising the forms and contemplating the philosophy of freedom. But he cannot blind himself to the fact that in America industrial absolutism is set over against political democracy. Can they live on in harmony? Abraham Lincoln said no nation could continue to exist half slave and half free. Can any man continue to be half a slave and half a freeman?

It is only within the last quarter of a century that this issue has begun to shape itself sharply in the United States. Twenty-five years ago industry was so chaotic—or anarchistic, if you please—that no one man in that field had a power that was especially dangerous. If an employee did not care to be a vassal of this or that man he might readily choose another. In a pinch he might employ himself, and be the vassal of no man at all. All this has changed. I do not mean to say that no man can now employ himself in such a way as to become measurably independent in the world of industry, but I state only an obvious fact when I point out that such employment is becoming

more and more difficult and unsatisfactory. The independent mechanic has practically disappeared except in primitive communities. It is becoming more and more difficult for the independent shopkeeper or small dealer of any sort. The independent farmer is the fat prey of about every sort of industrial cormorant on earth. In a great many callings independent (or self) employment is impossible, from the very nature of things. We are fast becoming a nation of employees.

The industrial autocrat necessarily has absolute control over a large proportion of the citizenship of the country. It is becoming most difficult and unprofitable to shift from calling to calling. We are rapidly reaching a point where industrial autocrats will have absolute control over a majority of the citizens of the country. American citizens are becoming industrial independents, subjects, vassals, serfs, or slaves—just as one views it. In other words, a large section of the country's citizenship has a double allegiance, which is becoming more and more sharply defined. On one side the allegiance is to a political organism built on the lines or on the principles of freedom—an organism that he respects, more or less, and loves with a greater or less degree of warmth. On the other hand, he owes allegiance to an industrial autocrat who has power over his livelihood—over the happiness, if not the very existence, of himself and his family. He appeals to the government, if he have intelligence enough to feel his position, and finds the government impotent before the might of the industrial autocrat. It cannot save its citizens from the exactions of powerful business combinations. But he finds the autocrat able not only to defy the government but to reward and protect those who serve him well. Peace, honor, and plenty are in store for those who do the bidding of the king.

In the citizen's dual allegiance, his narrow self-interest and his closest and strongest ties are to the industrial autocrat. In the silent but everlasting contest between democratic government and industrial autocracy, the citizen with dual allegiance is necessarily on the side of the industrial autocrat; hence, the industrial autocrat constantly gains in power. His dependents

become more numerous as well as more closely bound to his fortunes. In the social evolution of to-day, the industrial autocrat's star is in the ascendant. If his power continues to grow in the future as it has grown in the past, he will rule absolutely the enfeebled government and we will have political as well as industrial autocracy; for the industrial autocrat will control the democratic Republic. That government which is controlled by an autocrat is an *autocracy*, no matter what its nominal form may be.

I do not mean to imply that America has come to this already, but the seeds have been sown. The plant is even growing with that trend. It is as certain as that night follows day that the citizen cannot continue indefinitely in his dual allegiance. There are too many points of contact, and at every point it is a clashing contact. No man can be a good subject of an industrial autocrat and at the same time a good citizen of a democratic Republic. The interests he must serve are antagonistic—fatally, irreconcilably so. Our political and industrial philosophies must be harmonized. If America would retain political democracy it must also have industrial freedom.

History affords parallels to present conditions, and they speak in thunder tones of the crisis that faces the American Republic. In the Middle Ages a citizen of any country in Christendom owed dual allegiance of the most active sort. He was a subject of the Pope as well as of the king. And I make this comparison with no idea of invidious criticism or shallow reflection upon the great Roman Catholic Church, to which civilization and morality owe so much. The instance is cited because it is instructive. It may point a moral for the present generations of men. There was a time when emperors went on their knees to Rome and humbly received the iron crown and the scepter of power, and not from a hand that had armies at its beck—at least not overpowering armies. The power of the Pope was due to his supposed control of eternal salvation at a time when religious thought was dominant, and eternal salvation from future torment was the greatest boon on earth. It was fear of the terrible anathema of the Church

more than the sword of temporal power that brought Henry a suppliant to Canossa.

A more sordid drama is being enacted to-day. In our times *money* is everything. Fortune and the control of wealth are the overpowering human motives, especially in the United States. We have industrial popes capable of meting out industrial damnation or industrial salvation. A few months ago the proud citizens of America were treated to the spectacle of one of their powerful Cabinet ministers, representing the honorable Executive of this great Republic, going a suppliant to the industrial Canossa to beg from the industrial pope the graceful shaping of conditions so that the power and authority of the great Executive might not be brought into disrepute. The government to-day leans upon industrial autocrats, just as governments of old leaned on spiritual autocrats; and in both cases the autocrats have used their power to control and direct the feeble governments.

It took centuries of blood and torture to beat back into its proper sphere the spiritual autocracy that in the Middle Ages ruled the world. It took centuries to make it relax its grasp of the political or temporal order. The power of the spiritual autocracy over government was broken only after men's minds turned from the path of religion to other ideals. If spiritual absolutism had never been abused, if the religious idea had continued to dominate the human mind, and if eternal salvation had continued to take up so large a part of man's horizon, there is no telling how strong the hold of spiritual autocracy might have become. And it must be remembered that the principle that animated the religious world of the Middle Ages was essentially broad, righteous, and humanitarian. This was especially true of the policy of Gregory, the Cluny monk. It aimed at the salvation of all mankind, while the essential principle of the commercialism of to-day, and hence the resulting industrial autocracy, is the narrowest and most selfish the world has ever known. It is true *tiger* philosophy—the doctrine of “everybody for himself, and the devil take the hindmost.”

When is the overmastering motive of cupidity that dominates

the industrial autocracy of to-day to lose its power over men? Until it does there seems little hope that the growing power of the industrial autocracy in political affairs will be weakened or even checked in its triumphal march.

We might trace the growth of the spiritual autocracy to its absolutism in the medieval world of politics, but it is not necessary. It may be objected that the ecclesiastical order of the Middle Ages is not a proper subject for comparison with the industrial world of to-day, even if both did reach out to control the political order that was coexistent. To such objectors we can offer a more material and perhaps a more convincing parallel in illustrating the growth of autocracy. The student of history will recall the condition of the Frankish and Teutonic tribes with their comparatively free and democratic if primitive government. Then will be recalled the formative period, when civilization grew apace and the communities arranged themselves about all noblemen who later developed into petty monarchs. Here was the beginning of feudalism, with its little autocrats and their multitude of retainers. To these we may compare the "captains of industry" who first appeared a few decades ago. Then came Louis XI., Louis XIII., Richelieu, and Louis XIV., who gradually defeated or dominated the petty monarchs, welding their power into an all-embracing autocracy built on the foundation of a transformed feudalism. "*L'etat; c'est moi!*" said Louis XIV., the greatest political autocrat of his time.

A like process of centralization is going on to-day in our industrial world. We now *live* in a decade what they lived in a century two hundred years ago. Our industrial feudalism is rapidly giving way to industrial centralization. Already we have one man in the world of industry with greater power than Louis XIV. ever had in the world of politics. A nation more powerful than the whole of Europe in the day of Louis takes this man's word as financial gospel. The whole industrial world trembles before him.

Where is this going to end? Is a man with the control of industry within his grasp, with an organization so centralized

as to be responsive to his every impulse, going to be foiled by a many-headed political organization pursuing a more or less abstract ideal in a haphazard and desultory way? It makes little difference whether this new order of industry is a pure autocracy or an oligarchy with a sort of presiding autocrat. It has the power and solidarity of interest to overmaster the loose and unmanageable political organization. In the present indifferent temper of the people there is no doubt that the industrial autocracy will continue to dominate the nation. As time passes it must gain complete control.

What has political economy to say to this? "It is not our affair. We merely present conditions as they are. It is not our business to quarrel with these conditions, whether they lead to industrial autocracy or industrial democracy."

Political economy, with its cold brutality, furnishes an excuse for every act of aggression that has made the few absolute masters of the many in the industrial world. Ethics finds no place in economics. The industrial order that he fondly imagines leads to the greatest aggregate of national wealth is the ideal order for the economist. It does not matter how few of the nation's population control that wealth. The laws of exchange, of rent and interest, and all the rest are inevitable. That they have led to autocracy in industry proves to political economy that autocracy in industry is the thing to be desired.

I have no remedy to suggest. Indeed, I would be a sage if I could devise one to fit the case. What I want to lay emphatically before the reader is the fact that American citizens are fast acquiring a dual allegiance, the demands of which are absolutely clashing and incompatible. At the same time an industrial order is growing up in this country essentially antagonistic to the political order that we have been building for more than a century and a quarter. Our economics sanctions this industrial order—alien to our political philosophy, alien to our institutions, and menacing to our future security. It leaves us hopelessly powerless in the face of a threatened perversion of our most cherished ideals.

Industrial autocracy cannot live on terms of peace with political liberty. It is impossible to have both at once. We must have industrial and political liberty or industrial and political autocracy. Which we shall have depends upon the intelligence, patriotism, and essential ideals of American citizens.

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THE MESSAGE OF MAZZINI.

I.

HISTORY is full of melancholy illustrations of the failure of great minds who, like the philosopher Seneca, have apprehended the moral verities that are stepping-stones by which man ascends the spiritual Alps, yet who in hours of temptation have weakened and signally failed to be true to the message they had given to the world. They have at best been but sign-boards pointing to the heights.

Now, we are far from indorsing the views of those who contend that the failure of a prophet or a teacher to live up to his teachings vitiates the spoken word or retards more than the message furthers the cause of progress; for there is a divine potency in the truth, which when once uttered becomes the water of life to thirsting souls on the spiritual Sahara. The circumstance that a vessel be mean, disfigured, worn, or unsightly is of little importance to the famishing soldier or traveler if it contains the cool, pure water for which the body is perishing. The fact that the water-lily is rooted and grounded in the ooze and slime of the pond does not prevent our enjoying its fragrance and beauty. And so it is with truth. Every vital message helps the world onward. Furthermore, the true philosopher appreciates the fact that no man can know how much heredity, prenatal and postnatal conditions, as well as later education and environment have influenced another's life. He may regret the weakness of the messenger, because he knows that reactionary influences ever seek to divert the attention of the people from the truth delivered by magnifying the weaknesses of its representative; and yet he thanks the Infinite for the new word, knowing that it holds the germ of life, and, like the grain cast on the waters, will yield fruition after many days.

When, however, an apostle of truth and progress appears whose life is pure and noble, consistent and consecrated to a great cause, his message becomes doubly potential for good; for humanity loves strength and consistency, and the truth that speaks in every act, thought, and deed is compelling in its influence. Moreover, when the prophet, as was the case with Giuseppe Mazzini, sacrifices the ease, comfort, and safety of a beautiful home; when he turns from the pursuit of literature, which not only held the strongest fascination for him, but which promised fame, honor, and glory, and voluntarily, for the cause of human progress and the happiness of those whose lives know little joy, accepts a work that is fraught with deadly peril at every step—a life that he knows courts imprisonment and a death that the world will call ignoble; and, further, when later he accepts exile from home and native land, poverty, and almost starvation for the cause; when from youth to death he tirelessly pursues the rugged path of duty rather than prove unfaithful in the slightest degree to the cause to which he has dedicated his life—his message takes on a new interest and challenges that serious attention which sooner or later the world ever accords to those great spiritual solitaries who have beheld the glorious vision of the Ideal that floats before civilization and lights the path of progress, and who, having beheld it, have renounced all that material life holds most dear in order that they may receive and deliver a new word of truth that shall help the ages yet unborn.

II.

Like all great prophets and apostles of civilization in her truest manifestation, Mazzini was a man of profound faith and conviction. He was deeply philosophical, a clear reasoner, and indefatigable in the pursuit of what he conceived to be the august demands of the Infinite; while through the warp and woof of his life and thought ran that enthusiasm for humanity, that love for his fellow-men, that moral or spiritual exaltation which obliterates all thought of self in the presence of duty or service.

He was distinctly a child of the Revolution, but he beheld a vital truth that had escaped the great leaders who preceded him; namely, that liberty, instead of being an end, was the necessary means to the end in a struggle that comprehended the emancipation of the masses from the exploitation of the classes, and the inauguration of economic conditions based on the fundamental demands of justice, righteousness, and fraternity. This was his first point of radical departure from the master minds who had guided the Revolution. Moreover, Mazzini believed that revolutions based primarily on self-interest were destined to failure, or at least to prove of very partial or doubtful value to the race. He believed that, before a revolution could achieve lasting good, the people must be made to understand certain fundamental principles and needs which the stage of growth and the exigencies of the hour demanded, and that it was furthermore essential, if a revolution were to prove a splendid victory for humanity, that it be dominated by high moral or spiritual ideals. The very key-note of his message may be said to lie in these words:

“Workingmen! Brothers! When Christ came, and changed the face of the world, He spoke not of rights to the rich, who needed not to achieve them; nor to the poor, who would doubtless have abused them in imitation of the rich; He spoke not of utility nor of interest to a people whom interest and utility had corrupted; He spoke of Duty, He spoke of Love, of Sacrifice, and of Faith; and He said that *they should be first among all who had contributed most by their labor to the good of all.*

“And the words of Christ, breathed in the ear of a society in which all true life was extinct, recalled it to existence, conquered the millions, conquered the world, and caused the education of the human race to ascend one degree on the scale of progress.

“We live in an epoch similar to that of Christ. We live in the midst of a society as corrupt as that of the Roman Empire, feeling in our inmost soul the need of reanimating and transforming it, and of uniting all its various members in one sole faith, beneath one sole law, in one sole aim—the free and progressive development of all the faculties of which God has

given the germ to his creatures. We seek the Kingdom of God *on earth as it is in Heaven*, or, rather, that earth may become a preparation for Heaven, and society an endeavor after the progressive realization of the Divine Idea."

Duty, Love, Sacrifice, and Faith—these were his watchwords. "Life," he tells us, "is a mission, and every other definition of life is false and leads all who accept it astray."

In proportion as revolutions became dominated by considerations of utility and interest, they descended to the plane of selfism; they became materialistic in character, and they degenerated into a battle between those who have and those who have not, regardless of the great principles of Justice, Equity, and Love that alone hold the redemptive potentialities of civilization. Therefore, two things were urgently demanded—Education and Association. But education as interpreted by Mazzini meant far more than mere intellectual training. It was not enough that the reason be informed upon those great laws of life underlying human progress. The conscience or moral faculties also must be so roused and enthused that the compelling influence of right should sublimate Nature, driving out all thought of self that interfered with the larger interest of humanity, until the soul, overmastered by the ideal of Duty, as St. Paul was overcome by the light on the way to Damascus, should be ready to consecrate all to the cause of human emancipation, enlightenment, and progress. The association in various nations of even a few such enlightened ones would soon, according to Mazzini's conviction, leaven society and inaugurate a revolution in which there should be no false notes sounded, and from which should flow a fuller, richer, and truer life than earth had ever known.

While realizing that the French Revolution had mistaken liberty for the end instead of the necessary means to the desired end, and had in many ways fallen short of the promise, the hope, and the dream of the philosophers who sowed the seed from which it sprang, he also recognized that this failure lay partly in the intellect dominating over the moral and spiritual enthusiasm of its founders, leading to a very partial ap-

prehension of the truth, due partly if not chiefly to the ignorance of the masses—a fatal ignorance in which the mind was uninformed and the soul unstirred, so that the selfish and materialistic ideal of utility and self-interest that had prevailed in the old despotic order soon became in a large way the soul of the new revolution. Still, he was by no means blind to the immensely important work achieved for humanity by the French Revolution; for in his masterly criticism of Thomas Carlyle's monumental historical work he tells us that—

“The Revolution—that is to say, the tumult and fury of the Revolution—perished; the form perished, as all forms perish when their task is accomplished, but the *idea* of the Revolution survived. That idea, freed from every temporary envelope or disguise, now reigns forever, a fixed star in the intellectual firmament; it is numbered among the conquests of Humanity.

“Every great idea is immortal: the French Revolution re-kindled the sense of *Right*, of liberty, and of equality in the human soul, never henceforth to be extinguished; it awakened France to the consciousness of the inviolability of her national life; and awakened in every people a perception of the powers of collective will, a conviction of ultimate victory, of which none can deprive them. It summed up and concluded (in the political sphere) one epoch of Humanity, and led us to the confines of the next. These are results that will not pass away; they defy every protocol, constitutional theory, or veto of despotic power.”

A short time before his death, Mazzini wrote thus on what he conceived to be a fatal flaw in the French Revolution:

“The error of the French Revolution was not the abolition of monarchy. It was the attempt to build up a republic upon the theory of Rights . . . upon the Sovereignty of the *Ego*, which leads us, sooner or later, to the Sovereignty of the strongest *Ego*; upon the essentially monarchical methods of extreme centralization, intolerance, and violence—upon that false definition of life . . . given by men educated by monarchy and inspired by a materialism which, having canceled God, has left itself nothing to worship but Force. When the most powerful *Ego* of the period—Napoleon—arose, supported by Force, and said, ‘*Bow down,*’ the revolution bent before him.”

In his "Duties of Man," our philosopher further shows why and where the closing decades of the eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth failed:

"In these last fifty years the sources of social wealth and the mass of material means of happiness have been continually on the increase. Commerce, surmounting those frequent crises which are inevitable in the absolute absence of all organization, has achieved an increase of power and activity and a wider sphere of operation. Communication has almost everywhere been rendered rapid and secure, and hence the price of produce has decreased in proportion to the diminished cost of transport. On the other hand, the idea that there are rights inherent to human nature is now generally admitted and accepted—hypocritically and in words at least—even by those who seek to withhold those rights. Why, then, has not the condition of the people improved? Why has the consumption of produce, instead of being equally distributed among all the Members of European Society, become concentrated in the hands of a few? Why has the impulse given to industry and commerce resulted, not in the well-being of the many, but in the luxury of a few?"

"The answer is clear to those who look closely into things. Men **are** the creatures of education, and their actions are but the consequence of the principle of education given to them. The promoters of revolutions and political transformations have hitherto founded them all on one idea, the idea of the *rights* pertaining to the individual. Those revolutions achieved *Liberty*—individual liberty, liberty of education, liberty of belief, liberty of commerce, liberty in all things and for all men.

"But of what use were rights when acquired by men who had not the means of exercising them? Of what use was mere liberty of education to men who had neither time nor means to profit by it? Of what use was mere liberty of commerce to those who possessed neither merchandise, capital, nor credit?"

"In all the countries wherein these principles were proclaimed, Society was composed of the small number of individuals who were possessors of the land, of capital, and of credit, and of the vast multitude who possessed nothing but the labor of their hands, and were compelled to sell that labor to the first class on any terms, in order to live. For such men, compelled to spend the whole day in material and monotonous exertion, and condemned to a continual struggle against hunger and want, what was liberty but an illusion, a bitter irony?"

Under this false theory of rights, which made liberty the end and not the means to an end that would secure the high demands of fraternity, Mazzini shows that—

“Each man occupied himself with his own rights and the amelioration of his own position, without seeking to provide for others; and when those rights clashed with the rights of others the result was a state of war—a war, not of blood, but of gold and craft; less manly than the other, but equally fatal; a relentless war in which those who possessed means inexorably crushed the weak and inexperienced.

“In this state of continual warfare, men were educated in selfishness and the exclusive greed of material well-being. . . . Mankind, without any common bond, without unity of religious belief or aim, bent upon enjoyment and naught beyond, sought each and all to tread in their own path, little heeding if, in pursuing it, they trampled upon the bodies of their brothers—brothers in name, but enemies in fact. This is the state of things we have reached at the present day, thanks to the theory of rights.”

Few of earth's great prophets have been so deeply philosophical as Mazzini. True, his conclusions were not always correct, but as a rule his positions were well taken. He was logical, his vision was broad, and his penetration keen. Moreover, he was a master in analysis and equally strong in synthetic work. On one occasion he thus portrayed the two great warring forces in modern civilization—the conflict between the egoists and the altruists:

“Our researches after a true conception of the laws governing the collective life of Humanity have given rise to two philosophic schools, around which are rallied the infinite secondary varieties represented by individual intellect. These two schools are at open warfare at the present day, and the victory of the one or the other will determine the direction to be taken by human activity in the dawning epoch.

“The first school, which has been characterized in our own times as the *Circular Movement School*, is, in fact, most aptly represented by the ancient symbol of the serpent biting his own tail. For all those holding the doctrines of this school, collective life, organized progress, and the unity of human aim are things having no existence. They only recognize a

genus humanum, a multitude of individuals, urged by wants and desires more or less uniform to gather together in groups, for the better satisfaction of those wants and desires. Whenever local circumstances and community of language and custom induce in these nuclei a cohesion more complete, a Nation is formed. Each of those nations is under the influence of the law of circular movement, causing it to pass through various stages: from monarchy to aristocracy; from aristocracy to democracy; from democracy to anarchy; from anarchy to despotism, and so on, forever retracing the same circle. . . .

"Such more or less openly avowed is the formula of this school. Its true source, in spite of every attempt to ascribe to it a different origin, is *Fatalism*. Amid all the vicissitudes of a world agitated by a thousand different aims, impulses, and affections, and unsustained by the consciousness of a providential law to regulate individual action, Man, according to the adepts of this school, is abandoned almost without defense to the instincts of appetite, of interest, of everything fatal on earth; the destined victim of circumstances fortuitous and unforeseen, although invariably uniform in result.

"Of what avail, then, his endeavors? Can he recognize any lasting effect from his labor? No; the eternal flux and reflux inexorably swallows up every idea, belief, courage, or sacrifice. The Infinite assumes the form of annihilation as far as man is concerned; and naught is left for him but the adoration of a fleeting happiness; the enjoyment of the present in every possible form if he be an egotist, or, if he be not such, the bitter inertia of impotence, the materialism of despair. . . .

"The followers of this school regard every act of enthusiasm with a sort of gloomy pity, and view with the smile of skepticism every act of devotion to an idea. They are suspicious of all general propositions, and delight in details and trifling incidents, as if seeking diversion or amusement. . . . The school boasts many distinguished writers; from Machiavelli down to the end of the eighteenth century, all modern historians may be numbered in its ranks. Ancient historians belonged to this school, but forgetfulness of Collective Humanity was not in them the result of an intellectual choice; it was a necessary result of ignorance.

"The other school of recent date, though anticipated by the grand prevision of certain thinkers in the seventeenth, sixteenth, and even twelfth centuries, is now known as the *School of Progressive Movement*, though destined probably to bear

a different title at a future day. It dates its origin from a new conception of Humanity, and a belief in a providential law of progress and perfectibility, not *infinite*, but *indefinite*, ruling over our human destiny. It deduces that belief from the tendency to association innate in man; from the unity of origin of the human race; from its ceaseless continuity and preservation; from the successive amplification and amelioration of social creeds; from the identity of the human goal, and the necessity of concentrating the whole sum of human forces to its achievement; from the unity of God and of His nature, so far as it has been vouchsafed to us to discover it; from the necessity of a certain relation and resemblance between the Creator and the created; from the instinct and necessity which, as if it were a law of existence, urge every living being to the fuller development of all the germs, the faculties, the forces, the *life* within it; from tradition, which proves to us that the truths achieved by one generation become the indestructible possession of those that succeed it; from that aspiration, common to all of us, which has laid the foundation of all forms of religion, and made known to individuals the *duty* of self-sacrifice for aims impossible of realization within the limits of earthly existence.

"All these synthetic ideas have been confirmed by the study of the past, by the tradition of Humanity. The followers of this school study all things with a view to discover their mission, function, and scope in relation to the collective human being."

It will be observed that in the last analysis the egoistic schools of thought are materialistic and anarchistic in spirit and tendency, while the altruistic schools are vitalized by the great spiritual verities; and, whether their leaders are conscious of the fact or not, they are nevertheless ranging themselves on the side of the Infinite as well as fighting under the flag of progress.

Though few great men have been so free of the limitations of creed, rite, and dogma as Mazzini, his was a deeply religious nature. In his "Duties of Man" he tells us that—

"God exists, because we exist. God lives in our conscience, in the conscience of Humanity. Our conscience invokes Him in our most solemn moments of grief or joy. Humanity has

been able to transform, to disfigure, never to suppress, His holy name. The Universe bears witness to Him in the order, the harmony, and intelligence of its movements and its laws. . . .

"Tell us not that the earth is of clay. The earth is of God. God created it as the medium through which we may ascend to Him. The earth is not a mere sojourn of temptation or of expiation; it is the appointed dwelling-place wherein we are bound to work out our own improvement and development and advance toward a higher stage of existence. God created us not to contemplate, but to act. He created us in His own image, and He is *Thought* and *Action*, or, rather, in Him there is no Thought which is not simultaneous Action.

"You tell us to despise all worldly things, to trample under foot our terrestrial life, in order to concern ourselves solely with the Celestial; but what is our terrestrial life save a prelude to the Celestial—a step toward it? See you not that, while sanctifying the last step of the ladder by which we must all ascend, by thus declaring the first accursed you arrest us on the way?

"The life of a soul is sacred in every stage of its existence—as sacred in the earthly stage as in those which are to follow. Each stage must be made a preparation for the next; every temporary advance must aid the gradual ascending progress of that immortal life breathed into us all by God Himself, as well as the progress of the great Entity—Humanity—which is developed through the labor of each and every individual."

And again, in "Faith and the Future," he says:

"We believe in one God; the author of all existence; the absolute living Thought, of whom our world is a ray, the universe an incarnation."

Mazzini accepted the teachings of Jesus and the apostles concerning the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man in a way very different from the perfunctory, meaningless acceptance of the Church. Hence, the great law of the solidarity of life and the mutual obligations and dependence of the units that make up the State, which our best thinkers are beginning to recognize, was clear to him. In his magnificent essay on "Duties Toward Humanity" he says:

"Foremost and grandest amid the teachings of Christ were

these two inseparable truths—*There is but one God; All men are the Sons of God*; and the promulgation of these two truths changed the face of the world, and enlarged the moral circle to the confines of the inhabited globe. To the duties of men toward the Family and Country were added duties toward Humanity. Man then learned that wheresoever there existed a human being there existed a brother; a brother with a soul as immortal as his own, destined like himself to ascend toward the Creator, and on whom he was bound to bestow love, a knowledge of the faith, and help and counsel when needed. . . .

“And at the present day, after eighteen hundred years of labor, study, and experience, we have yet to develop these germs, we have yet to apply these truths, not only to *each* individual, but to all that complex sum of human forces and faculties, present and future, which is named Humanity. We have yet to teach mankind not only that Humanity is one Sole Being, and must be governed by one sole law, but that the first article of the law is *Progress*;—progress here, on this earth, where we are bound to realize, as far as in us lies, the design of God, and educate ourselves for higher destinies.”

The socialist leaders of Mazzini's time laid so much stress on the material side of life, and so little on the spiritual aspects of the struggle, that Mazzini, though one of the strongest champions of Association and Coöperation of the nineteenth century, distrusted their philosophy; while they in turn regarded him as essentially a political reformer and a religious visionary rather than as a social philosopher. Yet in this conclusion they were clearly at fault. What Mazzini always insisted was that material betterment must be sought for as a means and not as the end. His great maxim, “From each man according to his ability; to each man according to his need,” expresses the aspiration of the present-day social philosophy. In “The Duties of Man,” while discussing the material condition of the toilers, he says:

“I do not say that you ought never to occupy yourselves with these; but I do say that the exclusive endeavor after material interests, sought for, not as a *means*, but as an *end*, always leads to disastrous and deplorable results.

“When the ancient Romans, under the emperors, contented

themselves with *bread and amusements*, they had become as abject a race as can be conceived; and, after submitting to the stupid and ferocious rule of their emperors, they vilely succumbed to and were enslaved by their barbarian invaders. In France and elsewhere it has ever been the plan of the opponents of social progress to spread corruption by endeavoring to lead men's minds away from thoughts of change and improvement through furthering the development of mere material activity. And shall we help our adversaries with our own hands?

"Material ameliorations are essential, and we will strive to obtain them; not, however, because the one thing necessary to man is that he should be well housed and nourished, but because you can neither acquire a true consciousness of your own dignity, nor achieve your own moral development, so long as you are engaged, as at the present day, in a continual struggle with poverty and want.

"You labor for ten or twelve hours a day: how can you find *time* to educate yourselves? The greater number of you scarcely earn enough to maintain yourselves and your families: how can you find *means* to educate yourselves? The frequent interruption and uncertain duration of your work cause you to alternate excessive labor with periods of idleness: how are you to acquire habits of order, regularity, and assiduity? The scantiness of your earnings prevents all hope of saving a sum sufficient to be one day useful to your children, or to provide for the support of your own old age: how can you acquire habits of economy? . . .

"Your poverty frequently involves the impossibility of your obtaining justice like the other classes: how are you to learn to love and respect justice? Society treats you without a shadow of sympathy: how are you to learn sympathy with Society?

"It is therefore needful that your material condition should be improved, in order that you may morally progress. It is necessary that you should labor less, so that you may consecrate some hours every day to your soul's improvement. It is needful that you should receive such remuneration for your labor as may enable you to accumulate a sufficient saving to tranquilize your minds as to your future. And, above all, it is necessary to purify your souls from all reaction, from all sentiment of vengeance, from every thought of injustice, even toward those who have been unjust toward you. You are bound, therefore, to strive for all these ameliorations in your

condition, and you will obtain them; but you must seek them as a means, not as an end; seek them from a sense of duty, and not merely as a right; seek them in order that you may become more virtuous, not in order that you may be materially happy."

And again he observes:

"And as it is impossible to dream of the moral and intellectual progress of the people without providing for its physical amelioration—as it is absurd to say '*Instruct yourself*' to a man who is working for his daily bread from fourteen to sixteen hours a day, or to tell him to *love* who sees nothing around him but the cold calculations of the speculator and the tyranny of the capitalist legislator—the social question was found inevitably grafted upon the question of political progress. Henceforward they could only be separated by destroying both."

In the general lack of faith in the heart of the people Mazzini beheld a grave peril to the uninterrupted progress of civilization, and his words on this point are peculiarly applicable to us at the present time:

"The peoples lack faith: not that individual faith which creates martyrs, but that *social* faith which is the parent of victory; the faith that arouses the multitudes; faith in their own destiny, in their own mission, and in the mission of the epoch; the faith that combats and prays; the faith that enlightens, and bids men fearlessly advance in the ways of God and Humanity; with the sword of the people in their hand, the religion of the people in their hearts, and the future of the people in their soul."

When other men were dwelling on rights and appealing to the material interests of the masses, Mazzini spoke to the conscience, taking Duty as a watchword. He says:

"Duty is progressive, as the evolution of truth; it is modified and enlarged with the ages; it changes its manifestations according to the requirements of times and circumstances. There are times in which we must be able to die like Socrates; there are others, in which we must be able to struggle like Washington: one period claims the pen of the sage, another requires the sword of the hero. But here, and everywhere, the source of this duty is God and His law—its object, Humanity—its guaranty, the mutual responsibility of men—its measure, the

intellect of the individual and the demands of the period—its limit, power. . . .

“The question at the present day is the perfecting of the principle of association, a transformation of the medium in which mankind moves: duty therefore lies in *collective* labor—every one should measure his powers, and see what part of this labor falls to him. The greater the intellect and influence a man enjoys, the greater his responsibility; but assuredly contemplation cannot satisfy duty in any degree.”

There are few passages in modern literature more vivid in portrayal, more solemn or far-reaching in suggestive truths, than these lines in which the Italian philosopher pictures the Roman world at the dawn of the Christian era, and indicates the similarity of its distinguishing characteristics to those presented in the present great transition era:

“The sky was dark, the heavens void; the peoples strangely agitated, or motionless in stupor. Whole nations disappeared. Others lifted their heads as if to view their fall. Throughout the world was a dull sound of dissolution. All trembled—the heavens and the earth. Man was hideous to behold. Placed between two infinities, he had no consciousness of either; neither of his future, nor of his past. All belief was extinct. Man had no faith in his gods, no belief in the republic. Society was no more: there existed a power stifling itself in blood, or consuming itself in debauchery; a senate, miserably aping the majesty of the past, that voted millions and statues to the tyrant; prætorians, who despised the one and slew the other; informers, sophists, and the slavish crowd who clapped their hands. Great principles were no more. Material interests existed still. The fatherland was no more; the solemn voice of Brutus had proclaimed the death of virtue from its tomb. Good men departed that they might not be defiled by contact with the world. Nerva allowed himself to die of hunger. Thrascus poured out his blood in libation to Jupiter the Liberator. The soul of man had fled; the senses reigned alone. The multitude demanded bread and the sports of the circus. Philosophy had sunk first into skepticism, then into epicureanism, then into subtlety and words. Poetry was transformed into satire.

“Yet there were moments when men were terror-struck at the solitude around them, and trembled at their isolation.

They ran to embrace the cold and naked statues of their once-venerated gods; to implore of them a spark of moral life, a ray of faith, even an illusion! They departed, their prayers unheard, with despair in their hearts and blasphemy upon their lips. Such were the times; they resembled our own.

"Yet this was not the death agony of the world. It was the conclusion of one evolution of the world which had reached its ultimate expression. A great epoch was exhausted, and passing away to give place to another, the first utterances of which had already been heard in the north, and which awaited but the *Initiator* to be revealed.

"He came. The soul the most full of love, the most sacredly virtuous, the most deeply inspired by God and the future, that men have yet seen on earth—Jesus. He bent over the corpse of the dead world, and whispered a word of faith. Over the clay that had lost all of man but the movement and the form, he uttered words until then unknown—*Love, Sacrifice, a heavenly origin*. And the dead arose. A new life circulated through the clay, which philosophy had tried in vain to reanimate. From that corpse arose the Christian world, the world of liberty and equality. From that clay arose the true Man, the image of God, the precursor of Humanity. . . .

"Have faith, then, O you who suffer for the noble cause; apostles of a truth which the world of to-day comprehends not; warriors in the sacred fight whom it yet stigmatizes with the name of rebels. To-morrow, perhaps, this world, now incredulous or indifferent, will bow down before you in holy enthusiasm. To-morrow victory will bless the banner of your crusade.

"Walk in faith and fear not. That which Christ has done, humanity may do. Believe, and you will conquer. Believe, and the peoples at last will follow you. Action is the Word of God; thought alone is but His shadow. They who disjoin thought and action seek to divide Deity, and deny the eternal Unity. . . .

"I have faith in God, in the power of truth, and in the historic logic of things. I feel in my inmost heart that the delay is not for long. The principle which was the soul of the old world is exhausted. It is our part to clear the way for the new principle; and, should we perish in the undertaking, it shall yet be cleared."

No words in the voluminous writings of Mazzini, however, hold greater interest for present-day students of social problems, or are more pregnant with helpful thoughts, than those contained in his last great paper, finished on the third of March, 1872, just seven days before he died. In this contribution the philosopher discusses the failure of the French Revolution to accomplish the larger victory that would have followed had its leaders not—as has already been pointed out—mistaken liberty for the end, instead of realizing that it was the necessary means to secure justice for all men, which must underlie a true Fraternal State. Mazzini regarded the French Revolution as closing an epoch rather than inaugurating a new era. The doctrine of rights, overmastering the theory of duty and obligations, laid the foundation for a new despotism or feudalism, in which an aristocracy of wealth would inevitably take the place of the aristocracy of birth, and in which the Government, though republican in form and nominally so in theory, would gradually become more and more the creature of a relatively small moneyed class, exhibiting progressive changes toward despotism by becoming more and more centralized, aristocratic, and subservient to the dictates of concentrated wealth. Very solemn and timely are his words, written when the shadow of death was mantling as devoted a brow as ever frowned upon intrenched oppression:

“The political theory, which dominated alike the great achievements and the great legislative manifestations of the revolution, was the *theory of Rights*; the moral doctrine which promoted and perpetuated it was the materialist doctrine which has defined life as *a search after happiness on earth*. The first inaugurated the Sovereignty of the *Ego*; the second inaugurated the Sovereignty of *Interests*. . . . The consequences—since every principle adopted inevitably generates a method—are obvious to all who understand the logic of history.”

These consequences become more and more evident as time passes:

“Success is gradually taken for the sign and symbol of

legitimacy, and men learn to substitute the worship of the actual for the worship of the true; a disposition which is shortly after transformed into the adoration of Force. Force is by degrees accepted and sought after, even by those who invoke the holy names of Justice and Truth as the principal means of their achievement and application. The guidance of liberty is intrusted to the weapons of tyranny. . . .

"Those who have succeeded, by means of a temporary fraternization with the people, in obtaining what they required, unmindful of their promises and of the pact of solidarity to which they had sworn, content themselves with the quiet enjoyment of their own rights, and leave the people to acquire theirs in their turn, if they can, and how they can. Material interests become the arbitrators of all things; riches and power are held synonymous with greatness in the mind of the nation. National policy is converted into a mere policy of distrust, jealousy, and division between those who suffer and those who enjoy; those who are able to turn their liberty to profit, and those who have naught of liberty but the empty name.

"International policy loses sight of all rule of justice, all love of righteousness, and becomes a policy of mere egotism and aggrandizement; at times of degradation, and at times of glory bartered for at others' expense. Intelligence embellishes both crimes and errors by sophism and system; teaches indifference or mute contemplation in philosophy; lust and the worship of the external in art; stupid submission or savage rebellion in politics. . . .

"The expiation follows upon the crime; more or less immediate, more or less severe, but inevitable and inexorable. . . .

"The sole aristocracy of to-day is the aristocracy of wealth; the sole aristocracy of to-morrow will be the eternal, divine, beneficent aristocracy of intellect at its highest power—genius; but that, like everything that descends from God, will arise among the people, and labor for the people."

Again, in referring to the futility of a revolution based on a false premise, he says:

"The theory of Rights may be able to complete the destruction of a form of society either tyrannous or sinking into decay; it is incapable of founding society anew upon a durable basis. The doctrine of the Sovereignty of the *Ego* can only

create despotism or anarchy. Liberty is a means of reaching good; it is not the aim."

On the revolutionary movement he makes these thoughtful observations:

"Revolution is only sacred and legitimate when undertaken in the name of a new aim upon the path of progress, capable of ameliorating the moral, intellectual, and material condition of the whole people. . . .

"Every true revolution is the substitution of a new educational problem for the old. True government is the intellect, the sense of the people, consecrated to the work of carrying out that new educational principle in the sphere of facts. Everything depends upon so organizing the Government that it shall be alike bound to be and capable of being the true interpreter of that principle, and have neither the temptation nor the power to falsify it."

And of the august obligations resting upon democracy he says:

"Education, the fatherland, liberty, association, the family, property and religion—all these are undying elements of human nature; they cannot be canceled or destroyed, but every epoch has alike the right and the duty of modifying their development in harmony with the intellect of the age, the progress of science, and the altered condition of human relations. Hence, democracy, informed and enlightened by these ideas, must abandon the path of negations; useful and opportune so long as the duty before us was that of breaking asunder the chains that bound mankind to the past; useless and barren now that our task is the conquest of the future."

We will close these extracts with this touching appeal of the great patriot and philosopher to the children of freedom:

"Let us remain republicans and apostles of our faith, for the people and with the people; reverencing genius, but on condition that, like the sun, it diffuse its light, warmth, and life upon the multitudes. Truth is the shadow of God on earth, and he who seeks to monopolize it to himself is an assassin of the soul; even as he who hears the cry of an agony he might relieve, yet passes on, is an assassin of the body. Intellect, like every other faculty given by God, is given for the benefit of all; a double duty toward his brother-

men devolves upon him who has more than the rest. . . . Is not the hour before dawn ever the darkest in the mental as well as the physical heaven? And shall we, from irritation at the vapors by which it is surrounded, curse the star of day? Let us hold fast to our republican faith. Let us still fight on, serene in conscience, though sad at heart, and fronting alike calumny and blame, exaggeration and ingratitude, error and wrong. Let us not deny the true faith because of heresy. . . . For us, voyagers on 'the great sea of Being,' the insignia is duty, the condition of existence is motion. . . .

"The ascending movement of democracy is as evident to those who dread it as to those who hail it with applause; it rules and moves, not one, but all the manifestations of human life; repression is of no avail, for if repulsed on one point it rises up more powerfully upon another. A hundred years of regularly increasing agitation prove a vitality which cannot die."

Thirty years have floated into the eternity of the past since the brave, noble, single-hearted apostle of progress passed into the audience chamber of the Infinite; but though his toilsome life is over, his influence and his thought are the priceless heritage of all future time. And we doubt if in his life, even when he wielded the greatest power, whether his thought influenced more than it is influencing thought-molders among the advance guard of Truth to-day. He was one of the greatest apostles of progress given to the civilization of modern times—a servant of God and a prophet of the dawn, whose words should be studied by every young man and woman in these opening years of the twentieth century; for the truths he enunciated hold in a large way the hope of our civilization.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

A STUDY IN ADVERTISING.

MODERN advertising is an art, but it is also an industry, and one of enormous magnitude. Mr. Charles Austin Bates, whose information on the subject is unsurpassed in extent, estimates the amount of money spent for advertising, in the United States alone, at about \$600,000,000 a year. This, he says, is about equal to the value of the annual corn crop, nearly twice the value of the wheat crop, and more than six times the value of the pig iron produced, while the annual gold production would not pay for much more than one-third of it.

The figures seem beyond belief; but when one takes up any of the popular magazines, counts the number of advertising pages, and then reflects on the number of such publications and also of daily and weekly papers and the great space they fill with advertisements, he is led to think the estimate may not be extravagant after all. He will believe it more readily if he is himself an advertiser and knows something about the cost of publicity. A leading monthly published, not long ago, what it declared to be "the largest contract ever given to one magazine." It called for one page each month, for three years, with an option for two years additional, at \$4,000 a page, or \$48,000 a year. And this is only one publication out of many in which the same firm advertises.

With all its cost, however, this is a cheap way to put one's business before the public. The magazine that charges \$4,000 a page has a circulation of 950,000 copies, and a simple calculation will show that it distributes page advertisements at the rate of less than half a cent apiece, which is less than the cost of distributing the cheapest kind of circulars—with the additional advantage that the magazine is read by every member of the family and is preserved for months or years, while most of the circulars would probably be thrown into the waste-basket unread.

Another magazine, taken up for purposes of study, contains, in its issue current at this writing, 112 pages of reading matter and text illustrations, with 174 pages of advertising. This is rather more than the average amount of magazine advertising and probably represents that industry at about its best estate. It is worth studying. The longest advertisement in the number, excluding those of the publishers themselves, covers four pages. There are several that do not occupy more than half an inch apiece. In all there are 514 separate "ads." People who think magazine advertising is "done to death" will please take notice of this statement: Of the thousands of houses in the United States doing a general business, only 514 advertise in one of the most widely circulated magazines. Nor is this number to be multiplied by the whole number of magazines in order to learn the whole number of advertisers; for most of the more important advertisements in this magazine appear also in others, and many of them in nearly all. Besides, the magazine under consideration does not accept questionable advertisements or those of the more objectionable kinds of patent medicines. On the other hand, many of the small advertisements noted above do not appear in other publications, and many of them appear only once. It is also to be noted that some of the largest newspaper advertisers—the department stores, for instance—do little or no advertising in the magazines. Their bid is for local patronage only.

Taking all things into consideration, then, and making liberal allowance in estimating, it does not seem possible that the number of general—that is, magazine—advertisers in the whole country exceeds one thousand. One hardly likes to imagine what kind of a volume—library, rather—would be placed in his hands every month if all the competitors of the present advertisers were to follow their example in advertising. For instance, here are seven soap advertisements, ten of shoes, eight of cereals, seven of railroads, and as many of men's clothing. Why should not all the other soapmakers, shoemakers, millers, railroads, and clothing manufacturers in the country advertise

as well as these few? But what would happen to magazine readers if they did?

The schools of advertising, a recently developed branch of education, all assure their pupils that "the science of advertising is still in its infancy," and the figures just given seem to support the assertion. The magazines and other periodicals are crowded with advertisements, but there is an infinitely greater crowd of possible advertisers who are never heard from. The advertising schools have taken upon themselves the mission of sending into this mass of conservatism a leaven of young and energetic brain matter that will stir it all into activity, and the results are being seen already. Not only has the amount of advertising increased steadily in recent years, but the quality has improved. The old methods were sufficient for their day, when there was little competition and the men who dared advertise largely made fortunes with small intellectual effort; but now advertising is a profession in itself, and men of enterprise are fain to employ skilled writers and equally skilled artists to tell the public about their business—and these are developing the art of advertising, otherwise known as "the art of putting things." The business men are finding out that it is one thing to know what you wish to say and quite another thing to know *how* to say it, and that, while they may know the former, it is usually better to employ special talent to do the latter. Said one of them to a Chicago advertising agent who asked him for patronage: "I think I ought to know how to advertise my own business." "Yes," was the reply, "you ought to; but you are one man in a hundred if you do." And that is the view now generally taken in the business world. Even when a man doing a large business is thoroughly competent to advertise it himself, as many of them are, he does not have the time to give to this one of the many departments into which modern business divides itself. The large department stores, which fill newspaper pages with their advertisements and change them every day, employ not only one writer each but a corps of them. One man could no more fill an advertising page every day than he could write the entire contents of any of the other pages.

Department-store advertising is, indeed, one of the most difficult branches of the art. A well-constructed "ad." of this class is like a well-planned house—a credit to the architect. It is made of many parts, each complete in itself yet bearing a definite relation to every other; each "drawn to scale," neither too large nor too small; each an attractive feature in itself and made more so by its harmony with the general plan, and all so nicely arranged that, without any appearance of cutting and fitting, the advertisement shall occupy just the designated space—no more and no less. It is not an easy thing to do, even with the assistance that the printer is able to give with his deftly-placed "slugs" and "leads." Men who can do department-store advertising successfully command large salaries.

That the advertising schools are right, however, when they say the art is still in its infancy is evident from a study of the advertising in any periodical. The amount of money wasted in advertising that does not bring in proper returns must be enormous, and it may not be an error to say that the greatest waste is in the illustrations. There is no better form of advertising than a good picture; there is no worse one than a poor illustration—and too many of those published recently are poor. There is a difference of opinion among experts as to whether an illustration, to be effective, must be part of the advertisement or whether it will answer its purpose if it merely calls attention to the letter press. As a matter of space economy, it would seem that the former view is the correct one; yet the success of the well-known picture of the boy and the geese, which has no possible relation to the article advertised, is a pretty good argument on the other side. Perhaps the best rule is to make no rule at all, but be guided by the circumstances in each case.

But surely there can be little value in an illustration when it is used, virtually, by a number of different advertisers. When a man sees in a magazine half a dozen pictures of gentlemen dressed in well-tailored suits, accompanying as many advertisements, but all looking alike to him, he is apt to conclude that where there is so much monotony in the illustrations there

can be little originality in the goods—and go to his accustomed shop, in spite of the inducements held out in the advertisements. Probably a *tailor* could recognize differences, perhaps important ones, in the style, fit, or cut represented in these illustrations, but the average man is not a sartorial artist, and he would be more easily persuaded if the space taken up by illustrations that mean nothing to him were given to well-written descriptions of the goods offered, with reasons why he should buy them.

It is the same way with shoes, and especially with typewriters. Every advertiser of shoes seems to think it necessary to fill most of his space with a cut of the shoe he offers, which is very little different from that held out by his rival a page or two further on; while the typewriter cuts have about as much individuality as the conventional ship that the old newspapers used to place at the head of every marine announcement.

On the other hand, there are advertising cuts that are attractive pictures in themselves, and tell such interesting stories that no one who glances at them can overlook them or fail to read the letter press that goes with them; while they impress the complete story on his mind—another important object in advertising. The well-constructed advertisement is not only seen but remembered. It is not easy to make a picture of a suit or a shoe tell such a story, and some advertisers try to get around the difficulty by putting the suit in a drawing-room scene or the shoe on the foot of a handsomely-dressed woman; but these schemes require large space for their proper working out, and again the question arises whether they pay for the room they take up. When such subjects can be made attractive, the art of advertising rises to the dignity of high art. It is done occasionally. Readers sometimes see humdrum subjects so cleverly illustrated that the pictures are both artistic and interesting, while the burden of their story is strongly impressed on the mind. Very few men can do this, however, and they cannot do it all the time.

Some railroad advertisements present tempting views of the places to be reached by their lines and the scenery to be en-

joyed by the way ; but, as a rule, the railroads do comparatively little advertising in periodicals. They seem to rely more on the printed matter given out at their agencies and ticket offices—much of which is expensive and beautiful, but little or none of which reaches the public at large. The managers of the roads seem to argue that people who wish to travel in the territory reached by their lines will feel enough interest to step into their offices and ask for “folders ;” while it would be extravagant to waste pictures and print on people who do not intend to travel. It may be so. They ought to know ; but, on the principle that “the longest pole gathers the most persimmons,” it would seem that those roads which reach out after travelers must get more of them than those which simply wait for travelers to come to them. There are few sections of country, nowadays, that are not reached by more than one road. Besides, it is the function of an advertisement not only to attract business but to create it. Many a man who has no thought of traveling may be tempted by a seductive advertisement to take a trip on the road that issues the invitation.

The largest two classes of advertisers are the publishers of books and the proprietors of patent medicines, but there is a wide distinction between them. Both use cuts to about the same extent, which is in neither case excessive ; but that is almost the only point they have in common. They differ in form, manner, style, treatment, and field of advertising. The former are welcomed everywhere. The latter often find it difficult to secure admission. Some periodicals will not accept their advertisements at any price. Others make choice among them, accepting those which they consider least objectionable ; while those that take everything that comes along are apt to find themselves deserted by other classes of advertisers. Yet the patent-medicine men were pioneers in the advertising business. If they did not originate the display advertisement, they were among the first to use it on a large scale, and it was their success that taught other business men how to increase their trade. The world at large may not owe very much to the old patent-medicine advertisers, since it canceled the debt long ago

by giving them comfortable fortunes; but modern advertising must acknowledge their tuition.

The publishers set their advertisements in large type, with generous space to each, and give but few words to each book, unless, for some reason, they make a special plea in its behalf; while the medicine men use small type and try to pack as many words as possible into their space. Both, doubtless, know their business. A book may be seen and examined in the stores. It is reviewed in the newspapers and magazines. There are various ways of learning about it, and persons interested in literature do not need much more than to have their attention called to it; they will then investigate it for themselves. It is different with a medicine. Nobody helps to advertise that, and its proprietor must expound its merits at length if he would sell it. Moreover, to a person who is ailing, there is no other subject quite so interesting as his own illness. He studies its symptoms and everything relating to it, and reads with avidity long advertisements of patent medicines that, by skilfully describing symptoms of many diseases, are pretty certain to include some of his peculiar troubles among them. Hence, the medical advertisements that are a weariness and an offense to those in health furnish interesting reading to those who are ill—and doubtless bring much profit to the advertisers.

One of the commonest faults of other advertisers whose knowledge of the art is still "in its infancy" is to follow the example of the medical men in this respect, without having the same sound reason for it. They consult their wishes rather than their judgment. They have so much to say that they consider important that they crowd their space with small type and make their advertisements so unattractive that they are generally overlooked by the readers of the periodicals, who are often careless in scanning the advertising pages. In this way they defeat their own object and invest their money unprofitably. The tendency among leading advertisers is now toward the use of large type, set in unbroken lines as reading matter. This, when either standing by itself or surrounded, as it usually is, by other advertisements using various kinds of display, is

even more conspicuous than a picture; while the eye that falls upon it can scarcely help reading it, whether it is interested in the subject or not. Of course, if all advertisers should take up this style and have their announcements set in this type, there would be a dead level of uniformity and none of them would have any display at all; but, so long as human nature continues to be made up of so many dissimilar characters as it comprises at present, such a contingency is not to be feared.

An effective form of advertising in certain lines—it would not do at all in others—is the rhyme, or nonsense verse. This seems to be best adapted to street-car signs, and it is seldom seen anywhere else, but within its sphere it is effective when well done. Some new enterprises have been quickly established and old ones helped by cards containing a few lines of cheery verse, usually containing a point that stuck in the memory though the rhymes might not. But for some reason, perhaps because it does not appear to carry enough dignity, this style of advertising does not seem to find favor in the periodicals.

HENRY C. SHEAFER.

Philadelphia, Pa.

MODERN DRAMATIC REALISM.

THE trend toward realism on the part of certain modern playwrights seems to gather momentum with each succeeding theatrical season. Moreover, this realism appears to center with alarming directness largely about one phase of life—the portrayal of courtesans as heroines. This tendency should arouse question among all thoughtful people, but most especially among women.

It is to be suspected (and has been so stated) that women, through their patronage, consciously or thoughtlessly encourage playwrights in choosing the standard of their plays. It is further asserted that women throng the matinees where scenes of this character are set forth. If there be any ground for the imputation, woman has a plain duty to perform—at the present moment—in declaring what she approves of in dramatic art and what she condemns.

Woman is the dominant force in all social laws. She is the magnet around which society revolves. She can repel; she can attract; she can set up standards, and she can as readily lay them low. What is more to the point, she can set the standard for plays. We are aware that playwrights are so surrounded and wrapped in the art atmosphere that the vast ordinary public can never wholly see their motives. Whatever is seen, darkly, or glaringly, or with alarm on the part of the public, is invariably attributed by those within this art atmosphere to a lack of appreciation or entirely deficient comprehension of art. The public is aware of its so-called deficiency, and it modestly keeps silent over many things because it dreads to bring down on its defenseless head a sharp rap, to remind it that in its ignorance it has been condemning that wonderful and elusive thing called "art."

Leaving art out of consideration, and before we condemn

the playwright and his realism, which just now seems to be rather thrust upon us, let us inquire a little into stage productions. The playwright creates the play, it is true; but it is also true that whatever he offers has to be accepted by a manager before it is presented to the public. With the manager, then, rests the responsibility for acceptance. The manager is not constituted a censor to pass upon good or bad literary productions. He *may* do it; but his chief function is to stage the productions *that will pay*.

The playwright, then, must write along the lines likely to be accepted by managers. The Zaza-Sappho-Du Barry-Iris sort of managers speak plainly as to what subjects they think *will pay*. The playwrights who write down to that level demonstrate, over their signatures, that they write for profit only. The playwright must live, and he cannot well, under present conditions, get a play before the public except through the medium of the manager.

With the manager, then, rests the responsibility for presenting plays. We commonly see upon our billboards:

MR. JOHN DOE

presents

Mrs. LUCY LUCULLUS

in the thrilling Society Drama of

HOW DO YOU LIKE IT?

The name of the playwright is a mere incidental. The manager takes precedence of the star whose orbit he controls and regulates. These two are the great factors in the presentation.

Let us be fair to the manager. In the first place, let us inquire what he is, rather than who he is. He is mainly the financial backer—the one who assumes responsibility that money invested will meet with return. His first duty is to insure safe investment of the money he controls. It is not always his own money, or even largely so, but money placed at his disposal for investment as to a bank or confidential and trusted agent. Hence, the manager, despite the pleas or tears of a star, or the ardent representations of the playwright, is first concerned

about the return for the money he invests. No doubt many managers lean toward art and unstained drama; but their inclinations must always be squared with *box-office receipts*. Many attempts to elevate our stage have hitherto failed because the box-office receipts did not rise to the high level of the production. Many of the scattering plays that have failed have been highly moral, but they chanced to be unquestionably dull. Perhaps the manager, in his alarm over unprofitable plays, has gone off on the tangent surmise that the plays were dull by reason of their morality solely, and that, therefore, only plays that belittle morality, ridicule old standards, or excite the lowest passions or weaknesses of man can be made interesting or profitable. We are willing to assume that perhaps the overflow of passion-riven plays, with which our stage is flooded, is a result of hasty and mistaken conclusions on the part of managers who have become monomaniacs over box-office receipts. Perhaps, nay probably, we as a public have thoughtlessly supported them in arriving at the erroneous conclusion. In our insistence upon being amused, we patronize anything and everything that is offered, and thus swell the box-office receipts for plays that we condemn and deplore while witnessing them.

Here, then, comes the responsibility of the public. The managers may present what they choose. The public, likewise, has full choice to accept or reject what is offered by managers. Thus with the public rests the final and responsible acceptance of plays. No manager would persist in presenting plays that the public refused to patronize. Unquestioned patronage of distorted dramas, wherein scarlet women flaunt their presence in gorgeous attire, swaying men and events and dazzling and eclipsing all good women within their radii—by the very force and abandon of their unhealthy condition—cannot fail to lend countenance and consent to their continuance, not to mention a lack of sensibility as to social standards.

In certain well-paying plays of long run, the main motive set forth is the undraped licentiousness of the libertine and the undeniable prostitution of the heroine, unrelieved by any undercurrent of decency except what may remain latent in the imag-

ination. The continued presentation of these dramas cannot but tend to disrupt the bonds of decency that now surround society. That respectable wives, mothers, sisters, and sweet-hearts can look on them and come away without taint is beyond belief. None but the unwholesomely curious can appreciate such scenes.

I speak on behalf of a long-suffering, patient public, who do not, or have not intended to, lend consent to such productions, but who, thoughtlessly by silence and box-money, have seemed to indorse what they truly condemned. The success of "The Little Minister" and "Ben Hur" proves that plays do not fail because they are clean, wholesome, or moral. Plays fail only because they are dull, weak, or lacking in incident or human interest. Some may be too high for the general run of imaginations; but let no manager delude himself into the belief that a play ever failed because of its presentation of strong, clean, wholesome life problems.

Managers will continue to present what the public will accept through the box-office. In the box-office, then, rests the great regulator for stage productions. There the public casts its ballot for or against a play. If every ballot cast had to have the name publicly announced, I wonder if as many ballots would be cast as tickets are bought for certain plays by people who claim to be respectable.

It is not an excuse to say that one is obliged to go *once* and see because it is unfair to condemn what has never been seen. We have able and fair dramatic critics who frankly gauge productions for us. We have been warned in every instance where an immoral or reprehensible play has been presented. Let no one continue to shelter his or her morbid curiosity behind ignorance. Whoever patronizes such dramas does so because he or she is either indifferent or devoid of high moral sensibility.

Self-respecting men and women do not need enlightenment as to courtesans and libertines. We know all we want to know about them, and pity them accordingly. We pity them so deeply that no amount of glamour, no trappings flung about

them, can remove from us the painful sense of their decadence. Hence, the stage need not exalt these erring, perverted beings into heroes and heroines in order to induce our compassion. The true, self-respecting man or woman cannot find amusement in looking on at the process of vice breeding, however alluringly set forth or successfully wrapped with event and incident. To all self-respecting people the mere offering of such "attractions" to the public should be an offense.

The social evil hides its head and fears exposure, because it is yet believed that the public has decency enough to condemn whatever tends to weaken social law. Yet, on our stage, we are regaled with presentations of the social evil. The product of vice is held up to us for sympathy, admiration, applause. And we *pay* at the box-office to see what our social law condemns!

Has it required the theatrical manager to call the New York public to declare its measure of self-respect? If so, let us declare it so loudly that there will be no doubt as to our standing. If we can find such plays diverting, interesting, or amusing, then we declare our measure of self-respect by casting our ballot at the box-office and by unblushingly showing ourselves in such an audience. If we have the self-respect of our fathers we will demonstrate it by keeping away from productions that, to quote an eminent critic, "when you have passed an evening with them you long for a shower bath and a disinfectant." As a community, we should show so large a self-respect as to refuse to tolerate such affronts to public decency.

Let it no longer be said, with any shadow of truth, that *women* flock to matinees of such performances. Let the standard of self-respect be raised high enough, at least, to make women ashamed to form a part in such an audience.

It is remarkable, in an age when we are germ crazy and on the lookout for microbes on car straps, that we should be so thoughtless and unobservant of the insidious and prolific germ of moral depravity, termed "realistic art," that is fastening itself so surely on our stage.

Instead of casting the burden of responsibility upon the man-

ager and berating the playwright, let us be honest with ourselves and admit that *we* have been largely responsible through our patronage. Let us, then, have the courage of our convictions and demonstrate it by withholding support from the box-office where condemned plays are exploited. The self-respect and independence of the public thus asserted, manager, playwright, and play will quickly conform to the public demand.

FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY.

New York.

A CONVERSATION

WITH

J. M. PEEBLES, A.M., M.D.,

ON

NEW ZEALAND—POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND
RELIGIOUS.

Q. Dr. Peebles, as you have recently returned from New Zealand, I should like to know some of your impressions of that New England of the antipodes; for, owing to its distance from us, its topography, political and social innovations, it holds a very special interest for our readers. In the first place, what were your general impressions of the country, its growth and changes, there seen, in comparison with the island when you formerly visited it?

A. The New Zealand group of islands, ever nestling under the Southern Cross, and never privileged with a glimpse of the North Star, has been, not inaptly, considering climate, growth, and recent prosperity, called the Pearl of the South Pacific. It charmed me on my first visit about thirty years ago, and on this, my fourth voyage around the world, with past memories in mind, the old-time charm blossomed into a sort of uplifting ecstasy while considering the marvelous improvements everywhere manifest. They were ideals more than partially attained. Considered hopefully and internationally, they were golden prophecies of an incoming, better, higher, world-wide civilization.

The area of New Zealand is only a seventh less than that of Great Britain and Ireland, the Middle Island alone being larger than the combined areas of England and Wales. This Colony is about a thousand miles in length, with over three thousand

miles of coast-line, embracing several excellent harbors. Some of its mountains, overlooking hot sulphurous springs, are perpetually snow-clad, while the valley-lands in the vicinity of Auckland and farther north abound in quinces, figs, limes, lemons, and oranges. From flourishing olive groves there is already being manufactured a superior quality of olive oil. Traversing this prosperous Colony, so liberally diversified with mountains, valleys, grassy plains, crystal streams, and beautiful lakes, one is frequently reminded of Scotland in scenery, and of California in climate and semi-tropical fruits.

Though gifted with searching eyes, not a "tramp" did I see in this country; not a beggar's cry did I hear; not a trust or soulless syndicate could I find; nor did I witness in villa, town, or city, any poor, unemployed, sad-faced souls pleading for work, to keep away the wolf of poverty. Mark the contrast. A cablegram from London, published in this morning's paper, informs us that "50,000 unemployed workmen are to meet within a few days in Trafalgar Square to hear addresses and pass resolutions insisting that the Government take steps to find work, or devise means to help in some way the 700,000 unemployed in the United Kingdom." Hundreds of families poorly clad were on the point of starvation, with children crying for bread. Sadly we may add that a not altogether dissimilar state of affairs recently existed in Chicago, where many of the unfortunate poor were half freezing, or dying from a merciless coal famine—caused by selfishly conceived coal trusts, and further aggravated by the local, purse-inflated coal dealers; and all this in the morning-time of the twentieth century, and within hearing too of plush-festooned pulpits and costly church orchestras, musical with the words of the pitying Christ, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Q. I understand that land for actual settlers can be leased on the most liberal terms, while the taxation of idle land is such as to tend to destroy speculation in land. Does this seem to have resulted in any marked increase in homes for the people?

A. Emphatically, it has. Not only wide sheep ranges, but

small, well-kept-up farms, greet and gladden the eye wherever abound tillable lands. Some farms are necessarily new, revealing but partial development; while others older and carefully cultivated are dotted with fruit trees and conical straw-stacks—resultants of waving, ripening harvests. The New Zealand Government owns all the unsettled lands; hence, there are no great land syndicates—there can be none—such as blot the escutcheon of Texas, California, and some of the Western grain States. No man is permitted to select and own over 640 acres. Pastoral lands are limited to areas that will keep 20,000 sheep, or 4,000 head of cattle; and no person may own more than one pasture run.

The unimproved lands of landowners are taxed. The Government loans money to actual settlers. The three chief tenures in the land system are optional—the freehold for cash, occupation with right of purchase, and lease in perpetuity. The latter is for 999 years at 4 per cent. Further to equalize the distribution of lands and increase the population by actual settlers, the Government loans money to these new settlers at a low rate of interest, to assist them in their beginnings.

Fortunately honored with hospitalities and interviews with the Lord Chief Justice (Sir Robert Stout, a most learned, broad-minded jurist), Judge Edwards of the Supreme Court, William McLean, member of Parliament, Sir Joseph Ward, acting Premier, and other Government officials, together with travels and tramps over the farm-lands of the islands, I have to say without the least mental reservation that New Zealand is the most prosperous country that I have ever seen. That the people are conscious of this and feel proud of it is evidenced from the following quotations from Sir Joseph Ward's address delivered in Invercargill before an immense audience at the same time that I was there lecturing in the Young Men's Christian Association Hall:

"It will be within the recollection of many who are listening to me this evening that the United States of America have often been pointed out as the land of freedom, the land of progress, the land where governmental conditions were all in favor of the

advancement of the people; but it is singular that the most numerous inquiries concerning the conditions prevailing in New Zealand for the last few years have been coming from America. I have personally received many letters asking for copies of our advanced laws and reports as to the working of them. But America, although a great country, and one for which I have the most profound admiration, is still behind New Zealand in some respects, which I will briefly refer to. As far as the use of the power of the State for the well-being of the people is concerned, the people of New Zealand themselves own the railways, the postal and telegraph services, and the telephone system; and the Colony has its own Public Trust office, its own Insurance office, and its Advances to Settlers office, not one of which is controlled by the people of the United States of America.

"Imagine, if you can, what the condition of affairs would be in this country if the great national works and systems just enumerated were privately owned. You would have exorbitant rates, whilst your privileges would be very much curtailed, and the country would be at a standstill for the means of opening up the fertile lands, which would be lying dormant and useless. In New Zealand the poorest individual has the same privilege as the wealthiest one, so far as the use of the State institutions I have mentioned is concerned. This, however, is not as in America. If you desire an exemplification of the power of the purse compared with the power of the State as affecting the interests of the people, turn to the great millionaires of America, such as the Rockefellers, the Goulds, Morgans, and others, and see the great advantages secured to them by their wealth over the smaller competitor in the same line of business. There the god of wealth overshadows almost every one of the great industries upon which the people have to depend for their existence, and in such a way as to make the people long for the assistance and protection that the Government affords to the inhabitants of New Zealand.

"In America, it is not the Government but the large speculator who commands the railroads and all those avenues through which the producer must send his goods to the markets, the latter being tuned up to any amount that the speculator, whose only interest is in his pocket, chooses to impose. America is the land of 'corners,' and the country where powerful men, with enormous wealth, operate to the disadvantage of the working classes. In New Zealand, however, the Government has, so

far, prevented anything of this kind taking place. Those in this country who tell you that the State ought not to be used as it is to assist the people will, upon close investigation of matters, be compelled to admit that the great concerns that the Government has taken in hand, and such as have been run in other countries by private enterprise, have resulted greatly to the benefit of the people as a whole. In regard to our State-owned railways, telegraphs, telephones, etc., I unhesitatingly assert that we are at least fifty years ahead not only of the United States, but, in the case of our railways, of England itself."

The above ringing address is certainly much in consonance with what is sometimes termed, by multi-millionaires, capitalists, and political laggards, "Socialism." This may be true. No student of economics doubts that there is a tendency—a rapidly growing sentiment—in this country toward the municipal ownership of street railways, gas works, lighting systems, and all public utilities, largely because of the monstrous abuses and piracies of private ownerships. Had Pennsylvania or Illinois owned those seemingly exhaustless coal mines which caused the great Pennsylvania coal strike, and later those oppressive coal famines, with their withering consequences of pitiful suffering and premature death, these terrible results would not—could not—have happened under the ægis of American civilization. This mighty drift of thought to-day touching Government ownership is not utopian, but tends rather toward progress and a solid, practical socialism, based upon the Golden Rule of Confucius and Jesus.

Q. There are three questions touching popular ownership in New Zealand that I wish to ask: (1) Are the interests of the community better conserved under popular ownership than under private ownership? (2) How do the people seem to like governmental ownership of public utilities? and (3) Is its showing such as to commend it to you?

A. These sturdy New Zealanders, with a rich flow of Scottish blood pulsating in their veins, decidedly "like governmental ownership of public utilities." If they did not, they would quickly and possibly rashly rise, like a cyclonic tempest, demanding in the name of human rights a change, and that change

for the better right speedily. Bear in mind that the people (man, woman, and Maori) of New Zealand, under Britain's flag, hold the unquestioned right of franchise.

Carefully, conscientiously considering the question of national progress from its social and moral bearings, as well as financial, I am thoroughly convinced that the interests of communities would be infinitely better conserved by the Government ownership of railways, telegraphs, telephones, water privileges, and the coal fields than through private ownership—an ownership often so intensely, madly selfish and over-reaching as to be actuated by no higher principle than that might makes right. New Zealand prosperity “commends” itself not only to myself personally, but so it should to the intelligent classes of every clime and country.

If poor, plague-stricken India is the hades of superstition, poverty, and Asiatic shiftlessness, New Zealand, Switzerland-like in scenery, is the paradise of health and thrift. Their buxom, full-waisted, red-cheeked girls are the ideals of all brainy men. The corset curse is mostly out of date.

The most of the best crown lands of New Zealand have already been disposed of, and always upon the principle of “the land for the people,” “homes for the workmen;” hence the practical philosophy of restricting the area that any one man should hold. By the way, if an individual permits his land to decline for want of attention or cultivation, the Government commission investigates the matter; and after proper warning and advising, if there is no improvement, this land is forcibly sold for what it is worth and put into more industrious and trustworthy hands. The Government, paternal in spirit, seeks only the right, the just, and the good of the governed.

Q. From a religious and an educational view-point, how does New Zealand compare with Australia?

A. Australia, really an oceanic continent, is now a Federation, a Commonwealth of States, the controlling Government being located at Melbourne. This country, torrid in the north, is subject to hot winds and persistent droughts a portion of the year, little or no rain falling about forty miles back from

the sea-coast; yet it is steadily advancing along the lines of mining and agricultural improvements. The people are more conservative than in New Zealand. Roman Catholicism and Calvinistic Presbyterianism dominate the daily press of Melbourne. The press of Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington (the capital), and other cities of New Zealand voices all religions, orthodox and heretical, with equal fairness. Bigotry has no head and cannot think, no heart and cannot feel, no soul and cannot aspire; its pious pretensions are curses, and its besotted ignorance is only excelled by its brazen impudence.

Finally, all things candidly considered, New Zealand is the most liberal-minded, fraternal-spirited, thrifty, and advanced country in the world. I say it with all due admiration and patriotic love for my native New England.

Q. Will you tell us something of other reforms and innovations that have been introduced, and how they seem to be working?

A. Probably the most ennobling and, in effect, far-reaching innovation introduced of late years was the Parliamentary act of 1893, which granted to the Colonial women of both races the right of registration and franchise. Here, then, woman crowned with the stern justice of equality may walk in the glory of her womanhood to the polling-booth, ballot in hand, and say through parliamentary enactments who may governmentally rule over her. "Does she *use* the ballot privilege?" This is an ever-recurring question with those who believe in the expediency of male officials and male governments. Emphatically, they *do* use, not so much their "privilege," but their inalienable *right* to the ballot. Here is the documentary proof (New Zealand Year Book, 1901, p. 321): "The figures relating to women show that a larger proportion (95.24 per cent.) of adults were registered as electors in 1899 than in 1896 (89.13 per cent.), which would indicate an increasing disposition to use the franchise." The better and the more cultured class of women, without an exception, so far as I heard, favored the franchise. There were and doubtless are some New Zealand women opposed to equal sex-franchise, and so some of the

fashionable, feet-crippled Chinese women in the Canton regions are opposed to the healthier, natural-sized feet of the Tartar Chinese. The tyrant Fashion has her cringing slaves under all skies.

Among the evening entertainments aboard the "Runic," homeward-faced, with its thousand passengers bound for London, was an interesting discussion favoring woman's right of franchise. Honored with the evening's chairmanship, I richly enjoyed the hotly contested battle. It was brains, modesty, and refinement against numbers. Men alone did the hissing. Only one woman's voice was heard in the negative, and her chief point was "the disinclination of the women in her city neighborhood (Auckland, New Zealand) to go to the polls." The reason was obvious. There was no great moral question involved that year.

Talk as the thoughtless may, woman is more affectional, refined, and spiritually-minded than man. She neither smokes, chews, gambles, swears, nor drinks so much crime-breeding liquor as do men. She is morally better; hence the absolute necessity of her voice in politics and her uplifting influence at the polls. Every intelligent woman should be a recognized independent unity, having the right of franchise and using it. Every conception of hers should be immaculate. Every child thus wisely conceived should be ardently, lovingly wanted as a new bud in the home garden, and when born should prove, by heredity, to be a very Christ, afire with the grand upreaching ideal of infinite possibilities. Heaven help us all daily to see more of the peerless wealth of womanhood and the divinity of motherhood! The preliminary skirmishing relative to the ballot for women was long ago over in New Zealand. Caricature, ridicule, prudery, mossy conventionalism, priestly meddling—these did their worst. Justice and reason—those incisive, all-conquering master spirits—asserted themselves and became victors. Woman suffrage, inspiring the higher sensibilities and exalting the ethical standard of conduct, is now for all times an established fact in New Zealand.

Another marked innovation was the granting of the fran-

chise to the natives. They are called Maoris, and number about 50,000 pure bloods. About two hundred Maori wives have English husbands. The physiognomy, stalwart physiques, and forms as stately as our original Sioux Indians indicate their ancient Aryan origin, necessarily modified by travels and migrations among the Malays and Indo-nesion isles. Their traditions tell of reaching New Zealand in a fleet of canoes. The learned trace Semitic and Aryan words in their dialects. They practised circumcision, and their government was patriarchal. The English, seeing their possibilities, and thinking it wiser to teach them than to kill them, to filch their lands or gold fields, took extra pains to educate them. Very many of them are now land-holders, and all are voters. Four of these Maoris are now in Parliament, and one, an excellent speaker, is in the Ministry. When will America so educate her Indian tribes as to elect a Red Jacket or an Osceola to a seat in Congress—or permit an Elizabeth Cady Stanton to honor our Senate?

It may not be amiss to mention (touching "innovations") that New Zealand has no compulsory vaccination law. This advanced people would look upon such a parliamentary enactment as a menace to personal liberty. They consider every man's house his castle, and therefore would permit no preacher compulsorily to poison their children's minds with theology, and no doctor to poison their blood with vaccine virus, whether it were originally syphilitic or small-pox virus passed through the inflamed pustules of a cow. In either case it would have the aura and the mark of the beast. Compulsory vaccination in any country is proof of either pathological ignorance or a decline of conscience. Utah passed a rigid law about two years ago making it unlawful for any board of health or board of education to make vaccination a necessary condition for attendance at public or private schools. Virus vaccination has not a redeeming quality, and must go, as did bleeding, as did catharsis by mercury, and other drastic drug poisons. Only Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen will weep.

THE TOWN THAT WAS SOLD.

A PROPHETIC SATIRE.

BY P. M. CROSBY MAGNUSSON, A.M., PH.D.

Happy Urbania! She enjoyed to the full all the beatitudes and blessings of "free" competition. Urbania was and is a town of about fifty thousand inhabitants in the land of the great American Republic—or Empire (take your choice). That is, Urbania *was* happy.

The good old order of things is all over now. But while it lasted the following were some of its blessings: An ordinary one-story, fifty-foot front store location rented for about sixty dollars a month—that is, in the best retail district of the city. Of these sixty dollars, perhaps ten were a fair rent for the *buildings*. The fifty dollars were paid for pure space. For pure space was a monopoly in Urbania, and about one per cent. of the inhabitants owned it and the ninety and nine paid tribute for the right to exist in the town.

Just watch those fifty dollars! You will find that by visible and invisible ways they and thousands of other contributions from every nook and corner of the town wend their way up to the fashionable quarter where the Lords of the Land live. As each landless man delivers his tribute, he gets from his Lord—landlord—a paper stating that the Lord agrees to leave him alone for another month in consideration of the tribute paid. Just as in the days of feudalism! Then many a city paid its lord a round sum to be left alone—to be free from military duty to the lord, from his tolls, and from his courts. There are some minor differences, of course. Titles are dropped, and the tenant may keep his hat on in the presence of the man who owns the space he occupies. Also, all poetic glamour has left the business.

An enterprising mathematician calculated that the average respectable family paid at least three hundred dollars a year for the mere right to exist in Urbania. This is no slur on Urbania, nor on its Lords of the Land. We are not such anarchists as to assert that it is wicked for real estate to be valuable. We simply state the fact. The Urbanite family paid three hundred dollars a year for standing room only; not in rents merely: the grocer, butcher, and tailor each made an additional charge on every purchase—though not itemized—to help pay his own heavy store rent.

No one could breathe the air of Urbania without paying for it to the Lords of the Land—and Air and Sky. Every farmer that came to town to sell a dozen eggs and buy a plug of tobacco had to fork over a mite of tribute to the Lords of Space. For he got less for his eggs and paid more for his tobacco because the dealer he sold to and bought from did not pay sixty dollars a month rent just for his health.

These Lords of Space were very estimable people, as a whole. Most of them had come by their wealth honestly, either by inheritance or by happening to have land in Urbania before the "boom." They spent their time much more respectably, or at least much less ferociously, than their prototypes, the fighting lords of feudalism. Occasionally a young blade would spend his time chasing actresses, but the vast majority grew up to be staid (and stupid?) pillars of society—Sunday-school teachers, directors in the library board, and managers of charity balls and rummage sales. They slept late of mornings, dawdled away most of the forenoon on the morning paper and breakfast, finally went "down town" to the office, signed a few letters written by the "type-writer," read the mail, took a dyspeptic lunch, wore the seat of the office chair a little longer, chatted with other Lords of Space on politics or "finance," and then went home to dinner and social duties with a clear conscience of a day well spent.

All a Lord of Space needed, to be "successful," was—besides absolute control of valuable space—the intelligence of a lobster and the push of an oyster; but they were looked up to as

eminent "financiers," "captains of industry," and "men of genius equal to Shakespeare's." As a consequence, a diversion of their daily program consisted in addressing high-school pupils, sociological gatherings of workingmen, and platform meetings in the churches on "how to succeed in life." The impression they left was that every earnest young man "before me" could, by "intelligence, thrift, forethought, economy, energy, honesty, and piety," earn his million before his hair was gray. The insinuation was always that the speaker's own millions were the result of sheer genius and virtue, and that everybody who was not idiotic or wicked was bound to become wealthy; "for," and this was always the great finale, "this is a *free* country of *equal* opportunity, and every honest, earnest lad before me has the *same* chance to rise in the world as had Gould, Vanderbilt, Rockefeller, Morgan, or I."

The beauties of free competition were many. Fifty grocers' wagons and a hundred milkmen's carts raced past one another all over town. Almost every one of these teams had to traverse the whole city. There were four daily newspapers in town and half a dozen weeklies. These were fed by advertisements to at least the extent of sixty per cent. of their income. This meant an additional tax on business houses from ten dollars a month to fifty dollars per day for "ads." So, when an Urbanite bought anything, from a pinch of salt to a piano, he always paid from one to seventy per cent. of the price for being convinced that he needed the article and that he ought to buy of Smith instead of Jones.

Urbania had also a private corporation street railroad, which charged a five-cent fare for a three-cent ride. Private corporations furnished water, heat, gas, electricity, and telephone connections. All were conducted on "business principles"—from the point of view of the private corporations. The consumers, to be sure, paid a double price for these necessities, but then they had the satisfaction of knowing that they lived under the divine dispensation of "free competition" and that the heresy of Socialism had not insinuated itself among them under the guise of public ownership.

This ought to convince you that Urbania was a happy, up-to-date town enjoying all the blessings of civilization.

* * * *

A young man, looking for all the world like an ordinary knight of the grip, arrived one morning at the Grand Mogul Hotel. That arrival—though they knew it not—was the end of the Old Order of Things in Urbania.

This mysterious individual first of all “studied up” the town. Those people who always know said that he was a reporter for some newspaper who was giving the town a write-up; but his conscientious regard for facts and contempt for real estate fancy did not well harmonize with this guess.

Every American town has a lot of “has been” real estate. Cities are in constant motion and creep up and down the land, slowly but surely. The residence portion crawls away from the business blocks, and these shift and move for every new railroad, factory, addition, or sometimes, as it seems, from the sheer caprice of fashion. As a result we have that most depressing, squalid, and forlorn place in the universe—that which was *once* the choice business or residence quarter of a city. Here is a world of shattered hopes, squalid despair, and shabby indifference. This “world” is always for sale cheap.

Our young enigma invested in several blocks of such land in Urbania. The property was well located, only a block or two away from the best business portion of the city. But some popular whim had decreed that nothing but ruins could flourish here.

A week later the second-class hotels were flush with guests. A crew of several hundred workingmen came to town and began to clear away everything that encumbered the earth on these dozen blocks. On the average, every Urbanite spent half an hour a day guessing what had struck his town, but the sum total of wisdom thereby produced on this point was not excessive. The majority guessed that some capitalist had decided to give the town a boom.

A month later a new force of workers appeared on the scene and the old crew vanished. Brick, mortar, stone, lime, lumber,

and building hardware arrived by the train load. Urbania had a boom, the papers said. Hotels and saloons did a rushing business. Every store in town began to pick up. The broad, placid smile of prosperity adorned the faces of the business men. Yet no one more than guessed the meaning of all these buildings.

Another deluge of train-loads! The buildings were finished and filled. Now the cat was out of the bag. *There stood a complete new city.* Urbania of old was superseded. Department stores, hotels, apartment houses, flats, tenement houses, light manufacturing establishments among which was a complete and very large printing plant, power-house, electric light plant, theater, library, and free public bath—all these, and more, were there.

The business men of Urbania needed no interpreter to proclaim what this meant to them. That very evening a mass-meeting was held in the rickety old shed that went by the name of "city opera house," and there it was resolved to boycott the nefarious "trust" that had settled down amongst them. Rather would they starve than buy a cent's worth of goods from these sinister designers.

A third of Urbania was there, and this third meant what it said. The butcher would rather have Lent to the end of his days than buy his meat from the new concern; the milliner, likewise, would rather have worn her old hat a century than buy a new one of this hated gigantic competitor.

Two-thirds of Urbania were *not* there, and hence went with a good conscience to the grand opening the next day. They found behind the counters Urbanites only, as a rule, for the policy of the new concern was to employ "natives" as far as possible. These people had been warned of the impending doom some days before, and had been offered a place in the ark of refuge, which they had accepted.

The bottom dropped out of everything at Urbania. In less than a year every private business had vanished. The Lords of Space were lords no longer, for their real estate had only the value of farming land. When prices had reached rock

bottom, the "trust," as it was called by the Urbanites, bought up the whole site of the city. Now it owned the city itself—street-car lines, gas, electricity, water, real estate—everything in sight.

On the very opening day, six pushing young fellows introduced themselves to the manager as advertisement solicitors for the different journals in the city. "For, of course," as one expressed himself, "you recognize the value of advertising. No business can long prosper that does not keep itself before the public by means of the press." The manager only smiled, and said that for the present he should have to try to worry along without advertisements.

A few days later the trust started two political papers—one Republican and the other Democratic. The papers were identical in contents, except as to the political "leaders," and they contained only one local advertisement. This was a very modest and matter-of-fact directory to the department stores of the trust. No attempt at display was used, and no bargains were advertised. We need scarcely state that within a few months every periodical in Urbania was dead except the two trust papers. Their local advertisers had perished, and no out-of-town advertiser cared to waste money in advertising where the whole market was in the possession of one concern.

The hotels that were not of the trust soon closed. The trust hotels had naturally all the business and patrons furnished by the trust, and there was no longer any money in the transient patronage, because not a "drummer" came to town. They had no reason to come. The department stores sent buyers to New York twice a year; hence, the manager would not even interview a traveling salesman.

Formerly, during the age of free competition, the rule was that the poorer a hovel was the surer it was to be inhabited. Several Lords of Space derived their chief income from renting miserable shacks in the suburbs for from three to five dollars a month. The expense for taxes, repairs, and insurance was trifling, and, though the rent was small, "many a mickle makes a muckle." Now *this* business was ruined. The trust offered

comfortable and sanitary quarters in its new tenement houses at a lower rate.

The Age of Industrial Feudalism had passed; the Age of Industrial Despotism had come.

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The real owner of Urbania was long an unknown personality; but finally, when his victory was complete and his rule established, he deigned to reveal himself. Urbania was not owned by a trust, but by one man, a millionaire a hundred times over, whose home was in New York. He was a philanthropist and a reformer as well as a financier, and he intended to reestablish Eden in Urbania. He succeeded. Urbania was a perfect economic machine. There was no waste. Save theater posters, there was not a wall advertisement in town. Grocers and butchers did not waste half the day in taking up orders. Every family in comfortable circumstances had a telephone, and sent in its orders thus. The servant-girl problem was solved. The owner of Urbania established a great kitchen and offered to supply ready-to-serve meals at so slight an advance over uncooked groceries that two-thirds of his vassals accepted the offer at once. Carloads of second-hand stoves left Urbania in the next few weeks. His laundry rates were so cheap that not a washboard in all Urbania was rubbed. Poverty was banished. Every citizen was sure of work as long as he was able to do it, and of a pension in sickness and old age. Every employee—and that meant every worker in Urbania—was forced to deposit a certain percentage of his salary (*a*) for insurance and old-age pension and (*b*) as a savings bank deposit. There were no saloons, no gambling dens, and no houses of ill fame in the city.

This benevolent despotism had its—well, its peculiarities. The owner of Urbania was as strong on “social purity” as a maiden aunt with marriageable nephews. Theater posters showing women in tights were interdicted, and one could see the advance agent early in the morning painting skirts over the objectionable figures, “by order of the council.” The ballet was forbidden in the opera, and all *risque* plays came to Ur-

bania with innocent names. But somehow the fast set had a way of spreading information, and very highly-flavored things indeed took place on the scenic boards in prudish Urbania, though the posters were so prim.

On moral grounds, our despot was also a strong "gold man." He believed that free silver was repudiation, theft; and the ukase went forth that every person known to have free-silver leanings would be summarily dismissed from employment. The day before election the army of workers were informed that, unless the gold ticket had a majority of one thousand in Urbania, the owner felt obliged to stop all his factories and reduce the salary of all other employees.

He did not believe in evolution and the higher criticism, and the city library board very carefully weeded out all books bearing on these subjects. As a result, the book list in the Urbania library was a little lopsided; but then—

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One day the news came that the owner of Urbania was dead. The flags were dutifully placed at half-mast, and there was sincere grief in Urbania. The people had reason to grieve, for the son that succeeded the founder of the dynasty was a man that needed money and had none of his father's scruples. Salaries were reduced; hours of work were lengthened; the inspiration of a hope for competence was removed, and Urbania, from being the most happy city in the land, became the most miserable. But what could the people do? They were abject subjects under their new master. They could leave town, to be sure; but an economic change of base is often equivalent to economic ruin. They were vassals: he was their lord.

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This tale is neither history nor fiction, but prophecy. Railroad monopolies are only the clumsy beginnings. Land is the great basis of all economic despotisms; and the day may soon be here when whole cities will be bought and sold as readily as now a railroad.

What are we going to do about it?

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

THE RELATION OF THE TRUSTS TO INDIVIDUAL WELFARE AND NATIONAL INTEGRITY.

PART I. A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE QUESTION.

I. THE GOOD TRUSTS AND THE BAD TRUSTS.

The friends of trusts and monopolies, whether open defenders or covert apologists, insist that there are good trusts and bad trusts, or that some trusts may be compared to the wheat and others to the tares. Then, assuming that this premise is sound, they oppose all really vital legislative measures lest the protection of the people from the rapacity of monopoly might cripple the good trusts.

A short time ago a leading Administration daily of the Northwest, which had been parroting the platitudes of the political representatives of corporate interests, was challenged to name five good trusts; and, to the credit of the editor, he frankly acknowledged that, after going over the list of the trusts or monopolies now being operated by private individuals in this country, he could not name five trusts entitled to be called good.

Now, it is far from our purpose to deny the possibility of there being such a thing as a good trust or monopoly. In a truly republican government, where the initiative, the referendum, and proportional representation obtained, I am thoroughly convinced not only that popular ownership and operation of natural monopolies would prove examples of good and beneficent trusts, but also that the trend of civilization and the logic of events will ere long demonstrate this fact beyond cavil.

Even under present faulty political conditions the Post-Office Department is an example of a trust or monopoly whose beneficent influence is everywhere recognized, and whose shortcomings are so small in comparison with its helpfulness that it may

fairly be said to be an example of a good trust. In England, where the railroads are not allowed to rob the nation of millions annually in exorbitant car rentals and transportation charges, where the express companies are not so powerful as to thwart all attempts to secure parcel-package delivery, and where the banks are not so powerful as to prevent postal savings, we find letters carried at the rate of four ounces per penny or two cents throughout the empire, liberal rates for publications, a postal package delivery service that is unsurpassed, and postal savings banks that more than aught else have encouraged the poor to lay up money for old age.

Thus, where the post-office is not hampered and unduly governed by the baleful influence of *private trusts or monopolies*, and where it is not crippled by bad corporations, we have a striking illustration of a *good trust*.

The German government several years ago took over some of the railroads of the empire, with a view to determining whether or not the national ownership and operation of railways would be more advantageous to the people than private ownership. After a full trial the advantages of public ownership became so evident that popular sentiment is said to have been won over from a skeptical attitude to one enthusiastically and overwhelmingly in favor of national ownership and operation of all roads. Therefore, the recent action of the government in arranging to take over five of the principal roads remaining in private hands has been received with general favor. It is evident that in Germany the people and the rulers regard national ownership of the railroads as a good kind of trust.

Hence, while public ownership and operation of utilities may be beneficent, and while such ownership (where the people have direct supervision, as they would have under majority rule) would represent truly good trusts, monopolies that are owned and controlled by a few individuals or a special class, for the enrichment of their owners through exploitation of labor on the one hand and unjust and unwarranted exactions from the consuming public on the other, are in the nature of the case perilous to the State and oppressive to the individual.

I have yet to learn of a great monopoly or trust, organized long enough to become rich and powerful, that has not sought to secure special privileges and to prevent the enactment and enforcement of laws aimed only at safeguarding the public from illegitimate exaction and oppression, or that has been

satisfied with fair profits and the large gain in savings resulting from the destruction of competition. If there are any cases where a prosperous monopoly or trust has not plundered the people by excessive charges, they are such rare exceptions that the apologists and special pleaders for corporate interests have not deemed it wise to name them.

No. In proportion as a monopoly grows in wealth and power it becomes an engine of political corruption and of popular oppression. It enormously enriches the few at the expense of the many. It creates classes in a republic, and by so doing places the very genius of free government in jeopardy. It undermines national integrity while robbing the millions.

II. FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POPULAR AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

In considering this question it must be remembered that the difference between public ownership and operation of a business or utility and a private monopoly or trust is radical and fundamental. In the first instance it is the ownership by all the people for the mutual benefit of all. Here the advantages, the gains, the improvements, and the savings are enjoyed by the whole community, while under private ownership a relatively small group or class of individuals banded together are enriched at the expense of the vast majority of the community. Thus while in the first instance the spirit of the monopoly is democratic, in that it serves and benefits each individual in the State, in the second case it is reactionary and autocratic in spirit, in that it benefits or enriches a small class at the expense of the vast majority of individuals, and that it inevitably tends to separate society into classes—something absolutely inimical to the democratic spirit.

Moreover, under public ownership not only is the well-being of the people served and the democratic spirit preserved, but public morals are conserved in that the temptation to amass fortunes for the private purses of the few is removed; while in the case of private corporations and monopolies there is waged a continual battle for special privileges that will make the people the helpless prey to corporations that become predatory bands, animated by a spirit not unlike that which controls the Italian bandits. And all attempts to enact legislation that would serve to safeguard the interests of the people against unjust aggression and oppression by the trusts are fought by

the various demoralizing methods that from time immemorial have been employed by wealth to circumvent the ends of justice. Not only is wealth largely employed to corrupt government and powerful lobbies engaged to assist in defeating the public welfare, but government itself soon becomes honeycombed in all its departments with tools, agents, apologists, and champions of corporate greed; and thus the miasma of corruption permeates the whole fabric of government and subtly but rapidly disintegrates the very integrity that is the glory and bulwark of free institutions.

I think it is safe to say that the corporations and monopolies have corrupted and debauched municipal, State, and national life far more than all other agencies combined. Examine if you will the chief sources of public scandal. It matters not in what direction you look. Whether it be the *Credit Mobilier*, the whisky trust, or the embalmed beef scandal; whether it be the attempted debauchery of State governments as exemplified in the recent efforts in the Illinois legislature to give the enormously valuable street-car franchises of Chicago to a corrupt corporation despite the all but universal protest and active opposition of the city of Chicago; whether it be the sickening exhibitions of municipal corruption as manifested in the recent action of the Philadelphia municipal officers in giving enormously valuable street-car franchises to a grasping corporation, while they refused to consider the offer of millions of dollars for the same franchises from Mr. Wanamaker; or the equally astounding bribery revelations so recently exposed in St. Louis—in all these cases, which are merely typical or representative of the scandals continually coming to light, the debauching or corrupting influence has been corporate or monopoly interests working through various channels.

III. THE GOOD AND BAD FEATURES OF THE TRUSTS.

Though it would be difficult if not impossible to find a private trust or monopoly that could be called good or beneficent, there are features of the trusts that are most admirable. Indeed, if their economic methods had not been in alignment with the present sweep or trend of civilization, it would have taken many generations to achieve the power attained in a few decades.

The friends and apologists of the trusts seize upon the excellent features and seek to disregard or minify the evils; while

their opponents see only the grave evils and the perils arising from their rapid augmentation of power, and denounce them in sweeping terms as something wholly bad. Thus we have a vast amount of indiscriminate praise and blame arising from confusion of thought relating to the historic and philosophic facts taught by events of the last century and a quarter. And in order to gain a right sense of proportion, in order to be at once wise and just in our views and conclusions, it is necessary that we clearly apprehend the fundamental mistake of our revolutionary fathers, which rendered possible the rise of a new aristocracy with its arrogance and oppression.

The great Revolution shattered for the moment the old idea of divine rights and special privileges. It emancipated the brain and body of millions and raised a new and noble ideal of freedom, justice, fraternity, and equality of opportunities and privileges upon the ashes of the age-long concept of privilege born of force, prejudice, superstition, and selfishness. Had the vision of the master minds that gave final shape to the Revolution been broad and great enough to insist upon the acceptance of the new divine message in its entirety; had they at once possessed sublime faith in truth and justice and been great enough to sink all selfishness before the august new demand; or had the masses of the people been sufficiently enlightened to insist upon each and all receiving the rights and blessings flowing from justice, fraternity, and equality—the evils and oppression that to-day curse society and crush joy, peace, and growth out of millions of lives might happily have been escaped. But, unfortunately for the rapid and uninterrupted progress of civilization, our fathers made the fatal error, as Mazzini so clearly showed, of mistaking the means for the end. They accepted freedom as the ultimate instead of the means for securing the ultimate of justice and fraternity that depend upon equality of rights, privileges, and opportunities for all the people. Freedom in itself possesses no ethical life or force, but justice and fraternity are supreme expressions of moral or spiritual truth. Without these principles as the controlling and guiding power in the State, any government will degenerate into a despotism under one of many well-known forms.

Before such a thing as justice for the people, as the triumph of the spirit of fraternity in society, and the logical and necessary sequence flowing from their recognition—equality of opportunity and privilege—could obtain, the old order with its

classes and caste, based on privilege and bulwarked by the divine right idea, had to be overthrown. Freedom had to prevail where oppression, injustice, ignorance, superstition, and mental servitude had long held sway. Thus liberty was the absolutely necessary means to the end of justice and fraternity.

It was perhaps not strange that the new sunburst of life and joy and hope that came with her advent so dazzled the imagination of man that he forgot all else except liberty, and thus mistook the necessary means for the end. This mistake, however, was fatal in proportion as the demands of justice, fraternity, and equality of privileges and opportunities were denied men. Egoism assumed abnormal proportions, and the old spirit of arrogance, intolerance, and oppression began to drive out altruism and more and more subordinate the ideal of justice, brotherhood, and equality.

Upon this false foundation there began to arise a new aristocracy based on wealth—the aristocracy of the bourgeois. Its growth at first was slow and its spirit too timid to occasion the alarm of the unsuspecting masses. Moreover, with the new reign of freedom competition reached its apogee, and in the warfare of manufacturer with manufacturer, of merchant against merchant, and tradesman against tradesman, the manual laborer and the consumer were protected in a manner that would not have obtained if they had been the victims of arbitrary and egoistic monopolies, such as prevailed under various monarchic rulers in the old days when the State farmed out privileges to small bands.

Yet war was the very animating spirit of competition. It bred savagery and cunning, and, though the scenes of remorseless conflict and craft had been removed from the plane of the physical to that of the mental, the warfare was none the less demoralizing to the moral integrity of the individual and of society. Furthermore, attending this warfare was also frightful waste of brain and brawn—a waste that, while it prevented the absorption of wealth in the hands of the few from being as rapid as it otherwise might, was nevertheless borne by the producer and consumer.

With the new freedom that came as a result of the Revolution, the emancipated brain plumed itself for new and daring flights. Discovery after discovery in the world of physical science followed in rapid succession; while invention vied with discovery in the number and the marvelous character of its utilitarian devices. The hitherto hidden or little-known forces

of Nature were harnessed and employed for revolutionizing the face of the world, until the most remote corners of the earth were brought into such intimate touch that they are more accessible to-day than centers a few hundred miles removed were a century earlier.

The changed conditions made new economic demands. Single individuals could no longer effectively cope with the possibilities that opened before the dazzled vision of man. Only the people collectively, or the nation, or groups of the most powerful individuals in the business world could wring from the present all that lay within the grasp of power.

Had the high ideals of the Revolution prevailed, nothing would have been easier than the rapid utilization of the new discoveries and inventions for the further enrichment, emancipation, and development of all the people. But the fatal mistake of the Revolution had made it possible for the new world of possibilities to be utilized by the few for the exploitation and oppression of the many and the building up and bulwarking of a new and powerful aristocracy, with a spirit even more arrogant, insolent, and oppressive than that which marked the feudalism of medieval Europe.

About fifty years ago Karl Marx and other really profound economists clearly recognized that the new world born of invention and discovery had sounded the knell of competition; that the logic of events and conditions necessitated union instead of warfare becoming the key-note of the new order; that whether for weal or woe the age of combination or coöperation was at the door. And more than one of these great philosophers strove to arouse the people so that they might happily utilize the advent of the era of economic union for the enfranchisement and development of the masses.

Unfortunately the multitude only learn after they have been through the hard and bitter school of adverse experience. The stripes must fall many times. The stomach must long feel the pangs of hunger and the body the piercing cold ere man arouses from the mental torpor or hypnotic spell woven by conventionalism, prejudice, and superstition, combined with the magic influence of craft and cunning employed by those who profit by the mental thralldom of the masses.

And so the hour freighted with such wonderful possibilities for the emancipation and enrichment of all the people, through collective ownership and operation, passed, only to be seized by the captains of industry in the competitive world. They

were quick to realize that Golcondas of wealth awaited the few if the waste and warfare of competition could give place to combination—provided the vast savings could be diverted into the pockets of the few instead of going to bless the industrial and consuming millions.

Thus the modern trust and monopoly arose in conformity with the trend of civilization and the spirit of the age; and leaving out of consideration all thought of ethics, and viewing the trust merely on the business and economic plane, it is obvious that the displacement of warfare by union and combination is potentially beneficent, in that it largely eliminates strife from the various departments of activity and achieves an enormous saving by doing away with vast amounts of non-productive labor and liberating enormous volumes of capital that had hitherto been tied up in mills, machinery, and other things rendered necessary so long as every business was divided into innumerable warring camps.

But what is potentially a great and splendid blessing may become an intolerable curse; and so it is that the good features of the trusts or monopolies—that of union displacing war, and the enormous saving of capital, brain, and brawn—have, in the hands of egoists who refuse to recognize the law of solidarity and who disregard the fundamental demands of justice and fraternity, been at once the prime source of *popular oppression*, of *industrial slavery*, and of *political corruption*.

Next month we shall notice at length the case against the trusts as comprehended in the above threefold indictment.

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THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A REAL AND A PSEUDO REPUBLIC.

Switzerland has recently afforded a striking illustration of the difference between a real republic, where a country or a people through the initiative, referendum, and imperative mandate are the real rulers, and a pseudo republic, where the real rulers are corrupt corporations and trusts acting through political machines, partizan bosses, and their representatives in government, despite the wishes of the people.

A strike occurred on one of the Swiss railways, and the management, imitating the action of the lawless coal and railroad

magnates of our country, assumed that there was nothing to arbitrate and declared that they would not accede to the demands of the workers. The fact that the public would be greatly inconvenienced did not trouble them. In a word, their position was precisely similar to that of the coal barons who through their morally criminal attitude produced the terrible coal famine that prevailed during the last winter in the United States.

But Switzerland, happily for her people, was a republic in fact rather than a theoretical republic ruled by powerful corporations; so the government did not send mail pouches to be scattered among freight trains in order to afford an excuse for governmental aid in helping the real masters (the railway corporations) in their warfare against the just demands of the toilers. Nor did any central government rush federal troops to the scene of the strike, over the protests of governors and mayors, as was the case in the great Chicago strike when Mr. Cleveland was President and the erstwhile railroad and trust attorney, Mr. Richard Olney, was Attorney-General of the United States. Nor did the government manifest senile impotency in the presence of the railway magnates who operated the road, as did *our* government under President Roosevelt and the erstwhile trust attorney, Philander Knox, during five months last summer when the comfort and welfare of over twenty million American people demanded the steady employment of the 147,000 men idle through the refusal of the coal and railway magnates to arbitrate the grievances. No. As we said before, Switzerland is a republic in fact instead of merely one in theory; and therefore the government acted with promptness and despatch. A leading official was hurried on a special train to the scene of the trouble. The railway management was promptly notified that unless trains were running regularly within forty-eight hours the republic would take the road, keep it, and operate it in the name of the people as a public highway. Immediately the management came to terms with the workers. The strike was over within forty-eight hours and the trains were running as before.

But this was not all. The strike and threatened interference with the rights of the people to the accommodations and benefits of the great public highways, which are the arteries of trade and travel, and the further fact that one rich man acquired the ownership of one of the roads and forthwith filled the directory of said road with his minions, alarmed the ever-watchful Swiss

electorate, who understand full well that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, justice, and human rights.

The people determined that the hour had arrived for public ownership of the railways of Switzerland; therefore, a general agitation for governmental ownership was immediately inaugurated. But the people did not propose to pay any fictitious prices for the roads. They did not propose to make the widows and orphans of the republic for generations pay taxes for the supposititious widows and orphans that corporate greed always holds up before the public when they wish further to fatten the pockets of the commercial cormorants or when there is any proposition made to dispose of watered stock at anything like the actual value of the property in question. Hence, they took prompt precautions to avoid being victimized by the corporations, as will be seen by the following quotation from Mr. Henry Demarest Lloyd's paper in a recent issue of *Boyce's Weekly*:

"The Swiss National Legislature was compelled, as under the Swiss system of the initiative and referendum it can be compelled, to prepare and submit to the people for their acceptance or rejection a series of laws for the purpose. One of these laws put under strict regulation the manner in which the railroads must keep their accounts—this to prevent them from falsifying their books so as to show fictitious profits, for the purpose of compelling the government to pay more than the roads were worth. Another law prescribed the hours and wages of the men, so that the companies should not increase their receipts at the expense of their employees for the same purpose."

After these precautionary measures were taken, the people voted on the question as to whether or not the republic should take over the roads; and by an immense majority the purchase of all the roads was ordered. "Henceforward," observes Mr. Lloyd, "the management of the Swiss highways will be in the hands of the Swiss people—not of rich men, Swiss or foreigners. . . . Switzerland will have transportation of the people, by the people, for the people."

And, what is more, the farmers and producers at the one end and the consumers at the other will not have to submit to extortionate freight charges; or, in a word, they will not have to pay "all the traffic will bear" to furnish dividends on watered stock, and thus further enrich unscrupulous men who have already become the supreme menace to free government.

Nor will the Swiss postal department be defrauded of millions of dollars by extortionate charges for the enrichment of private corporations, as is the case in this country.

Here, as in other cases, Switzerland points the way to economic freedom. Friends of democracy, we have slept over-long! The government of the corporations, by the corporations, for the corporations, through the merciless exploitation and oppression of the laborers and consumers, is a stern fact, as the Beef Trust, the Standard Oil Trust, the Coal Trust, and the railroad combines amply attest, and as is further witnessed by the recent emasculated and miserably impotent trust legislation substituted by the henchmen of the trusts for any really vital enactments to curb the plunder of the people. But through majority rule and a persistent educational agitation the Republic can be rescued, and that without the shock of arms, if each voter from now on accepts the solemn obligation of the hour and does his utmost for the triumph of free institutions and the realization of a true democracy in the New World.

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PLUTOCRACY'S EDUCATIONAL BUREAU.

That plutocracy is alarmed at the rapid growth of public sentiment favorable to the abolition of private property in land and to the acquisition of public utilities by the people, as well as at the remarkably rapid increase in the adherents of Socialism throughout the Republic, is evidenced in various ways, not the least of which is the acquisition of a great number of daily and monthly publications by wealth interested in or dependent upon monopoly rights and special privileges.

But the acquisition of opinion-forming agencies by the representatives of greed-governed corporations is but one of many methods that present-day plutocracy is vigorously employing to deceive the people and thereby enslave the wealth-producing millions, while continuing their unjust system of oppression under which the consumers are becoming so restive.

Recently a so-called National Economic League has sprung into being, and great efforts are being put forth to win the nominal indorsement of editors, educators, and other influential personages by cunningly devised appeals sent forth as personal letters and signed by the Hon. Silas B. Dutcher, presi-

dent of the Hamilton Trust Company of Brooklyn, who is the chairman of this wealth-bolstered bureau whose ostensible aim is to combat Socialism. Recently we received the following invitation to walk into the parlor of this newly-created league:

"Dear Sir:

"We beg to inform you that the National Economic League will render its services in an impartial educational movement to oppose Socialism and class hatred; to instruct the people that, if we are to continue to lead in the world's industries and keep American Labor and Capital remuneratively employed, it must be through the organization of Industry into large units, directed by the best talent. Also to investigate, study, and discuss the fundamental issues which divide Capital and Labor, so as to be helpful in establishing rightful relations between employers and workmen.

"In addition thereto, to promote Interstate Comity in taxation, likewise a full discussion of *'How Far'* under present political conditions is it safe for cities in this country to municipalize. These are not only practical burning questions, but interesting from a sociological and scientific point of view. We are now organizing a Board of Associates or Contributing Editors, which will represent Labor, Manufacturing, Commerce, Law, Agriculture, Church, College, Transportation and Insurance, Organization, Newspapers, Magazines, Periodicals, Authors, etc., etc., and it will afford our Executive Committee great pleasure if you will become a member of this Board of Editorial Associates and Contributors.

"Please understand that this does not imply or ask that any part of your valuable time is to be promised for this work. You may be requested at intervals to contribute an article on some topic in which you are personally interested, in your particular line of work.

"There is no obligation on your part. We simply desire to know if in this way you will coöperate with and indorse the work of the League.

"Yours respectfully,

"S. B. DUTCHER, *Chairman.*

"(President Hamilton Trust Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.)"

On the same day that we received the above a well-known and progressive authority on social and economic problems received a similar invitation, and, not knowing anything about this "economic league" beyond the letter, said to me that if it were not for the one phrase, "to oppose Socialism," he should have been inclined to accept the invitation. I thereupon drew from a pigeon-hole a prospectus of the two books already published for distribution by this capitalistic bureau. The prospectus had found its ways into the hands of a liberal-minded clergyman, who had forwarded it to me. Now, some-

thing of the aims and purposes of this "economic league" may be gathered from the following quotations taken from the published prospectus of their books. Any one who reads these volumes, the league assures us—

"Will know that the belief that the capitalist has received too large a share of the benefits that have arisen from inventions, machinery, etc., is not true, but that the masses have received as fair a proportion of such benefits as the rich.

"Will know that the belief that the subdivision of labor, so that one workman performing a small part, as in the manufacture of shoes for example (one lasts, another trims, etc.), renders the mechanic's task monotonous and necessarily retards the mental growth, is the very opposite of truth.

"Will know not only for himself, but will convince others, that the belief that the land, and indeed all the wealth of the land, is concentrating in the hands of the few is not only not true, but on the contrary will know that all the wealth of the land, instead of concentrating in the hands of the few, is diffusing among the many.

"Will know that the tendency of corporations is not to concentrate but to diffuse the results of industrial energy; not to lessen the opportunities of the many, but to increase them.

"Will know that corporations and large aggregations of wealth do not render it harder for people of small means to become sharers in the profits of manufacturers, etc., but, on the contrary, that these corporations and combinations of wealth have greatly increased the opportunities of men and women of small means to invest their earnings and become sharers in the profits of manufacture, trade, etc.

"Will know as a matter of fact and record that the corporate organizations throughout the country, even those called 'trusts,' are a means by which the profits of industry are fairly distributed among the people.

"Will know that the belief that whether times are good or bad, tariff high or low, money scarce or plentiful, capital gets more than its rightful share, is the *real* cause for all this present tendency to Socialism, State ownerships, and a larger government control of industry and invested capital."

Nor is this all. Ex-Secretary Lyman Gage, whose amazing friendliness when Secretary of the Treasury for the National Bank of New York controlled by the Standard Oil Company is fresh in the minds of the people, and to whom one of the officers of said bank appealed for special favors on the ground of campaign funds contributed to the election of the Republican President, is so delighted with these new volumes that he wants, he says, to see "at least 1,500,000 copies of these two books distributed throughout the country." And, in order to compass this work, he suggests that the rich and well-to-do

citizens interested in the work should donate the requisite sum for this purpose.

This systematic attempt of the wealth-intrenched plutocracy or the new commercial feudalism to combat the principles of progressive democracy should awaken every voter in the land, who cherishes free government and sound republicanism, to the importance of promptly meeting the insidious campaign of education, backed as it is by the outspoken sympathy and encouragement—and doubtless also by the most liberal financial support—of the beneficiaries of predatory wealth.

If the Republic is to be rescued from a far graver peril than that which threatened her when Jefferson rallied the masses to overcome the autocratic efforts of the Tory class led by Hamilton, the people must rally to the cause of progressive democracy. Organize, agitate, educate, and meet the immense power of organized wealth, appealing through such bodies as the so-called National Economic League, the corporation-owned dailies, and the trust-controlled political machines and party bosses, by that self-forgetting and passionate patriotism and love of justice and the essential principles of free government that made our fathers invincible before the might of Britain!

We must meet organization with organization, education with education, agitation with agitation, and the great wealth of the predatory bands that are robbing every man, woman, and child of the country with that self-sacrificing devotion to the great cause of the people which shall again prove to the world that the eternal verities of right, justice, and freedom are more powerful than the multitudinous agencies in the hands of unscrupulous and artful wealth.

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THE BOSTON COAL CLUB.

The citizens of Boston have during the last winter had a most impressive illustration of the curse of monopoly when one of life's necessities is controlled by private individuals, in the high-handed outrages perpetrated by an oath-bound coal club that formed a local trust. This combination, which was formed a few years ago, bound all coal dealers not to sell coal to any citizen below a price agreed upon by the trust or local

monopoly, and as a result at the opening of winter the citizens of Boston found themselves completely at the mercy of a monopoly as rapacious and grasping in its instincts as were the great Coal Trust or the Standard Oil Company. Coal was held at from ten to eighteen dollars a ton, and so determined were they that even the poor of Boston should not gain the benefits of low-priced coal, rendered possible by subscriptions of thousands of dollars made by citizens, that this trust captured the member of the citizens' relief committee who had the purchasing of the coal, and so powerful was the influence brought to bear upon him that he refused coal at between five and six dollars offered by the street-railway company, but paid nine and ten dollars a ton to the trust. He also refused to entertain the idea of doing what citizens in other cities were doing—namely, bringing in coal by the carload from the mines, which could have been done at a saving of several dollars a ton. And long after the scarcity ceased—when, indeed, Boston was glutted with coal and the retail price of the best hard coal in New York City had been placed at \$6.50 a ton; when in Providence, Rhode Island, the same coal was retailing at \$7.50 a ton; and when in Portland, Maine, and in other cities much farther from New York than Boston, the retail price was placed at \$8—the Boston Club held the price at \$10 a ton.

Thus were the poor of the city robbed in a manner that would have been impossible had it not been for the existence of a brutal and immoral monopoly, with a government—municipal, State, and national—so completely owned and controlled by monopolistic and trust influences that popular relief was not forthcoming.

The last winter has witnessed the coal consumers of Boston the victims of the great Coal Trust and railway combine that fixes extortionate coal freight rates, and of the local coal club or monopoly; and in this manner they have been plundered at every point. It is quite safe to say that the loss, the misery, and the suffering endured by the American people through common thieves, robbers, and burglars who during the last ten years have been sent to the various penitentiaries throughout the Republic are all told insignificant compared with the financial loss, the suffering, the misery, and the death that the masses of the American people have sustained during the last ten months through unjust and extortionate charges levied by the Standard Oil Trust in its increase in the price of oil, by the Beef Trust, and by the Coal Trusts, general and local.

Who shall dare to say that in the eye of the *higher law*, or considered *ethically*, the multi-millionaire members of these predatory bands known as trusts and monopolies, and who are enriching themselves through the wholesale plunder of the people while they debauch government at every point, are not far greater criminals than the petty thieves who steal that they may not starve?

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

THE GAME OF LIFE. By Bolton Hall. Cloth, 230 pp. New York: A. Wessels Company.

There are times in the history of civilization when nations are recalcitrant to the high mission intrusted to every people and upon the fulfillment of which the very permanency of national life depends—times when a people becomes so drunken with the wine of conquest and power, and so stupefied by greed for gold, that the line of demarcation between justice and injustice, right and wrong, morality and immorality, seems well-nigh obliterated; and high aims and aspirations are flung aside for baser attainments, while moral crimes of the most far-reaching and insidiously evil character are justified, and popular shibboleths, such as "duty and destiny," are advanced to excuse a people for betraying the holy trust confided by civilization and progress.

There are times when the Church is seduced by material wealth, so that, no longer overmastered by the spiritual verities, she too much concerns herself with splendid temples, rich vestments, and costly service—when a rich and fashionable congregation weighs more heavily than the bitter cry of the poor, the oppressed, and the suffering ones.

There are times when the approval of Cæsar is more sought after than the cultivation of peace, loving-kindness, gentleness, meekness, fraternity, and justice; and we find a mania for proselyting leading men to compass land and sea for converts and to sanction and applaud the wholesale slaughter of fathers, husbands, and sons if thereby a religious tenet may be forced upon an unwilling people.

There are times when the commercial rulers and the Pharisees ostentatiously endow universities, schools, and churches, and for a pretense make long prayers and teach in the Sunday-schools, even though their wealth represents the ruin of many of their fellow-men, the destruction of widows, and the bitter cry of orphans.

There are times when conventional society throws its sheltering arm around great moral criminals who are rich and powerful; when the Church and the press and the school remain silent and tongue-tied in the presence of those who have corrupted government and gained the power to oppress and rob millions by securing special privileges, or who have boldly broken criminal statutes and through their lawless acts have been able to plunder the people. While the petty crime of a poor man is remorsefully punished, the great criminal is banqueted and honored.

*Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

We are living in such a time to-day; and perhaps nothing is more needed than the satirist who tears aside the wretched mask of self-deception and compels society to behold the revolting reality. Indeed, in times of great moral awakening satire has often been one of the most effective instruments in arousing the sleeping conscience, so that the people hear again the voice of wisdom, justice, and righteousness.

In "The Game of Life," Mr. Bolton Hall's new book of present-day parables, we have one of the most timely and brilliant contributions to satirical literature of recent years. Here in a clear, bold, and effective manner the hollow shams, the sickening hypocrisy, and the essential immorality and criminality of crying evils in State, Church, and society are so tellingly unmasked that they cannot fail to make a permanent impression upon every mind where conscience still guides reason.

In this volume are several parables dealing with our criminal aggression in the Philippines and with other phases of essentially immoral acts connected with the State. Of these the following will serve as fair illustrations:

OUR PLAIN DUTY.

A Methodist burglar bought from a Catholic pal the key to a house, and let himself in. When the people of the house became alarmed, he assured them that he was there only to assist in driving away intruders. The man of the house said he was perfectly able himself to drive away any intruders, except the burglar. "Yes," said the burglar, "but I purchased the sovereignty of your house from a former claimant."

When the man of the house resisted the benevolent assimilation of his valuables, the burglar denounced him as a rebel, and finally knocked him down. The burglar then began to consider his duty in the house. Said he: "Having opened the door, it is my plain duty to stay in the house lest some one should steal my new possessions. I must also shoot the inmates in order to maintain order." Then he assaulted the women so as "to establish respect for civil authority."

He said: "This house needs a revenue commissioner, also a home secretary, a commandant, an attorney-general, a head of the department of the interior, and several other officers, which are the manifest destiny of my numerous family."

PROSPECTUS OF THE MISERY MFG. COMPANY.

(Chartered under the Laws of Every Civilized Country. General Agents: Mauser, Shrapnel & Co.)

Recognizing the rude methods by which Hades has so long been raised, a number of gentlemen, prominent in social, political, and Christian life, have formed this company for its manufacture on a large scale, and have enlisted the coöperation of the United States Government.

We believe that our methods will put us beyond competition, even of the saloons; at the same time helping the farmer to raise more Hell and fewer hogs, paying us, of course, for the privilege.

We control the patents of Dingley, Hanna, L. Roaring Jake, and others, as well as the secret processes of "Charity" and "Monopoly"; but our chief advantage is the wonderful

New Process of Benevolent Assimilation

(United States Patent).

Our product, served with roasted Georgia blacks or "*à la Idaho*," will be very popular, being most satisfying for domestic use.

We put the article up in neat coffin-shaped boxes, marked with the American flag. Special brands, devised by practical missionaries to meet the demands of all countries; for instance, for brown pagans, we label it "Civilization"; for Spanish Christians, "Humanity"; for Indians, "Guardianship," and for Mormons, "Morality."

We have found means to utilize the by-products of Hades, such as corruption, savagery, and repression. These alone will repay to the stockholders their entire investment.

The company is indorsed by the Evangelical Alliance and the bishops and clergy generally. None genuine without our trade-mark, "Patriotism."

Shares for sale on liberal terms, or will be exchanged for souls or for national honor. Pious fools and military "heroes" wanted as agents everywhere. Verily they shall have their reward.

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"THE SANCTIFIED MEANS."

It was in the trenches.

"Open your mouths!" cried the captain. The soldiers opened their mouths.

"Lie!" said the captain. The soldiers said to one another, "The captain is certainly drunk." The captain frowned. "They won't follow instructions," said he.

"Hands in pockets!" shouted the captain. The soldiers put their hands into their pockets.

"Steal!" shouted the captain. The soldiers said to one another, "The captain is crazy." The captain stormed. "They don't obey orders," said he.

"Present arms!" shouted the captain. The soldiers raised their rifles.

"Murder!" said the captain. The men fired and killed some of their brethren. "Ah," said the soldiers, "the captain gives right orders now." The captain laughed. "They do their duty," said he.

The soldiers said: "We lie for ourselves; we steal for our families; but we murder for the Government."

Unquestionably the most demoralizing influence in society to-day is the rich man who through monopoly rights, special privilege, and by means of indirection has become immensely wealthy, and who through his agents has corrupted government, wronged the wealth-creators, and plundered the consumers. The saloon, with its blasting and blighting curse, and the tens of thousands of petty gamblers, burglars, and other workers of iniquity are far less a menace to civilization or a curse to the State than the great gamblers of Wall Street and the manipulators of the corrupt corporations who are debauching government until respect for law is being destroyed, while the corrupters pose as pillars of society and liberal donators to church and college. There are many parables in Mr. Hall's book that hit off the shams and hypocrisies of these so-called eminently respectable ones. We have space only for the following:

A PHILANTHROPIST IN A PULPIT.

(Associated Press Despatch.)

President Jesse James yesterday addressed the Sunday-school of the Church of the Traveling Public, his subject being "Commercial Success." Mr. James took his text from the Book of Revelation of Plutocracy, Chap. I., v. i.: "The Public be damned." He said in part: "As you know, my dear little People, by my Industry, Honesty, and Perseverance I acquired this road from Dick Turpin, whose death by a fall from a scaffold was a public calamity. Having secured the road, I am entitled to whatever the traffic will bear. Some infidel demagogues, forgetting the immense sums that I have donated in wages to those who work for my Interest, and the further sums that I have appropriated to my University, call these gifts my 'booty.' These are the public against whom the denunciation of our text was launched. But every boy has a chance to get such booty. Only, the Highways must be managed by professional Highwaymen.

"Let every one get a Monopoly, even if it be only of a little piece of land; for, except by Monopoly, there is no way to get more than you can earn. Remember that 'he that hasteth to get rich shall come to poverty'; that means to legislatures, for the legislators are poor and powerful. For 'the law is a strength unto my right hand.'

"I hold my wealth only as a Trust, a sort of Steal Trust, for those to whom it really belongs, but who shall never get it."

HOW TO BE GREAT.

The children sat down to the table.

Willy said, as he staked out a claim to the chairs: "My foresight was such that I secured these sites—seats, I mean."

Johnny, by the connivance of the servants, scooped in all the salad oil. He remarked, as he handed the waiter a bribe: "The Lord gave this to me as a Trust." Georgie said: "By my honesty and industry I secured control of this passageway, and I am entitled to all that the traffic will bear."

THE STATE OF THE HEATHEN.

We met to consider what was the trouble with the heathen. Everybody talked at once, so that nobody except myself could hear what anybody said.

"He wastes the skins of his bananas," said the College Settler.

"He drinks too much rum, when we send it to him," said the Good Templar.

"He does not acquire any land," said the Political Reformer.

"Nor, indeed, any of his neighbor's goods," said the Business Man.

"He spends too much upon his funeral rites," said the Superintendent of the Poor.

"He thinks too much about his other rights," said the Senator.

"Send him to the country," said the City Missionary.

"Send him to the devil," said the Practical Politician.

"We must share with him the blessings of our civilization," said the Stock Broker.

"Send the soldiers after him," said the Expansionist.

"And some Bibles, too," said the Parson. "Bibles (when they are in the soldiers' pockets) often stop bullets."

I stood up and said nothing. At this they were greatly astonished; and when all had ceased talking I read:

"Ye compass sea and land to make one Proselyte, and when he is made ye make him twofold more a child of hell than yourselves."

The meeting broke up in confusion.

The press and apologists for plutocracy who are always harping on the thriftless poor will not enjoy this parable:

THE EXTRAVAGANCE OF THE POOR.

A Bandit used to rob the peasantry, so that when they began to starve they appealed to him for charity.

Said the Bandit: "I will give you nothing; you are poor because you are thriftless. If you were industrious and honest," said he (as he lifted a sheep), "the country would be richer (and I could make more). You waste your goods (so that there is nothing to steal). My Associated Charities inform me that you waste even the bones of your meat; and then we all suffer hard times."

"But, Sir," replied the Peasants, "you yourself throw away even the legs, and eat nothing but the tenderloins."

"I can afford it," said the Bandit, "because I do not have to work for my living; you Lower Classes would better pray to heaven for prosperity, instead of troubling me with your preposterous discontent."

Here also are some very timely words:

THE CONVERT.

A wicked young man used to say "D——"; and he invited his impious friends to drink cocktails and to play penny-ante. He chewed tobacco, and did not love to work, and would stand at the corner evenings and make passers-by give up nickels to "rush the growler." In short, he was thoroughly bad.

This vicious youth was seized by a slumming Bishop, who told him that he was going to hell; whereupon the youth joined the Church and became a stock broker, and gave up swearing, and his cordial manners helped him to get on the inside track.

Then he stood in with the Legislature, and got a railroad franchise. He gave up beer, and bonded the road for twice what it cost and built a mission chapel, and stocked the road for three times the bonds, and was put on the Committee of the Thirteen Reformers, and got rid of nearly all the stock before the receiver came in.

Then he gave up chewing tobacco and founded a hospital, and made a good thing on the reorganization of the road, and retired from business, and sold the income bonds at nearly par, so that he was able to endow a chair of political economy, and make again on buying in at the foreclosure of the road. He said: "All things work together for good to them that love the Lord."

When he died of the gout, he left eleven millions and a mistress, and his devout widow put on his mausoleum: "There remaineth, therefore, a rest for the people of God."

The daily press for the most part is closed against any friendly and fair discussion of fundamental reform measures. The plutocracy that owns the press, or to whom it is beholden for advertising patronage, will not allow free speech. Ministers for a like reason are affrighted when any one offers to discuss fundamental reforms. Mr. Hall has not overlooked this fact, as witness the following:

A SUBJECT FOR "THE HUMAN IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY."

"Let us discuss," said the Clergyman, "the origin of sin among the lower classes."

"Rescue work among the Fiji Magdalens——" said the Missionary.

"Or," interrupted the Professor, "the ratio of wages to the price of *pate de fois gras*."

"Rather the doctrine of Antinomianism," said the Theologian.

Said the Philanthropist: "The care of superannuated, delinquent, one-legged women is a profitable subject."

"Let us discuss the Monopoly of Land," said the Demagogue. The Missionary said "that was flying in the face of Providence, for it would stop subscriptions." The Clergyman said "he had to go to a meeting for the suppression of vice among the poor." The Theologian looked at his watch. The Philanthropist had a chill, and the Professor said that a man had fallen among thieves, and he must go and pass by on the other side. Said the Scientist: "The consideration of Degeneracy and Cretinism is more comforting to those on top—to the upper classes, I mean."

And they went out one by one.

The parables are not all satires by any means. Some of them are exquisite little conceits, of which the following is a fair example:

GOING TO HEAVEN ALONE.

There is a monkish tale something like this: A woman groaned and protested so in hell that she disturbed the peace of God. Therefore, he sent Gabriel to see whether she could not be gotten out; and Gabriel asked her whether she had ever in the world done one deed that came from a kindly heart. After long thought she said she had; she had once given a carrot to a beggar. God said to the angel, "Go, find the carrot." So the angel found the carrot; and God stretched the carrot down to hell, and told the woman to take hold of it, and with it he was drawing her up out of hell.

But the poor souls that were about her clung to her skirts, that they also might be lifted up; and when the weight was great she tried to shake them off, crying, "Let go; this is my carrot!" God said, "Then you did not really give it, after all." And God let the carrot go, so that she sank back into irrevocable hell.

This is a volume that should have the widest possible circulation. It is a book much needed at the present time and will prove additional yeast that shall aid in leavening society with justice.

THE NEXT STEP IN EVOLUTION. By Issac K. Funk, D.D., LL.D. Cloth, 106 pp. Price, 50 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

"The Next Step in Evolution" is an excellent companion volume to "The Ascent of Man," by Professor Drummond. Both works are calculated to appeal with convincing force to the reason of tens of thousands of naturally religious persons who have accepted the theory of evolution, and who because they could find no rational reconciliation between it and the claims of theologians have drifted from the old-time moorings into the sea of agnosticism.

Dr. Funk frankly accepts the claims of evolution and throughout his work displays a broad, philosophic spirit, a wide range of intellectual vision, and a hospitality to new ideas rarely found in theological writers; while his thought is instinct with the moral enthusiasm born of a living faith and that consciousness of a relationship to the Divine Heart of the Universe that throughout all the ages has differentiated the mystic

from the man whose inner vision carries him no further than the dead wall of cold intellectualism. The author is an orthodox clergyman, but his breadth of view will impress many of the more narrow of his brethren with the idea that at times he comes perilously near the danger-line of heterodoxy. He believes that Christ is coming, and that the coming is in a larger sense than ever before at hand to-day; but the coming is different from that entertained by conventional Christianity, as may be seen from the following extracts:

That the Christ is coming, and that this coming is near at hand, is believed to-day by millions.

He is coming—but how?

Hear Him:

The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven which a woman hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened—the life and nature of the leaven reappearing in the quickened mass. . . .

And again:

The kingdom of heaven is as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and it should spring up and grow, he knoweth not how; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. It is all natural: the earth does its work; the sun, the air, the water do their work, and the life and nature of the seed grow and multiply, reappearing in each grain in accordance with the nature of the seed. It is natural, but marvelous: the man "knoweth not how" it is done; but no one says, therefore, that the growth is supernatural, miraculous. . . .

Life reappears in new life. The leaven and the seed and the Christ life all reincarnate themselves in more leaven, more seed, more of the Christ life. "In that day," said Jesus, "ye shall know that I am in you." . . .

Christ came the first time into men's vision by coming on the plane of their senses; He comes the second time into men's vision by lifting them up to His plane of spiritual comprehension.

The coming of the Christ life or the divine afflatus into our being is the vital coming. When Jesus came to Palestine, what good did his wonderful presence to those who, though in daily contact with him, heeded not his words and felt no uplift of spirit through the contact? But to feel the transforming spirit within—that means everything. Says Dr. Funk:

"This coming of Christ involves a new birth, a new creation, a new kingdom. It means a new step in the evolution of man. As man has stepped from the mineral kingdom to the vegetable kingdom, and from the vegetable kingdom to the animal kingdom, and from the animal kingdom to the kingdom of the natural man, so now he steps from the kingdom of the natural man to the kingdom of the spiritual man—every portion of this step a natural process subject to critical scientific analysis, if that analysis goes deep enough, wide enough, far enough. It is the continuance of evolution without a break, without a leap ('Nature never makes leaps,' says Leibnitz; the leaps are only seeming), lifting the race by a new birth through Christ, the type-life, up to the plane of spiritual being and knowing."

This second coming of Christ our author finds to be in perfect accord with the laws of sequence and of continuity:

"Each of the successive steps or kingdoms has had its type-life. The plant—that is, the physical basis of the plant life—came from the

inorganic matter; the animal—that is, the physical basis of the animal life—came from the plant and through the plant from the mineral kingdom; the natural man—that is, the physical basis of the life of the natural man—came from the animal and the kingdoms below it; the spiritual man—that is, the physical basis of the life of the spiritual man—comes from the natural man and the kingdoms below him.

“The development from kingdom to kingdom was a natural unfolding; yet the new creature of the next higher order always came through a new birth—a double birth: (1) the birth of the new type-life of the next higher kingdom into the evolutionary order of Nature, through the hereditary chain; and (2) the birth of each individual into this type-life.”

The author next sums up the progress of life through its four stages, beginning with the emergence of vegetable life from the inorganic world that formed the basis of that life, up through the plane of animal existence to that of the natural man, and from the kingdom of the natural man to that of the spiritual man. He surveys life from the platforms on the spiral ladder of ascent, and notes that: “As the spiritual type-life lifts the natural man into the spiritual kingdom, so the type-life of the natural man lifted the animal into the kingdom of the natural man, and the animal type-life lifted the vegetable, and the vegetable type-life lifted the mineral.” He finds no break in the golden thread that runs through all the series of developments up to the new creature in Jesus Christ.

In speaking of the ascent of life, Dr. Funk observes:

“In the lower kingdoms it is a survival of the *fightest*, in the highest a survival of the fittest, the struggle for life for ourselves merging into a *struggle for life for others*. Even among men in the earlier days, to discover the greatest man, the measuring-string was placed around the muscle. That was the age of Hercules. Then the time came when the measuring-string was placed around the head. That was the age of Bacon and Shakespeare. But the time comes in the rapidly advancing future when the measuring-string will be placed around the heart, and he who measures most there will be most conformed to the Master; for he is greatest who most fully gives himself for others. . . .

“What means the gradual development in the brain of the cerebrum and cerebellum, the organs of the soul powers, enlarging from generation to generation? These are scarcely visible in the lowest animals. They become larger as we advance up the animal scale of intelligence or psychic power; large in the ape, who came far along the same line that man came; four times as large in the lowest Zulu as in the ape, but far larger in the European and American civilized man—thus slowly made perfect through awful struggles and sufferings, painfully growing a million years or more. Is it not then reasonable to believe that there is a corresponding psychic or soul development from generation to generation in the unseen individuality, the ego, which uses the cerebrum and cerebellum as organs; that up the spiral stairway of evolution the whole man has come—his personality, with its soul powers, and the physical organs of these powers in the brain, and the entire physical man?”

To believe that this existence is all—that for millions of years life has been rising from platform to platform along the spiritual ladder of ascent only to perish utterly—is absurd. Says our author:

"It would require much credulity to believe that Nature has travailed in pain these untold ages to develop a personality that would of its own free will choose goodness, only to destroy that personality as soon as made. John Fiske has well said: 'The materialistic assumption that . . . the life of the soul . . . ends with the life of the body, is perhaps the most colossal instance of assumption that is known in the history of philosophy.'

"That was a provincial notion about the universe which was held before Copernicus's time—the belief that the sun, planets, stars, all revolved around the earth. Copernicus was called the destroyer of faith and bitterly denounced. His idea made the earth but a speck, and the Milky Way—billions of miles long—the mere yard-stick of the universe. All this has immensely enlarged faith—did not destroy it. Darwin, too, was called the destroyer of faith; but now we begin to see that evolution, in giving man countless eons of growth, instead of keeping him a creature of yesterday, bounded by the cradle and grave, has immensely enlarged faith, and beyond thought has added to the dignity of man."

Doubtless many of his readers will be shocked to find that he believes in rebirth; but Dr. Funk is nothing if not fearless in expressing his convictions. He believes that life has risen by a succession of births, from type-life to type-life; and he furthermore holds that those who fail to awaken out of the sense state into the realm of spiritual ascendancy must be born again after this life. On the first point he observes:

"Is it then harder to believe that we should be born again *after* we have lived than that we should be born when we have not lived? The profoundest mystery is the first birth, in which we all believe. . . .

"At each succeeding birth the individuality, to thrive, must be in harmony with its changed surroundings, and the cells that swarm in every living body struggle to bring this to pass. It is the business of the cell to obey the pushings of the governing force in the organization to which it belongs. The plant needs water, minerals, air, sunshine. Its attendant cells hear the cry of their master and build roots into the ground and branches into the air, and weave leaves into lungs and laboratories. Note a vine in some cave—how it works its way toward the hole through which sunshine is streaming, and how it causes some roots to build out toward a vein of water; others toward a skeleton many feet away and along the bones of that skeleton—hungering and thirsting for minerals, water, light, heat. Hungering and thirsting—asking, knocking—the plant receives. Seek and ye shall find; strive and it shall be yours. This is the law in the plant life, the law in the animal life, in the life of the natural man, in the life of the spiritual man."

On the point that the soul is reborn after death, Dr. Funk goes as far as many East Indian teachers. Thus he says:

"Punishment comes, but it is largely within; degeneracy is, through persistent wrongdoing, fixed, inevitable. If a man will not choose to ascend he loses his power to ascend, and must be reborn. God never abandons a soul. Though I make my bed in hell Thou art there. The soul may lose sight of God, but God never of the soul.

"He lights the sun and sweeps the universe that He may find the missing coin. He goes after the lost sheep, leaving the ninety and

nine. He yearns for the returning prodigal. His is untiring, infinite love. More valuable to Him is the most worthless of men than many sheep to the human shepherd. There is pain in the Father's heart until the wanderer returns; nor will that pain cease until somewhere and somehow in the universe the last wanderer has returned."

On the law of growth our author throws out these fine thoughts:

"*Seek* is the law of growth. Its suggestion we see in the plant working its way toward the sunshine. This law comes to perfection in the prayer of the spirit. I desire; therefore I pray, therefore I have. In a deep sense, as a man thinketh so is he. The universe of cells within each man calls him master. Ye are gods—kings upon thrones; your slightest wish is heard; your earnest persistent desire compels obedience. Answer to prayer is a growth, a building up or down to what you wish. Wishing is asking. Ask what you will and from that instance receiving you receive. . . .

"The great original sculptors of Greece whom all the world now studies, as Emerson would say, stayed at home to study, and did not bother much with going to Egypt or Mesopotamia. God is a rewarder of those that diligently seek Him, not by imitation, not outwardly, not with the noise of words that men may hear, but in the closet, in the silence of the inner chamber of the soul. Every man must find himself, and be himself. . . .

"If there is no development of the inner nature I am not a child of the inner kingdom, and cannot be recognized by the Master. He can never manifest Himself to me. Many will say in that day: 'Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? And in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works?'—but who will not have the spiritual nature which alone is the recognizable substance in the inner world."

Here is a passage well calculated to alarm many of the reverend gentleman's orthodox brethren, but it is in perfect alignment with the broader and, we think, more deeply religious concepts of the incoming age:

"It is not necessary to have heard with the outer ear the words of God or the name of Christ. All that is necessary is within the reach of any man in any age or clime, within the reach of an Abraham or Buddha, or Confucius, or a Paul, or Maimonides, or Savonarola, or Luther, before or after Christ was in the flesh. Come whosoever will. God listens to prayer with His ear on the man's inner heart, not at his lips, and an answer to prayer is the growth of the inner nature into the fitness to receive the request. The heat and light which the plant absorbs measure its capacity, not the ability of the sun. Every soul gets what it is fitted to receive. He that willeth to do the will of God develops the nature that is the touchstone and the absorbent of spiritual truth."

These quotations will be sufficient to show how thoroughly the author has come *en rapport* with the revelations of modern science—how whole-heartedly he has accepted the larger truths that have been revealed in our day. And yet it is one of the most profoundly religious volumes that we have read in years—a book so pregnant with vital spiritual truths that we could heartily wish it in the hands of every thoughtful American.

THE PIT. By Frank Norris. Cloth, 421 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

I.

One takes up this volume with a feeling of deep sadness and lays it down with profound regret, born of the remembrance that the gifted author, in the flush of early manhood and possessing the genius that promised to place him in the very front rank of twentieth-century novelists, has been so recently stricken down by death. He was a strong, fine, manly thinker, a splendid type of the best young manhood of to-day—a conscientious writer with high ideals and gifted in an eminent degree with a realist's brain and a poet's imagination. He possessed the strength and rare power vividly to picture life as it really is that were exhibited by Emile Zola, and yet was free from the revolting naturalism that marred most of the great Frenchman's master works. He was far more than a mere realist. He possessed the imagination of the true poet. Hence, his created characters became colossal and typical, while the subtle charm born of idealism relieved his writings from the dead level of mediocrity that marks the work of those who essay to be realists but who are devoid of imagination and poetic feeling. We hailed Mr. Norris as emphatically the coming American novelist, and in his taking off experience a personal loss.

II.

The reader will naturally compare "The Pit" with its companion volume, "The Octopus," and most critics have pronounced in favor of the last-written work. We confess, however, that we do not share these opinions; for, while "The Pit" is unquestionably more finished and at times evinces greater maturity in thought and expression, it lacks, it seems to us, much of the compelling force and tremendous dramatic power that marked "The Octopus." We have a feeling, in reading the two books, that the author must have spent far more time in the preparation of his first great work than on his last volume.

In "The Pit," Jadwin is a distinctly great creation, a typical Napoleon among speculators, of colossal proportions; yet to our mind he is not nearly so impressive a character study as Magnus Derrick, the overshadowing personality in "The Octopus." Then in "The Octopus" we have a number of powerfully drawn characters that impress their individuality in an unforgettable manner upon the mind. Annixter, Vanamee, S. Behrman, Cedarquist, Dyke, Osterman, Broderson, Hilma Tree—these are strong, typical characters, presenting not only distinct individualities but different view-points of life; and when compared with the little group of people who enter into "The Pit," and who are for the most part very conventional, it is difficult to see how any one can find in Mr. Norris's last book a work comparable to the great drama of the wheat as found in the San Joaquin Valley story.

Nevertheless "The Pit" is a great novel, instinct with present-day American life. The story deals chiefly with the Chicago wheat pit, the

great gambling center or Wall Street of the Middle West. The overshadowing central figure, Curtis Jadwin, is in the opening chapters a remarkably successful real estate dealer, who is deeply interested in a large Sunday-school composed of little waifs in one of the poorer districts of Chicago. Moody, he explains, got him interested in the work. Jadwin is a natural organizer, a strong, daring man of exceptional business power and judgment. His friend Cressler warns him against ever dabbling in stocks. It means ruin in the long run, he explains. Cressler has spoken by the cards, having been one of the tens of thousands of victims of this same pit.

Jadwin early becomes deeply attached to Laura Dearborn, a striking though at first not a very lovable young woman. This lady already has two suitors—an artist named Sheldon Corthell, and a young broker, Landry Court. They all propose and are refused. The young broker takes his defeat philosophically and marries the heroine's sister. The artist folds his tent and flees to Europe. Jadwin immediately begins siege for the capture of the resisting heart. In the long run he wins the prize, and for a time all is joyous.

Jadwin, however, in spite of his determination, has been drawn into the maelstrom of speculation. The Pit has thrown its fatal spell over his imagination. Here for a time success follows success, until he is regarded as the most formidable speculator of the great city. Beginning as a "bear," he eventually becomes the "Great Bull" of the Pit; and at last with him, as with the multitude of other men who are seduced by the fascinating charm of this great Western gambling center, the Pit claims him as its own.

There are men of cold, calculating, and phlegmatic temperament who can gamble or drink or use opium for years, and yet appear to be little influenced. But not so with another class—men of keen imagination, of idealistic and poetic temperament, of high-strung and nervous organism. When one of this class comes under the spell of a potent stimulant, whether it appeals primarily to the physical appetites or to the mental faculties and imaginative world, the results are much the same. The man becomes the victim of the spell, the slave of the illusion. It is all one whether it be hasheesh, absinthe, whisky, lust for power, the dominion of sensual appetites, or the mania for gambling and speculation. In time the baleful spell fills the mental world as darkness fills the windowless cell; and thenceforth, for a time at least, the man, be he ever so great a genius, is the slave of the illusion. Seldom has a novelist given so strong an illustration of this tremendous fact as has Mr. Norris in his portrayal of the career of Curtis Jadwin.

After the fascination of the wheat pit has thrown its spell over his brain, the man becomes transformed. We hear no more of the Sunday-school; his wife is neglected; all those things which he before most enjoyed become for him stale, flat, and unprofitable. The mania for gambling drives out well-nigh all else. He becomes as much the slave of the Pit for a time as man ever becomes of drink, of opium, or

of the hallucinations of well-defined insanity. And seldom indeed has the essential evil of stock gambling been more vividly portrayed than in this work. Barring Zola's great novel entitled "Money," which is also concerned with stock gambling, we know of nothing in contemporary fiction more impressive than this work.

During the days when the mania for speculation is holding the "Great Bull" in its deadly grasp, his whole nervous nature is so overwrought that it verges more and more toward complete collapse; while his beautiful but neglected wife is drifting toward the most perilous quicksands upon which a wife can wreck her life. The artist has returned; he has become a constant visitor at the Jadwin house; he notes the neglect and unhappiness of Mrs. Jadwin; he makes love to her, and all but persuades her to fly with him. At the critical moment, however, just as she is on the verge of deserting her husband's home, Curtis Jadwin is overtaken by complete ruin. The wheat destroys his fortune as in "The Octopus" it destroyed the life of S. Behrman; and with the sweeping away of his enormous wealth comes nervous and mental collapse. He is brought to his home more dead than alive. Laura, instead of flying with the artist Corthell, faithfully nurses her husband back to health. It is a long, weary task, but by no means devoid of sweetness, as through the convalescence the two are drawn again together. Jadwin is ruined, but the little fortune that Laura possessed before her marriage has remained intact, and the two determine to move West and begin again. The volume closes with the train bearing them from the great Mistress of the Lakes.

All the principal characters are drawn with the fidelity that makes the reader feel that they are real, living human beings. The book is one of the most convincing documents in modern romance.

ECONOMIC TANGLES. By Judson Grenell. Cloth, 220 pp. Price, \$1. Lansing, Mich.: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Company.

This is one of the most valuable economic books that have appeared in years, and a volume that should be possessed and carefully perused by all friends of social progress. The author possesses the rare power of luminously and entertainingly discussing social and economic problems. He belongs to the new school of political economy that arose after Henry George had fired the moral enthusiasm of the conscience element among the more thoughtful young men of America by his magnificent contributions to the present-day social literature of the world.

One great merit of the volume is found in the spirit of fairness and judicial impartiality that marks the author's treatment of views that do not fully command his approval. Too many of our ablest thinkers have wasted their powers, which should have been concentrated against the rapidly growing plutocracy based on privilege, in fighting other reformers who were combating the overmastering evil, but who were

advancing to the assault on a pathway somewhat divergent from that along which the thinkers in question journeyed; and this warring of reform factions and leaders is, under present conditions, nothing less than criminal. Union for the overthrow of the supreme peril—a soulless plutocracy which has already debauched government in its various ramifications, and which is daily extending its control over the press, the Church, and the college: this is the present demand. When the power of lawless, privilege-bulwarked corporate greed is broken, we can safely reason upon our differences and leave them to the wisdom of an emancipated people.

Mr. Grenell is not only fair, judicial, and extremely interesting, but he shows so clearly where the great tap-root of economic injustice lies that no one who believes in simple justice to all God's children can fail to see the evils and the imperative need of brave, independent thinking; and in most instances the reader will be stimulated to—

"Aid in the only battle wherein no man can fail;
Where whoso fadeth and dieth, yet his work shall still prevail."

It is not to be expected that the reader will at all times agree with the author, but if he be *en rapport* with the highest ideals of the great revolution—those of freedom, fraternity, justice, and equality of opportunity and rights—he will find here far more to commend than to reject. The volume contains thirty chapters, in which such subjects as the following are discussed: "The World's Tribute to Monopoly;" "Trusts and Labor Organizations;" "Guilds of the Middle Ages;" "The Confusion Concerning Capital;" "Makeshifts for Justice;" "Half a Loaf versus No Bread;" "Progress of Socialism;" "Have All Wealth Producers an Equal Chance?" "The Moral Status of the Single Tax;" "Who Pays the Taxes?" "The Public and Public Franchises;" "The Slow Progress of Great Moral Reforms."

This work originally appeared as a series of papers in a daily journal, and was therefore prepared with a view to instructing the general public and interesting the casual reader to such an extent that he would be willing to search further. It therefore makes no claim to being deep or thorough-going, but it is one of the very best books to give those who show signs of awakening from the long and deadly sleep in which the American people have overlong indulged.

WHAT IS SPIRITUALISM, AND WHO ARE THESE SPIRITUALISTS? By J. M. Peebles, A.M., M.D. Cloth, 131 pp. Battle Creek, Mich.: The Peebles Print.

Dr. Peebles is a man of broad, deep culture. He was educated for the Christian ministry, and for many years ably officiated as a clergyman. He was also graduated in medicine, while his general scholastic education has been broadened by four journeys around the globe, made in the capacity of teacher and student; and during these journeys he

has, in India and Ceylon as well as in Europe, studied profoundly the religious thought of the world's greatest teachers. He has also been in close *rapproch* with most of the great men of the last fifty years in the Old World and the New who have investigated psychic phenomena. Hence, his volume holds special interest for thoughtful readers.

The first part is devoted to an exposition of Spiritualism that is, we think, one of the clearest and best presentations of the subject that have been made. Space forbids our quoting more than the following paragraphs, in which the author differentiates between Spiritualism and Spiritism, as he understands these terms:

"Spiritualism must be differentiated from spiritism. The terminologies of the two words absolutely necessitate, as every scholar knows, entirely different meanings. Chinese, Indians, and Utah Mormons are spiritists, believing in present spirit communications. Most of the African tribes of the Dark Continent worship demons and believe in spirit converse, but certainly they are not intelligent, religious Spiritualists.

"Spiritism is a science—a fact—a sort of modernized Babylonian necromancy. The baser portion of its devotees, hypnotized by the unembodied denizens of Hades, divine for dollars. It is promiscuous spirit commerce with a high tariff. It is from the lower spheres, and morally gravitates toward the dark. It has its legerdemain, its tricksters, frauds, and traveling tramps. They should be exposed and shunned as you would shun dens of adders. Spiritism, I repeat, is fact; so is geology, so is mesmerism, so is telepathy, and so also is a rattlesnake's bite. Facts may be morally true or false. They may serve for purposes of good or direst ill. As an exhibition of wonders—as pabulum for skeptical atheists, who demand visible sight of the invisible infinite One, and insist upon a terrific clap of thunder to convince them of the existence of electricity, commercial spiritism with its seeking for gold fields, and hunting for 'social affinities,' with its attending shadowy hosts, manifesting in ill-ventilated séance-rooms, may be a temporary necessity and to a degree useful; but it legitimately belongs, with such kindred subjects as mesmerism, to the category of the sciences.

"But Spiritualism, originating in God, who is Spirit, and grounded in man's moral nature, is a substantial fact, and infinitely more—a fact plus reason and conscience; a fact relating to moral and religious culture—a sublime spiritual truth ultimating in consecration to the good, the beautiful, and the heavenly.

"Spiritualism is the philosophy of life—and the direct antithesis of materialism. If the illustrious Tyndall saw the 'potency and promise' of all life in matter, Spiritualists, with all rationalistic idealists, see the potency and promise of all life and evolutionary unfoldment in Spirit, which Spirit permeates and energizes the matter of all the subordinate kingdoms—mineral, vegetable, and animal."

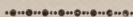
The larger portion of the volume is given up to the testimony of the great multitude of the world's most illustrious savants, philosophers, clergymen, teachers, editors, and essayists who have investigated psychic phenomena and have become convinced that there is a life after the change called death, and that under certain conditions it is possible for the disembodied spirit to manifest and to converse with those in the flesh to-day. Among these witnesses are Alfred Russel Wallace, Professor Crookes, M. Thiers (ex-President of the French Republic), William Makepeace Thackeray, Mrs. Browning, Gerald Massey, and Vic-

tor Hugo. The testimony and experiences of these and others cannot fail to be of interest to those attracted to the investigation of psychical phenomena.

There is one passage in the volume that, while it does not throw any light on the question, "If a man die shall he live again?"—with which the volume is chiefly concerned—is yet very interesting from a psychological view-point. It relates to Dickens's experiences with his creations, and is as follows:

"Charles Dickens, in a letter to Forster, the author of the 'Life of Charles Dickens,' says: 'When in the midst of this trouble and pain, I sit down to my books, some beneficent power shows it all to me, and tempts me to be interested; and I don't invent—really I do not—but *see it* and write it down.' James T. Field, Dickens's American publisher, says Dickens told him that, when writing 'The Old Curiosity Shop,' little Nell was constantly at his elbow, no matter where he might happen to be, claiming his attention and demanding his sympathy, as if jealous when he spoke to anybody else. When he was writing 'Martin Chuzzlewit,' Mrs. Gamp kept him in such paroxysms of laughter by whispering to him in the most inopportune places—sometimes even in church—that he was compelled to fight her off by main force, when he did not want her company, and threatened to have nothing more to do with her unless she could behave better, and come only when she was called."

This volume will doubtless have a wide sale, and, coming from a man who is at once deeply religious and a conscientious scholar exceptionally equipped for presenting his thought authoritatively, it possesses a value too often wanting in such works.



BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Our Benevolent Feudalism." By W. J. Ghent. Cloth, 202 pp. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

"The Proofs of Life After Death." A Twentieth Century Symposium compiled and edited by Robert J. Thompson. Cloth, 365 pp. Price, \$2 net. Chicago: Robert J. Thompson.

"Loyal Traitors." By Raymond L. Bridgman. Cloth, 310 pp. Price, \$1 net. Boston, Mass.: James H. West.

"The International Directory of Booksellers." Cloth, 384 pp. Price, six shillings net. Rochdale, England: James Clegg.

"How Baldy Won the County Seat." By Chas. J. Adams. Cloth, 383 pp. New York: F. Tennyson Neely.

"Climbing the Heights." By Martha Ellen Hale. Cloth, 329 pp. Price, \$1. Chicago: Scroll Pub. Co.

"A Man of Wax." By Laura M. Dake. Cloth, 122 pp. San Francisco: The Whittaker and Ray Company.

"The Life and Labors of Sir Isaac Pitman." By Ben Pitman. Illustrated, cloth, 202 pp. Price, \$1 net. Cincinnati, Ohio: Ben Pitman, Phonographic Institute.

"Scientific Bible." By Mary A. Hunt. Cloth, 73 pp. Price, \$1. Chicago: F. E. Ormsby.

"The Key that Fits the Lock, or Justice for the Toilers." By Elizabeth. Paper, 96 pp. Price, fifty cents. Gerard, Kansas: The Appeal Pub. Co.

"Practical Hypnotism." By O. Hashnu Hara. Paper, 103 pp. Price, one shilling net. The Apocalyptic Pub. Co., 12 St. Stephens Mansions, Westminster, London, S. W.

"Supply and Demand." By John Patterson. Paper, 43 pp. Published by the author at Nelson, B. C.

"Faith Built on Reason." By F. L. Abbott. Cloth, 83 pp. Price, fifty cents; postage six cents. Boston: James H. West Company.

"Behind the Bars." By Mary A. Jenks, M.D. Cloth, illustrated, 179 pp. Published by the author at Pawtucket, R. I.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE brief but suggestive article, "A Plea for Simpler Living," contributed to this month's ARENA by the Hon. Samuel M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo, is a timely protest against one of the growing evils of our civilization. Yet it must be confessed that the writer has left a number of things unsaid. There is a rational opulence that may be the object of legitimate pursuit; for *motive* is properly the deciding factor as to the wisdom of any undertaking. The accumulation of "things" is of less importance than the purpose for which they are sought. We often mistake the means for the end. But the base quality of greed, as manifested by the rich, is nearly always the result of opportunity plus habit intensified by human ingratitude, while among the poor it is invariably the outcome of necessity. Monopoly by the few inspires a fear of poverty among the many. The craze for "luxuries" is only a mistaken expression of the natural and righteous desire for happiness, and they often represent a mere investment intended to guarantee the possession of life's necessities.

This subconscious fear of personal penury is the greatest obstacle in the path of racial development. Its ramifications extend throughout all avenues of existence—frequently leading to political corruption, mental dishonesty, economic oppression, ethical insincerity, and religious hypocrisy. Two of these phases of the situation are admirably treated by Dr. Magnusson and Mr. Bennett in this issue of THE ARENA. The former occupies the chair of history and social science in the Minnesota State Normal School at St. Cloud, and in his satire of "The Town That Was Sold" outlines some of the probable consequences to the race if our laws continue to shield the monopolizer of natural opportunities. The latter is a well-known

Baltimore journalist, and in pointing out some of the autocratic features of our boasted Democracy he plainly shows how easily the greed for material wealth may develop into a thirst for power of all kinds.

Mr. Flower's opening editorial is a vitally important addition to this discussion. It will be continued also in the May number, presenting "The Case Against the Trusts." The second article will deal with the extortions practised by certain corporations upon the consumers and the oppression of their employees, concluding with their debauching influence on political life.

In Mr. Flower's essay on Mazzini, in our last number (page 267, twelfth line), an unfortunate typographical error made him say "Napoleon Bonaparte" where "Emperor Napoleon III." was intended. His continuation of the subject in the present issue, embodying many striking paragraphs from the great Italian's writings, is earnestly commended to every sincere political economist and social reformer of our own day.

The contribution by Mrs. Gaffney, in this number, on "Modern Dramatic Realism," is an exceedingly timely paper by a competent critic. The author is the head of the world's most powerful organization of women. The National Council, of which she is president, represents twenty different societies in the United States having a total membership of 1,200,000. One of its objects is the improvement of the general condition of women.

"Mormonism and Polygamy" is the topic of a symposium now in preparation for our next issue. President Smith, of the Reorganized Church, and John T. Bridwell, general secretary of the Anti-Mormon Missionary Association, will contribute to the discussion, which will be fraught with unusual interest owing to the formal protests recently lodged against the seating of Senator Smoot.

The May ARENA will also contain a supplementary article on the Venezuela affair by Edwin Maxey, LL.D., our special contributor on international questions, in addition to "The Lust of Money," by the Hon. Boyd Winchester; "The Federation of Labor," by James A. Slanker; "True Patriotism and Good Citizenship," by John T. Yates, and other features of the kind that distinguishes our monthly table of contents as an impartial review of the world's progress.

J. E. M.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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MORMONISM AND POLYGAMY.

I. THE "MORMONISM" OF TO-DAY.

FULLY four-fifths of the people of this country, if asked "What is Mormonism?" would answer, "It means polygamy." There is no subject talked about so much that is so little understood. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly called the Mormon Church, was organized April 6th, 1830, in the State of New York. It was not until 1843 that the revelation concerning plural marriage was made known by Joseph Smith, the earthly founder of the church. Even then it was not openly promulgated, but was practised by a very few individuals until 1852, when it was publicly proclaimed and its rightfulness recognized by the church. For obvious reasons only a minority of the "Mormon" people entered into plural family relations, and they did so under the most solemn covenants and agreements and religious ordinances.

It has been urged by persons who charge that Joseph Smith did not introduce the doctrine of plural marriage that strong denials of its practise were made by a number of persons in Nauvoo, among them many ladies, several of whom claim to have been sealed as wives to Joseph Smith, and that one elder in the church was excommunicated during the Prophet's lifetime for preaching polygamy. These statements are echoed by opponents of the "Mormons" for the purpose of showing that

the latter are guilty of double-dealing and deception. Fair investigation will show that in both cases the assertions are misleading and untrue.

During the period immediately preceding the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, what was known as "spiritual wifeism" was secretly taught by pretended Latter-day Saints, who subsequently apostatized and became the bitterest and most unscrupulous enemies of the "Mormons." Among them was the notorious John C. Bennett, who led away several foolish men and women by his wiles. It was that false and vicious doctrine that was denied by affidavit and by official declaration as being sanctioned by the church. The principle of celestial and plural marriage, as made known in the revelation of 1843, is not to be confounded with Bennett's system of lust, nor with polygamy as promulgated by the man who was cut off from the church for advocating it. Both have been repudiated, repeatedly, since the church accepted the plural marriage doctrine as brought to light by Joseph Smith the Seer.

The denials made by President John Taylor, for instance, which are often cited in this connection, had direct reference to the stories set on foot because of Bennett's depravity, and contained not one syllable against celestial or plural marriage as adopted by the church. The licentious practise thus denounced was as far from the pure principle revealed from on high as the slime of the gutter is from the glistening snow on the summits of our lofty mountain peaks. It is difficult to convince the prejudiced mind that any but base intents and impure desires prompted the practise of plural marriage, but nevertheless it was entered into, God knows, with the highest religious and moral motives.

It does not matter much to the general public whether plural marriage was or was not introduced by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. It has become a disputed question because of the position taken by his son, as set forth in *THE ARENA* for August, 1902. Among the "Mormons" in Utah there is no dubiety on this matter. The most intimate associates of the Prophet, his successors, and other church leaders declare they

received instructions concerning it from his lips. A number of ladies whose word is not doubted for a moment by those who know them best have testified in the most solemn manner, in public and in private, and also under oath before a notary, that they were married to him in Nauvoo. These, with hundreds of other persons acquainted with the facts, form a cloud of witnesses that establish this point beyond fair dispute. Against their attestations we have simply arguments, not un-mixed with patent sophistry, in the nature of a lawyer's special plea, from the head of the "Reorganized" church, who announces, in the face of all the proofs advanced, that he "prefers to believe" his father did not preach or practise polygamy or a plurality of wives! Let the matter pass. It is the present that most concerns the public.

The legislation against polygamy by Congress, and the endeavors of the church to resist those enactments on the ground of their conflict with the first Amendment to the Constitution, are pretty well known to the American public. It is not so generally known that the final decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that the anti-polygamy laws were not in contravention to the Constitution was the chief reason for the change of attitude on the part of the church leaders.

One of the revelations, binding upon the Latter-day Saints, is that they shall obey all constitutional laws of the land. The "Manifesto" issued by President Wilford Woodruff in September, 1890, and accepted and ratified by the church in conference assembled, October 6th, 1890, was consequent upon the settlement of the question in its legal aspect. It put a stop to further plural marriages by sanction of the church. They have ceased to be solemnized. A number of families whose plural relations were entered into before that time still remain in that status, but they are rapidly decreasing through the death of one or more of the parties and from other causes. When it is understood that the marriage ceremony in each case was performed for time and all eternity, the chief reason for the persistence of those relations may be readily comprehended.

To-day the preaching of "Mormonism" does not include

plural marriage, and the elders of the church are forbidden to teach it. None but legal marriages are solemnized in or by the church, and the acts of Congress against polygamy are embodied in the statutes of the State. Marriage is regarded by the Latter-day Saints as a sacrament. Under its higher ecclesiastical law it involves an everlasting covenant. That does not end with death. The marriage does not take place in the resurrection, but in time and in this world. It is of the nature of that marriage in the Garden of Eden between a man and a woman in whom then there was no death. It was a wedding of immortals. That which was lost through sin in the "fall" was restored through obedience and the atonement of Christ in the regeneration, and the resurrection brings the parted pair together again as one, "no more twain but one flesh"—spiritual, but tangible and eternal. That which is sealed on earth to-day by divinely revealed authority is sealed in heaven and remains in spite of death, immutable, and abides forever.

The family thus formed is the basis of an ever-increasing kingdom and dominion continuing in worlds without end. Marriages are permitted for time only, as not all persons are fitted for the higher conditions and the pure and sacred obligations they impose. The secular law in all cases, whether for time or eternity, is honored, and that requires a license and a ceremony to be recorded under the State statutes, which provide heavy penalties for their violation. Monogamic wedlock is thus established by law in Utah, and is really more rigidly observed here than in any other part of the Union.

"Mormonism" inculcates chastity of life, self-restraint, temperance, abstinence from stimulants, order, peace, charity, and fraternity. It teaches submission to law and promotes true patriotism. It recognizes the institutions of this country as established under Divine direction. It does not unite Church and State. It supports each in its own sphere, but regards them as separate and distinct, and holds that neither should encroach upon the domain of the other. The "Mormon" Church does not dictate the politics of its members or direct citizens how they shall vote. The only restraint it claims to exercise as

to political office is, that, before any man who holds an ecclesiastical position demanding his entire services for the church becomes a candidate for a secular office that would take him from his church duties, he shall obtain permission to do so from its presiding authorities. This is absolutely necessary to proper church discipline, and is only reasonable and just. When that consent has been obtained, no man occupying a political office in this land is freer than he to perform his duty to his country, nor enjoys greater liberty as an American citizen. Notwithstanding all that is said and imagined as to the interference of the church in political affairs, no citizen can truthfully assert that he has been deprived by the church of his freedom, or that the church has attempted to coerce or control conventions, elections, or legislatures.

“Mormonism” is a term coined by its adversaries. It cannot mean anything but that which was taught by Mormon. He was a prophet of God on this hemisphere about sixteen centuries ago. His doctrines can be learned from the book that bears his name. It was translated by Joseph Smith from metallic plates covered with ancient hieroglyphics and deposited by Mormon when his nation was about to perish, under the warlike race from which our present Indian tribes descended. Those doctrines are, simply, the gospel of Jesus Christ as he delivered it in person on this land, after His resurrection and ascension from Palestine. They are unmingled with the precepts of men. They are the principles of salvation. They teach faith, hope, and charity. They show the necessity of belief in God and obedience to His commands. They require repentance for sin, baptism by immersion in water by one having divine authority (for the remission of sins through Christ’s atonement), and they promise the gift of the Holy Ghost, through the laying on of hands, and all the gifts of that Spirit enjoyed of old. They explain the true order of the church organization and make plain the religion of the Redeemer.

The Book of Mormon gives the history of this continent back to a remote period. It describes the customs and doings of the early inhabitants of the land and traces their origin. It

gives the places of cities, temples, fortifications, and buildings, the ruins of many of which have been discovered since the book was published. It treats of the wars, troubles, division of tribes, their religion, rebellion, travels, triumphs, and tribulations, and forms a study for the archeologist and the antiquarian.

"Mormonism," then, is the pure gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ revealed anew in these latter times. Its advocates are not "Mormons," any more than they are Isaiahs or Ezekiels, Peters or Pauls, for they believe in the Old and New Testaments as well as in the Book of Mormon. Their proper name is Latter-day Saints, in distinction from that of the former-day saints. They claim to have a mission to proclaim the "everlasting gospel to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people," as brought to earth by the angel predicted by John the Divine in the Apocalypse. They gather to places appointed of God as his elect, called from all quarters of the earth. They "seek first the kingdom of God;" that is, His spiritual kingdom set up on the earth for the last days and for the last time, in the "dispensation of the fulness of times," in which all things in Christ are to be gathered in one. The elders of the church go into the world for this purpose, without pay or support other than that voluntarily bestowed by their hearers. They travel "without purse or scrip." They are often despised and rejected. They are men of pure lives, devoted to the welfare of humanity. They are constantly libeled and maligned, but they bear their cross with patience. Their reward comes from above. They invade no man's family. They have no inducements to offer to converts except the blessings that come from obedience to the truth, and a witness from God to each soul that accepts the message of salvation. To these may be added the assurance of persecution and obloquy and in many instances mobocracy and violence.

The "Mormons," or Latter-day Saints, are baptized by one spirit into one body. They are striving to live together in love, and to observe the Golden Rule. They are organized into a compact ecclesiastical body, and are guided by apostles and

prophets, pastors and teachers, and all the ministerial authorities that characterized the primitive Christian Church. These are inspired by divine revelation for the work of the ministry and the perfecting of the saints, and to give counsel and advice to them in all things pertaining to their welfare. But everything in the church has to be done by common consent. The people prosper under the system. They are advised to own the land on which they live and the homes that shelter them. The home is held sacred by the saints as the beginning of their heaven. They rear their families in the fear of God. The song of praise and the voice of prayer are heard in their habitations. They are becoming a power in the earth because of the virtues and the strength of a religion that is intensely spiritual and also eminently practical.

"Mormonism" is for the body as well as for the spirit. It is a religion for to-day. By right living now, its votaries are prepared for the future. By laying a firm foundation in this world, they expect to be able to build upon it in the world to come. No one need fear the spread of "Mormonism," for that means the spread of righteousness and order and peace. It is light in the midst of the darkness of this world. It contains the solution of every religious problem that has vexed and divided Christendom for centuries. It holds for future development the settlement of the conflict between capital and labor. It bears divine authority sent down from heaven in the nineteenth century, and it will not be taken from earth again. It will prepare the way for the coming of the King of kings, whose right it is to reign, and until then its people and their leaders are required to remain "in subjection to the powers that be," to live honoring kings, presidents, magistrates, and municipalities, and to uphold wholesome law wherever they reside.

"Mormonism" will be opposed and fought against, but it will not be overcome. It is of God, not of man. It is vital in every part. It puts down sin and vice and regards lust with abhorrence. It brings its devotees not only to the "unity of the faith," but to concert of purpose and of action. It leads them to individual communion with Deity, and at the same

time to perform their duties to one another on the earth. It promotes industry, thrift, education, progress, the fine arts as well as the common labors of life, and seeks for the acquirement of everything that is useful and beautiful in this world, and the securing of all the highest glories and exaltations in the world to come. "Mormonism" is God's truth manifested to man, and it will endure and conquer and abide forever.

JOSEPH F. SMITH.

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II. PLURAL MARRIAGE IN AMERICA.

THE reply to my article in THE ARENA for August, 1902, by President Joseph F. Smith, of the Utah polygamous church, in the November number of this magazine, makes it plain that "in the earlier days of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints monogamic marriage was advocated and upheld." This was the result of revelation to the church accepted and ratified by solemn assembly August 17, 1835.

The petition for amnesty to the President of the United States, from the Presidency and apostles of the Utah church, stated in regard to plural marriage: "That doctrine was publicly promulgated by our President, the late Brigham Young, forty years ago." This gives as the date of the acceptance of the doctrine August 29, 1852.

No other than the one-wife system of marriage was known or operative in the church during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. President Woodruff stated under oath, March 16, 1892, that he knew of no other law of marriage in the church during the lifetime of Joseph Smith than the one adopted in 1835. In regard to the revelation on polygamy, he stated: "I do not know where the original of the revelation, called the polygamous revelation, is. I never saw a copy of it or the original during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. I do not know whether the church of which I am the President has the purported copy or not."

Lorenzo Snow, a President of the Seventy under Joseph Smith, and living in Nauvoo in 1843, and President of the Apostles in Utah at the time of his testimony, states of this document: "I could not say whether it was after it was presented here by Brigham Young to the church that I saw it. I had not seen it up to that time, of course. I never saw the original."

The statements of William B. Smith, a brother of Joseph Smith, and John E. Page, apostles at Nauvoo, denounced the document as a heresy brought in after the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

James Whitehead, private secretary to Joseph Smith, testified:

"I landed in Nauvoo the 13th day of April, 1842; I lived there until the fall of 1847. I was the private secretary of Joseph Smith from early in June, 1842, until he was killed in 1844. The doctrine of polygamy was never taught by the elders, or high priests, or by any other person or persons of authority in that church so far as I know, or ever heard, between the years 1830 and 1844."

The existence of any secret wife system in the church was publicly denied October 1, 1842, by the following persons prominent in the church: S. Bennett, George Miller, Alpheus Cutler, Reynolds Cahoon, Wilson Law, W. Woodruff, N. K. Whitney, Albert Pettey, Elias Higbee, John Taylor, E. Robinson, and Aaron Johnson; Emma Smith, President of the Relief Society; Elizabeth Ann Whitney, counselor; Sarah M. Cleveland, counselor; Eliza R. Snow, secretary; Mary C. Miller, Lois Cutler, Thirza Cahoon, Ann Hunter, Jane Law, Sophia R. Marks, Polly Z. Johnson, Abigail Works, Catherine Pettey, Sarah Higbee, Phebe Woodruff, Lenora Taylor, Sarah Hillman, Rosanna Marks, and Angeline Robinson. Of this, President Woodruff, one of the men named, stated under oath: "I know all those ladies whose names appear in that certificate. There could not have been any rule of marriage or any order of marriage in existence at that time except that prescribed by the Book of Doctrine and Covenants to their knowledge. They

would certainly have known it, and up to the 1st day of October, 1842, there was no such system taught or practised openly or secretly to my knowledge."

The church was by revelation commanded to keep the law of the land. The Bible, Book of Mormon, and the revelations to the church were by command made the standards of faith and practise.

The contention of the Reorganized Church is this: The laws of God, found in the accepted books of the church, were given to constitute the rules of faith and practise, upon which the church was to be built and perpetuated; as a consequence, nothing could be given to the church that would conflict with the laws he had already given, or that would require the performance of any act by which those laws would be disregarded or broken.

Polygamists, Hedrickites, and the Anti-Mormon League—all, driven from positions that they have taken in their efforts to fasten the charge of polygamy upon Joseph Smith, have resurrected the *Nauvoo Expositor* and taken refuge under this conspiracy of lies. It was an imposition against Joseph Smith—false and slanderous then, and is now.

Emma Smith, the wife of Joseph Smith; William Marks, president of the Stake of Nauvoo and member of the High Council; James Whitehead, the private secretary of Joseph Smith—all standing in such relationship that the things charged could not have been true without their knowledge—ever maintained that the claim made by Brigham Young and his associates touching this document was false.

The document presented by Brigham Young, August 29, 1852, was not identified as the work of Joseph Smith. Of it Brigham Young said: "This revelation has been in my possession many years; and who has known it? None but those who should know it. I keep a patent lock on my desk, and there does not anything leak out that should not. The original copy of this revelation was burnt up; William Clayton was the man who wrote it from the mouth of the Prophet. In the meantime it was in Bishop Whitney's possession. He wished

the privilege to copy it, which Brother Joseph granted. Sister Emma burnt the original."

Mr. Young, however, did not name one of those to whom he refers to support him in the statement. One of the apostles and a President of Seventy who were with him in Nauvoo and Salt Lake City have given their sworn testimony, and neither was among those "who should know it."

William Clayton is introduced to prove the document. The document Brigham had is admitted not to be the one claimed to have been written by Clayton. The connection of Joseph Smith with this purported revelation depends upon the bare assertion of Brigham Young. Upon the publication of this statement of Young's, Mrs. Emma Smith Bidamon was interviewed at her home in Illinois, and her testimony was published during her lifetime. It is as follows:

"Mrs. Bidamon, have you seen the revelation on polygamy published by Orson Pratt, in the *Seer*, in 1852?"

"I have."

"Did you ever see that document in manuscript, previous to its publication by Pratt?"

"I never did."

"Did you see any document of that kind, purporting to be a revelation to authorize polygamy?"

"No; I never did."

"What about that statement of Brigham Young, that you burnt the original manuscript of that revelation?"

"It is false in all its parts, *made out of whole cloth*, without any foundation in truth."

In February, 1879, Mrs. Emma Smith Bidamon gave her statement for publication. She said:

"No such thing as polygamy, or spiritual wifery, was taught publicly or privately, before my husband's death, that I have now, or ever had, any knowledge of."

"Did he not have other wives than yourself?"

"He had no other wife but me; nor did he to my knowledge ever have."

The persons put forward by Joseph F. Smith and his asso-

ciates to identify the polygamous revelation corroborate the position that the document is a forgery. One is Joseph C. Kingsbury, a patron of polygamy, and the other Mercy Rachel Thompson, aunt of Joseph F. Smith, both of Salt Lake City. Neither witness could give a single word from memory of what the original paper contained, but both agreed that the document that they saw was written upon only one or two sheets of foolscap paper. Of this they were positive. Mr. Kingsbury testified :

"The paper I copied, I presume, was copied in an hour ; but I could not tell exactly, of course. Yes ; I said I copied the revelation on one sheet of paper—foolscap."

Mrs. Mercy Rachel Thompson testified :

"I saw that revelation on polygamy, and had it in my hands—saw what kind of paper it was written on. It was written on foolscap paper. I do not know exactly how many pages there were of it—think there was not more than one whole sheet. If there had been more than one full sheet, I should have known it. I cannot mention anything that was in it. I do not know that the name of Joseph Smith was signed to it."

The document presented by Brigham Young has sixty-six paragraphs, besides the heading, covering eleven pages 8mo printed matter, and could not be copied in long-hand by a fair penman in several hours, nor on one sheet of foolscap paper. If the witnesses produced to prove the existence of this purported revelation testified to the truth, it is a fraud. The witnesses described a different document altogether. Mrs. Bathsheba Smith, wife of George A. Smith, counselor to Brigham Young, also testified. She said, referring to Emma, Joseph Smith's wife :

"There was nobody else held out as his wife while I was living in Nauvoo, nor down to the time of his death. I do not know of any member of the church having more wives than one, at Nauvoo, during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. I lived there from 1840 up to the time he died. I never heard of any such thing. I heard of the John C. Bennett secret-wife doctrine ; the church authorities denounced that at the time,

denounced Bennett for that doctrine and cut him off from the church, and preached against it—preached against it publicly right there in the city of Nauvoo, at the time; Joseph Smith and the rest of them—and particularly Joseph Smith—denounced him.”

Of the practise of plural marriage in Joseph Smith’s lifetime, Cyrus H. Wheelock, called as a witness by President Woodruff, testified :

“Anybody was liable to be excommunicated or disfellowshipped from the church who attempted to teach the doctrine of plural marriage at that time, up to the death of Joseph Smith. I know that if I had taught it I would be liable to be excommunicated mighty quick. I never heard of the ceremony of plural marriage performed in Nauvoo before the death of Joseph Smith. Joseph Smith said in 1844, when he was denouncing the John C. Bennett secret-wife system, that there was no such system, as that introduced or practised by John C. Bennett, taught or practised ... the church, and that the teaching and practising of it would take the people who practised it *to hell.*”

This shows, by polygamists themselves, the attitude of Joseph Smith to have been against polygamy up to the time of his death. That polygamy may have been practised in Nauvoo by John C. Bennett and others, and that it made inroads upon the flock despite the efforts of Joseph Smith made against it, both in public and in private, may be true.

William Marks, President of the Stake and of the High Council in Nauvoo, in a letter dated Shabbona, DeKalb County, Illinois, October 23, 1859, gives the attitude of Joseph Smith toward polygamy just a few days before his death. He wrote :

“I will give his words verbatim, for they are indelibly stamped upon my mind. He said he had desired for a long time to have a talk with me on the subject of polygamy. He said it eventually would prove the overthrow of the church, and we should soon be obliged to leave the United States unless it could be speedily put down. He was satisfied that it was a cursed doctrine, and that there must be every exertion made

to put it down. He said that he would go before the congregation and proclaim against it, and I must go into the High Council, and he would prefer charges against those in transgression, and I must sever them from the church unless they made ample satisfaction. There was much more said, but this was the substance. The mob commenced to gather about Carthage in a few days after; therefore, there was nothing done concerning it."

Here in private he called it a "cursed doctrine," agreeing with the public statements testified to by Cyrus H. Wheelock and Bathsheba Smith. This is a refutation of the charge that Joseph Smith was in polygamy. How could he prefer charges against those in transgression, and "have them severed from the church," if he was himself guilty?

Parties misrepresent the Reorganized Church by using a letter written by Isaac Sheen and published in the *Saints' Herald* (vol. i., p. 27), claiming from this that the church has changed position upon the question since the year 1860. If these men are looking for the truth, why do they not examine the testimony of William Marks, found on the opposite page? William Marks is a witness stating what he knows. Isaac Sheen was not a witness; he knew nothing about the facts personally, and simply wrote a letter arguing the matter, taking the statement made by Brigham Young in 1852, "that the revelation was burnt," as one basis. The letter was written to the *Saturday Evening Post*, October 9, 1852, and published before Isaac Sheen was a member of the Reorganized Church. It was afterward published as a clipping in the *Saints' Herald*, but shows in no way whatever the attitude of the church upon the question, nor of any of its leading officers.

The enemies of Joseph Smith in Nauvoo and elsewhere had a remedy at hand, if he had violated the laws of the State, that would have been as ineffectual to Joseph Smith as a like procedure would have been to Paul had he brought a suit for slander in the courts of Judea or Rome, notwithstanding the fact that he was pressed daily with the most slanderous lies. These enemies were not only willing to use voluntary witnesses who

knew anything, but actually suborned witnesses to try to convict him upon false accusations. If those whom Joseph Smith had severed from the church knew anything, they had means of redress through the courts. The general prejudice against Joseph Smith and the "sect everywhere spoken against" was such as to close redress to him through the courts, as it did to the friends of Colonel Owen Lovejoy, the abolitionist, who was shot down in the streets of Alton, Ill. That this was not done by those who claimed to have so much proof in the attack by the *Nauvoo Expositor* places the matter beyond controversy that the attack was by those who were angry because they had been severed from the church, and were determined to ruin the man who had been prominent in accomplishing it.

The *Expositor* was issued June 7, 1844. Complaints had been filed at the May term of court against Joseph Smith; he appeared in court upon these complaints and demanded trial; the prosecution was not ready and the causes were deferred till the October term. Twenty days from the issue of the *Expositor* Joseph Smith was killed. What opportunity did this period of twenty days afford him to prosecute for slander those who made allegations in that paper of wrongdoing on his part, when no names are signed to the articles, nor specific items of identification given in the paper itself to show who were responsible for the slanderous assertions? Those who now assert that Joseph Smith should have appealed to the courts for redress if he were slandered show much ignorance of the facts and the conditions existing at the time.

To contradict Mrs. Emma Smith in her denial of consenting to or having knowledge of her husband marrying a second wife, the affidavits of Emily D. P. Young and Eliza R. Snow Young, wives of Brigham Young, Eliza M. Lyman, Lucy W. Kimball, William Clayton, *et al.*, all polygamists, are published in *Historical Record* (Utah), pp. 219 to 234, and the 11th day of May, 1843, is fixed as the day when Emma Smith gave two in one day to her husband; and but for the fact that Joseph Smith during his lifetime had kept a private journal, recording the transactions of each day, Mrs. Smith would have been at the

mercy of these conspirators. It is remarkable that Joseph Smith should be able to record himself in condemnation of polygamy through his writings upon an issue made twenty-five years after his death. His private journal was consulted, and contained the following:

"Thursday, the 11th day of May, 1843.—At six A. M. baptized Louisa Beeman, Sarah Alley, and others. At 8 A. M. went to see a new carriage made by Thomas Moore, which was ready for travel. Emma went to Quincy in new carriage. I rode out as far as Prairie. At 10 A. M. B. Young, H. C. Kimball, P. P. Pratt, O. Pratt, O. Hyde, W. Woodruff, Geo. A. Smith, John Taylor, and W. Richards assembled in council and voted that Addison Pratt, Noah Rogers, Benjamin F. Grouard, and Knowlton F. Hanks go on a mission to the Pacific Isles. Captain Dan Jones prepared himself to take a mission to Wales; James Sloan to go to Ireland; Reuben Headlock, John Cairns, and Samuel James to England; and that Reuben Headlock preside over the church, etc., be assisted by elders Hiram Clark and Thomas Ward. That the brothers Cairns go to Scotland."

These and other council proceedings occupied the day. The journal further states that Emma returned from Quincy May 15th. This confirms the statement of the wife of the prophet.

The teachings of the Bible, Book of Mormon, and the revelations given to the church were to govern and control until Christ's second coming. These teachings are binding on all Latter-day Saints. They are in favor of monogamy and opposed to polygamy. There is no provision for a change in the law to govern the domestic relation. Those who assert that there is use subterfuges too glaring to be credited.

It is held by Utah polygamists and adopted by anti-Mormons that the statement in the Book of Mormon, "For if I will, saith the Lord of hosts, raise up seed unto me, I will command my people: otherwise, they shall hearken unto these things," is to be taken as meaning that God would at some time thereafter give a command authorizing polygamy. That this is clearly erroneous is shown by what preceded those words: "Where-

fore, saith the Lord, I have led this people forth out of the land of Jerusalem . . . that I might raise up unto me a righteous branch from the fruit of the loins of Joseph." The commandment was monogamic, and agrees with Genesis ii. 24, Malachi ii. 15, and the command given the church in 1831: "Marriage is ordained of God unto man; wherefore it is lawful that he should have one wife, and they twain shall be one flesh."

Joseph Smith could not have either taught or practised contrary to this rule of marriage. To have done so he would have disregarded and disobeyed the commands of the Lord, as he and his associates understood them. The evidence that he did this is lacking or altogether inadequate. It is proof that no children were born to him except by his wife Emma. The chief contention of the Reorganized Church and the sons of the prophet Joseph Smith is not that he was not a polygamist, but that the dogma and practise are contrary to Scripture, ancient and modern, and wrong—being also contrary to the law of God and the institutions of the United States.

For the religious enemies of Mormonism to read into its declarations of faith parenthetical explanations and conjectural statements as assumed facts, and to interweave into the citations from its articles of faith and its sacred books misstatements and mischievous allusions foreign to the text, is a work unchristian in motive and false in argument; and yet this is the method employed by the sectaries opposed to the church in Utah and the Reorganized Church alike, on the ground that, having common origin, both are bad. It is an unworthy method, and cannot succeed; its animus defeats itself.

God having by creation provided for an approximate equality of the sexes in number, the males in excess, to counteract the loss in strenuous life, the revelation authorizing polygamy commands an impossibility, or creates special favor to the few against the many, contrary to the gospel of Christ; hence, it cannot be from God.

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III. ORIGIN OF AMERICAN POLYGAMY.

MORMONISM is a subject of perennial interest. It appeals to the imagination and presents many intricate historical problems. One of the most important concerns the origin of American polygamy. Was it from God, from Joseph Smith, or from Brigham Young? From the ranks of Mormonism comes a babel of conflicting answers. Some say from God, through Smith the prophet; some from the devil, through Smith the apostate; others, led by Smith's own son, from the devil, through Brigham Young the impostor. This babel has recently found expression in *THE ARENA*. The son of the "prophet" first stated his view and gave his reasons therefor. He is the head of the *Reorganized Church*. He was answered by Joseph F. Smith, the leader of the Utah Mormons, who held strenuously to the view that polygamy came from God through Joseph the prophet.

That neither advocate lacks witnesses is certainly a notable feature of the discussion. So much contradictory testimony, from men and women *who should know*, seems very confusing. We would naturally expect a discernible preponderance of testimony. That we do not find it is in complete accord with what have been conceded to be the facts of Mormon history by all historians other than Mormons.

Joseph Smith, the "seer," was a practical polygamist both at Kirtland and in Missouri; *i.e.*, as opportunity offered, he enjoyed the "blessings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." A few shared his confidence and partook with him of the "blessings." Thus he prepared the way for the "revelation." At Nauvoo he continued this characteristic policy, even after the "revelation" had come. Double dealing while surrounded by opposing and indignant Gentiles, and in a church but partly prepared for a reign of lust, was an absolute necessity. On subjects of high spiritual import, like the number of Joseph's *liaisons*, the Gentile had no right to the truth, and the "weak brother" was "unable to receive it." Not till Young had safely conducted "Zion" to far-away Utah was the truth avowed.

Some of Smith's associates knew him to be a polygamist; others thought he was not. The Utah Mormons must at once admit that they pursued this policy.

In 1850, John Taylor, who at the time had ten wives, publicly denied polygamy. He only did what all had done for years. Hyrum Smith, like Taylor, denied it. An elder had been disciplined for teaching it, and a circular letter, signed by the Utah clique, declared that no such thing was taught in Nauvoo. But how about the Reorganized Church and the prophet's son? Must they admit that this policy was characteristic of the early church? In the first number of the *Saints' Herald*, their official organ, we find the following: "Joseph Smith repented of his connection with this doctrine and said it was from the devil. He caused the revelation on that subject to be burnt. When he voluntarily came back to Nauvoo and surrendered himself into the hands of his enemies, he said he was going to Carthage to die. At that time he also said that if it had not been for that accursed spiritual wife doctrine he would never have come to that." The same paper says: "The death of the prophet is a fact that has been realized, although he repented of the iniquity and abhorred it before his death."

Relying on the lapse of time and the contradictory things told about it, the church over which the son presides has made a remarkable change of front in the matter of the father's connection with "that accursed doctrine." They evidently stood just where the Utah Mormons do on the connection of Smith with the "revelation," and of course were compelled to admit that his protests against it were a sham. But the son lays great stress on the Book of Mormon as an evidence of the father's innocence. It is to be feared that he stops reading before the "Lord" has ceased to speak. It enjoins chastity upon a fictitious people living in America 500 B. C. It then leaps over twenty-three centuries, lands some place near the Smith cabin, in western New York, and says: "For if I will, saith the Lord of hosts, raise up seed unto me [when Joseph wants a chance at the "blessings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob"], I will com-

mand my people [July 12, 1843]: otherwise [*i.e.*, if Joseph does not give the "revelation"] they shall hearken to these things [the commands against polygamy given to the fictitious Nephites]." (Lamoni edition, p. 116.) By the insertion of these parentheses we can see that the sentence that the Lamoni chieftain *always* omits is strikingly in harmony with the facts. Chastity is the fiction; the "blessings" are the real thing.

Let us hear a witness from Nauvoo—one that Joseph suppressed by violence. Had the witness not told the truth the courts were open for lawful redress: "We hope many items of doctrine as now taught, some of which, however, are taught secretly and denied openly, and others publicly, considerate men will treat with contempt. We are earnestly seeking to explode the vicious principles of Joseph Smith and those who practise the same abominations and whoredoms." (Nauvoo *Expositor*, June 7, 1844.) Joseph had evidently been after the "blessings."

As we have charged that the early Mormons were guilty of duplicity in reference to polygamy, it is now in point to raise the question as to whether they ever practised misrepresentation in anything else. If they did, the position is much strengthened. If the matter is of great importance and involves the prophet, it presents an insuperable objection to the religion that he founded, whether we look upon his son or his nephew as its real exponent.

Smith's early "revelations" were sent to the printing house in Missouri to be printed. Before they were bound into books the establishment was wrecked, and most of the printed matter on hand destroyed. Several complete copies of the "revelations" were saved, however, and bound as the Book of Commandments. One of these is accessible to the writer. Two years later the "revelations" were reprinted as the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. Many startling changes had occurred in the "word of the Lord to my servant Joseph." For instance, the expression, "I will consecrate the riches of the Gentiles unto my people," becomes "For I will consecrate the riches of those who embrace my gospel among the Gentiles

to the poor of my people." "Consecrating" the riches of the Gentiles was a costly experiment. The "Lord" had to get out of it some way, and Joseph was not the man to let the "Lord" come to grief. The point, however, is this: in saving the "Lord," Joseph had to give "my people" false revelations in the place of the true ones. The false are the ones they have to this day. There is evident duplicity here. If they would misrepresent the "word of the Lord," does any one doubt that they would tell things contrary to the facts when their sins were in question? Let it be remembered that these changes are numerous and far-reaching so far as the practical teaching of Joseph was concerned.

Let us now examine another case. Shortly after the Book of Mormon came forth its advocates put it forward, in their efforts to make converts, very much more than they do now. They soon had a system of evidences by which its high claims were vindicated. Several works were written on the subject, but the one that had, perhaps, the greatest circulation of them all is a tract written by Parley P. Pratt, one of the first quorum of apostles. It is called "A Voice of Warning." It is circulated to this day by both the Utah and Reorganized churches, and is pronounced by the latter organization to be perhaps the best work for instruction in the gospel, considering its size and cheapness, that has ever been put forth. It assails the ministry of the evangelical churches as priests "who preach for hire and divine for money, and who receive their authority from their fellow-men." It calls for men "who take not the honor upon themselves, but are called as was Aaron." "Apostle" Pratt was evidently that kind of a man, if we allow him to state his own credentials, and he claimed the same thing for his associates.

The fourth chapter is devoted in part to the Book of Mormon. It tells of its wonderful discovery and the startling events that attended it. A careful argument then follows in which he shows it to be in accord with the traditions of the American Indians, whose ancestors and kinsmen are supposed to have written it. In this argument is the following quotation

from Dr. Boudinot, author of "A Star in the West": "It is said among their principal or beloved men that they have it handed down from their ancestors that *such a book as* the white people have was once theirs; that while they had it they prospered exceedingly, etc." Dr. Boudinot says, in the passage quoted, "that *the book which* the white people have was once theirs." *The book* is the Bible. *Such a book as*, according to Pratt, would be the Book of Mormon. The reason for the change is evident. "Etc.," in the quotation, represents the following: "but that the white people bought it of them, and learnt many things from it; while the Indians lost their credit, offended the great spirit, and suffered exceedingly from the neighboring nations." The omitted section says that the Indian tradition claims that the Indians had the *very book* which the white people have. So far as Mr. Pratt gave us this quotation 102 words are right. (Only the altered portion is used in this article.) Three are changed. The change is altogether in the direction of the writer's interest.

Another quotation from Boudinot is found on the following page. The first half of it, consisting of 47 words, is exactly right. Then follows: "There is a tradition related by an aged Indian of the Stockbridge tribe that their fathers were once in possession of a 'Sacred Book,' *which was handed down from generation to generation and at last hid in the earth*, since which time they have been under the feet of their enemies. But those oracles were to be restored to them again, and then they would triumph over their enemies, and regain their ancient country, together with their rights and privileges." This agrees with the first excerpt from Boudinot as amended by Pratt. If we take the passage as it occurs in "A Star in the West," this flatly contradicts it. How can we explain it? Easily. Search Boudinot from cover to cover and the "Sacred Book" section cannot be found. Pratt was helping the "Lord" out (of course it is Joseph's Lord) by manufacturing some testimony to sustain his book. Is it a misrepresentation? What else can it be? It is untrue, and it is impossible for it to be a mistake. Too many things are quoted accurately to allow

even for a moment that this is a lapse of memory. It is rather a lapse of morals.

This happened as early as 1839; yet Joseph Smith never re-proved it. The "Lord" should certainly have told him of the sin of his apostle, but he never did so. Joseph died without anything so creditable to his prophetic office occurring; and his successors in office, whether they sit at Lamoni or Salt Lake City, have to this time failed to make any correction. And they are "inspired." *So was Brother Pratt.* Again we may ask, Was the early Mormon church ever guilty of duplicity? Who can deny it? If they would deceive the people about the Book of Mormon, they would do the same thing about the "blessings."

The logic of the situation, as pitiless as death and as remorseless as fate, drives us to the following conclusions:

1. Joseph Smith was the author of the "revelation" on polygamy. He both taught it and practised it. His sole authority was his own lusts. It is blasphemy to say that it came from God; it is false to lay it at the door of Brigham Young. He may have enjoyed the "blessings" as much as did Joseph, but he did not originate either the Mormon religion or the practise of polygamy.

2. He (Smith) tried to deceive many of the Mormons about it, and all of the Gentiles. This accounts for the fact that the Mormons are divided on the question. It will also explain the apparent strength of the arguments made by the respective heads of the Mormon churches. It was positively affirmed by the Nauvoo *Expositor*.

3. The foregoing conclusion is emphasized by the fact that the policy of deception was also employed in two instances in which it vitally affects that which they claim to be the word of God. They changed the "revelations" given by Smith, yet left his followers to believe that they were the same. They deliberately manufactured evidences to prove the truth of the Book of Mormon and circulate the forged testimony to this day. These instances have been selected for two reasons. The first is that they strike a blow at the sacred books of the Mormons

while establishing the fact of Smith's double-dealing. The second is that the proof is found in documents—unbiased, feelingless, and unprejudiced, as the living witness can never be. Boudinot's book has no ill will toward the Mormons. It says to-day just what it said eighty-seven years ago. The same may be said of the other works quoted. They are most of them what the Mormons made them.

4. The battle between the Smiths is a noisy and demonstrative sham. They may be earnest enough, but there is nothing in it, after all is said in their favor that we can possibly say. It is merely a contest between two religious delusions to determine which has the right to claim descent from another delusion. To one who appreciates the merits of the case the story of a certain small boy is in point. He was to watch the freaks in a museum, and report if anything went wrong. Directly he came running to the showman, excited and breathless. When he was able to express himself he cried: "Mister! Mister! The two-headed monster is a-fightin' with herself, and a pullin' out all of her hair!" Long may she fight!

JOHN T. BRIDWELL.

Trimble, O.

THE MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP CONVENTION.

[*Staff Correspondence.*]

THE "National Convention on Municipal Ownership and Public Franchises," held in New York February 25 to 27, 1903, under the auspices of the New York Reform Club, was one of the most important gatherings, if not the most important, that has yet taken place in this field of economic and political science.

Among the attractive things in the program were: (1) the addresses of Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary of the National Municipal League, and Mayor Head of Nashville, Tenn., on the political influence of franchise corporations; (2) the debates on gas and electric lighting, with Lt. Cahoon, secretary and ex-president of the National Electric Lighting Association, J. E. Lockwood, president of the Michigan Electric Company of Detroit, and H. L. Doherty, past president of the Ohio Gas Light Association and President of the Denver Gas Light Company, on the one side, and Professor E. W. Bemis, of Cleveland, E. B. Ellicott, city electrician for Chicago, Victor Rosewater, editor of the Omaha *Daily Bee*, F. F. Ingram, commissioner of electric lighting in Detroit, and Mr. Bellamy of Liverpool on the other; (3) the discussion on the telephone between U. N. Bethell, general superintendent of the New York Telephone Company, and Professor Frank Parsons of Boston, president of the National Public Ownership League, and the contest over municipal ownership of street railways, etc., in England, between Chas. J. Yerkes, street railway magnate of Philadelphia, Chicago, New York, and London fame, and R. P. Porter, director of the eleventh census of the United States, for private ownership, and C. R. Bellamy, general manager of the Municipal Tramways of Liverpool, Robert Donald, editor

of the *Municipal Journal* of London, and Mayor Urquhart of Toronto, in favor of municipal ownership; (4) contributions of special interest relating to the history of municipal ownership in the United States by Professor Haskins, dean of the New York University School of Commerce, Professor Meade and Professor Rowe of the University of Pennsylvania, William Wirt Howe of New Orleans, former president of the American Bar Association, and L. N. Case, manager of the Duluth water and lighting plants; Massachusetts' experiences in the regulation of street railways, by Louis D. Brandeis of Boston; the necessity of municipal ownership to secure due coördination of public service, by the Hon. John De Witt Warner, president of the New York Art Commission; the regulation of public service corporations, by Allen Riply Foote, editor of *Public Policy*, and John R. Commons, secretary of the Taxation Commission of the National Civic Federation; the taxation of franchise values, by Professor Seligman of Columbia University and Senator John Ford of New York; (5) recent German experiences with municipal ownership, by Dr. Heyn of Berlin, and the results of municipalizing the water supply, by W. R. Hill, ex-president of the American Water Works Association; and (6), last but not least, the discussion of the initiative and referendum in their relation to municipal ownership, by George H. Shibley of Washington, chairman of the National Federation for Majority Rule, Eltweed Pomeroy of Newark, president of the National Direct Legislation League, and Professor Parsons of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

Among the delegates not on the list of speakers were Professor John Graham Brooks of Harvard University, Professor Dyer of Vanderbilt University, Mayor Sullivan of Hartford, and Professor Hawkins of Syracuse University.

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The impromptu discussions were often quite as fine as the prepared addresses. Two or three of the speakers on electric lighting spent too much time going into details that should have been left for the printed page; and one nice old gentle-

man, left over from a past geologic epoch, treated the assembly to a long harangue about the lunatics (of which the convention was full) who did not have sense enough to know that the principles of liberty, democracy and true limitation of governmental functions were positively opposed to municipal ownership. But for the most part the time of the meetings was well spent and the results were extraordinarily valuable.

Of the statements of practical results and personal experience, the speeches of Mr. Ingram of Detroit, Mr. Bellamy of Liverpool, and Mayor Urquhart of Toronto met with the most enthusiastic approval; and of the more comprehensive discussions the arguments of Professor Parsons of Boston and Dr. Donald of England received the most attention and applause, which indicates a supra-fiscal attitude on the part of the convention, since these addresses were the two that, though dealing strongly with the financial side of the question, placed the main emphasis on the ethical, social, and political reasons for public ownership.

Mr. Ingram said: "Detroit's municipal electric street lighting plant has been in operation seven years, being founded in 1895 by the late Governor Pingree, then mayor of Detroit. It is the largest municipal plant in the country except in Chicago. It is managed by a non-salaried commission of six appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council, one member retiring each year. On contract with private companies, Detroit paid from \$240 to \$128 per 2,000-c. p. arc light per year. The last contract was at the rate of \$132. Under municipal ownership the total cost, including interest, depreciation, and taxes, was \$100 the first year (much under \$100 if allowance is made for expenditures really relating to other service than street lights and other items not fairly attributable to the arcs), and has steadily declined to \$63 in 1902. As a mere business proposition the municipal plant has proved a good investment for Detroit. In three years more the plant will have paid for itself, and the city will have a plant worth \$800,000, and the service too, for \$160,000 less than the service alone would have cost at the lowest obtainable bid for a ten-year contract—\$102 per arc; so that

the city will be about one million dollars better off than with private lighting—an aggregate saving to the people of about \$1,000,000 in ten years by the public ownership of a street-lighting system only, without the advantage of supplying commercial lights to private consumers, which would still further reduce the cost and increase the savings of municipal ownership. A great improvement of the service has resulted. For instance, the number of lamp hours reported 'out' the last year of contract lighting was 86,426, while last year under municipal lighting it was but 6,826, with 50 per cent. more lamps burning.

"Detroit's public plant pays union wages and runs on the eight-hour day. The permanency of employment is shown by the fact that 38 per cent. of the present employees have been in the service since the start in 1895; 59 per cent. since 1898, and 76 per cent. since 1900. Machine politics and superfluous employees have found no opportunity in this public utility. In the history of the Detroit Commission there have been but three politicians out of thirteen appointments, and they have each resigned after a brief service, because, according to their own statements, they found that their prestige as politicians suffered, as there was no opportunity to reward their political followers. The civil service rules of the system prevented any spoils or 'patronage,' but the politicians could not make their constituents understand that they were powerless to reward them with positions on the electric service, and so they could not afford to remain on the board—a sort of automatic purging of the political element resulting from the establishment of a civil service organized on business principles."

Mr. Bellamy, manager of the Liverpool street railways, stated that "when the city took the roads it tore out the old plant at once and put in an electrical equipment, greatly improved the speed, comfort, and safety of the service, raised wages, and cut fares about one-half. The enterprise is worth \$5,000,000 more than its capitalization, and in twenty-five years the debt will be entirely extinguished. The tramways pay a large sum each year in reduction of local taxes; yet over a million is saved to the people in lower fares each year. The

fares now are two cents in the old city, and four cents beyond. Ninety per cent. of the passengers pay the two-cent fare. About \$200,000 a year, or one-third of the total wage payment, represents the direct gain of the employees through municipal ownership. It would have cost \$200,000 less if we had worked the men the same hours and paid the same wages as the private company did, so that in hours and wages the men have gained an equivalent of about 50 per cent. So much the city has willingly given, and the men are entirely satisfied. In respect to the question whether the men might not combine to secure undue advance of wages through political action, the management has no fear of any such thing; and the labor representatives in the councils representing outside labor would object to having the wages of the tram-men raised too much above the general level of wages outside."

Mr. Yerkes's paper contained the following luminous remarks: "Municipal control should rarely exist. All business interests should be taken hold of intelligently. How ridiculous to suppose a municipality could manage a railway economically or wisely! No doubt private ownership can be abused; but what cannot be? No matter what the abuses have been as related to the country, it is far ahead of anything like municipal control."

Mayor Urquhart of Toronto said he belonged to the minority party, but he was elected on a public ownership platform. There was a very strong sentiment in favor of municipal ownership, not only among workingmen and small business men but even among large business men, the vice-president of the Board of Commerce being one of the strongest advocates of it. "Toronto owns her water-works and recently cut the rates in two, supplying an ordinary six-roomed house, with bath, etc., for \$2.40 a year; an eight-roomed house for \$3.60; a ten-roomed house for \$4.20, and a small house with one faucet for \$1 a year." Toronto owns the street railways and has leased them on terms that he said had been pronounced by Professor Parsons and other experts to be the best yet made between a city and a company. Under these terms the company pays the

city \$800 a year for each mile of single track, plus 8 per cent. of the gross receipts up to one million dollars; 10 per cent. between one million and one and a half million; 12 per cent. between two million and three million; and 20 per cent. on all above three million, which means over 15 per cent. of the total income of the company. Besides this, twenty-five tickets must be sold for one dollar, or six for a quarter, workingmen's tickets eight for a quarter (or a little over three cents a ride), and school children's ten for a quarter, or two and one-half cents a ride. The city also regulates the treatment of employees, has large control over the service and the book-keeping, and audits the company's accounts every month. Toronto also owns the cattle market and wharves and is the largest owner of real estate in the city, leasing part of it in the business part of the city and along the water front at good rentals. There is a movement now for a municipal telephone exchange.

* * *

Fine as these statements were, the highest notes of the convention were struck in the following passages from the addresses of Professor Parsons and Dr. Donald.

"Public ownership is higher in the scale of civilization," said Professor Parsons, "than ownership by a private corporation. The history of civilization is the history of the growth of co-operation in ever-widening circles, till at last the all-inclusive circle of public ownership is reached. All the functions of government were first private, then public, as civilization grew. Public ownership means a fuller harmony, a completer unity, a higher integration—a union of all for the benefit of all in place of a union of part against the rest. A private corporation is itself a step in the process of crystallization, which will not be complete in respect to any public utility till the little corporation melts into the big one. Public ownership is simply a further step in the progress toward the complete organization of industry of which the corporations are partial and undeveloped forms—an organization which it is to be hoped may become complete by the development of the public ownership of monopolies and utilities like education and fire service, the due

diffusion of which is too vital to be left to private enterprise, and the growth and federation of coöperative industry in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture. *Too much attention is given to the financial side of the question.* Days and weeks are spent in proving that public ownership saves money or the contrary. Such arguments cannot be conclusive. A method or institution might save money, and yet be inferior in respect to far more important considerations; or it might fail to make money and yet be best in the light of the higher tests. The over-worship of money is the fault of our age. It is of prime importance that the commercial astigmatism of the times should be corrected, so that social questions may be viewed in their true proportions and relations. *The fundamental test of any institution, method, or service is its effect on the public good—its relation to morals, manhood, government, industry, civilization, and progress; and in applying this vital test the principal emphasis must be placed, not on financial results, but on human rights. Character and human development, happy homes and noble lives are the real ends for which telephones and street railways and all other institutions—industrial, political, and social—exist; and only so far as they conduce to those ends is their existence justified.*"

Professor Parsons then applied both financial and social tests and cited clusters of facts and diagrams full of data showing that public telephone plants aim at service, while private systems aim at private profit; that public systems keep their capitalizations down to actual values or below; that they make lower rates than private exchanges in the same locality; that they offer greater facilities and secure a wider use of the 'phone than private companies in the same country or city, give labor better wages and shorter hours, secure absolute economies through the absence of legislative expenses and through the higher efficiency of better paid labor, etc., put the profits into the public treasury instead of into the pockets of rich men, so aiding the diffusion of wealth, favor political purity by removing the main cause of municipal corruption—the franchise corporations, and, by transferring the financial interests of wealthy

and influential stockholders to the side of good government and honest administration, remove the antagonism of interest between the owners and the public, which is the tap-root of the evils of private monopoly, and lift the relationship of men to a higher plane by replacing the low relations of conflict and mastery with the higher relations of partnership and devotion.

General Manager Bethell stated that, in France, Switzerland, and other European countries having public telephones, the telephone wages, service, and development were inferior to ours, and compared the number of telephones in Manhattan and Bronx boroughs of New York City with the number in Berlin. Professor Parsons replied that it was not fair to compare American exchanges with those of Europe in order to test the value of public ownership, for the difference might be due to dissimilarity in energy, push, and general civilization. America was far ahead of Europe in matters that were private on both sides of the sea. The true comparison was between public and private ownership in the same country or city. He had personally inspected the telephone systems in most of the countries of Europe, and found the best public systems vastly superior to the private service in England. In France, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and parts of Great Britain, where public telephones had followed private exchanges, wages had been increased, the service greatly improved and extended, and the rates much reduced. It was also unfair to compare the business heart of New York with the whole of Berlin. If the whole of New York were compared with the whole of Berlin, the German city showed the greater telephone development.

We have reserved for the last what was really the greatest contest of the convention—the discussion of the success or failure of municipal ownership in Great Britain. In England, where more than half the gas is supplied by municipalities, and more than half the mileage of the street railways is owned by the cities, the rapid advance of municipalization has alarmed the corporations and they have instituted a crusade against

municipal ownership, partly through that time-honored organ of capital and conservatism, the *Times*, and partly through an organization called the Industrial Freedom League, started by the directors of a large electric combine with the frank acknowledgment that they intend to protect their own and kindred interests against the public ownership movement. Besides sending out pamphlets and speakers, they secure articles and letters arguing against municipal ownership printed in the newspapers, and pay for them at so much a line. Mr. Yerkes has taken American methods to England, and they have found a congenial soil. The Hon. Robert P. Porter, known to those familiar with census affairs as one of the greatest magicians with figures who have been privileged to tangle up and untwist in their own peculiar way the data of a national census, is now in England, a member of the council of the Industrial Freedom League, and working vigorously in the interests of the corporations. This gentleman submitted to the convention a voluminous statement—about 14,000 words—to prove that municipal ownership in Great Britain is a failure, since, according to his contention, local taxation is increasing and municipal indebtedness growing; public ownership is not progressive, and more profits can be realized with private ownership, or with municipal plants leased to companies, than with municipal ownership and operation:

“There is no reason why municipalities, if managed with the same economies, should not sell gas cheaper than private companies; but municipal traders have never been able to prove that they did. In exhibiting the exhilarating results of municipal trading, numerous comparative tables are prepared, showing the low price of gas and electricity in a city where the municipality owns and operates the plants, and the high price of the same in cities where the plants are owned and operated by wicked companies. As a rule these comparisons are worthless, for they do not take into account, for example, some little factors like the price of coal, which makes all the difference in the world in the cost of electric light or gas. The reduction in price of gas made by private companies in England has been

as great, if not greater, and as a rule the price charged under exactly similar conditions is less, than by municipalities. In short, in England, as elsewhere, the private companies have set the pace in enterprise, quality, and price of gas. In a recent official inquiry these facts were clearly brought out. It was shown that all enterprise in the gas industry has come from companies, because the companies have greater motive for enterprise. The municipalities may follow private enterprise, but they never have been known to lead.

"The advocates of municipal trading claim that in the case of electric lighting 'the superiority of public ownership is remarkable.' It would take a better quality of electric light than that supplied by most of the British municipalities for one to see this superiority; that is, if the comparison is to be made between the company-supplied light of the United States and the municipalized electric lighting of Great Britain. If the quality and cost of electric light is no better than that produced by American methods under private ownership, then I see no advantage in municipal ownership of electric light.

"As we have seen, most of the advantages of municipal trading have, during the last few years, been exploded. Sound commercial firms in England pay no more for their capital. It has been demonstrated over and over again that a municipality can do the work no cheaper. No one familiar with the facts will contend that a town council constantly changing its membership is a better business board of management than the board of directors of a successful company. There is no proof that the consumer is specially benefited. The service is equally good in the United States under private enterprise, and the cost of labor and of raw material no more.

"It has been my endeavor to discuss the subject assigned me on its business merits, and the conclusion seems to be that municipal trading *does not pay*. There is, however, another view of the subject that has been very strongly brought out by the *London Times*; namely, that 'municipal enterprise' and 'progressive municipalism' are really being made the stepping-stones to the Collective State."

Mr. Porter also spent much time in explaining the dangers arising from the increase of debt due to "the great development of municipal ownership in connection with the tramways. The London County Council owns 72 miles of line, 48 miles of which, situated on the north side of the Thames, are at present worked by the North Metropolitan Tramways Company; while the 24 miles on the south side of the Thames, purchased January, 1899, are worked by the Council itself.

"The outcome of the various investigations conducted by the County Council have resulted in that body taking up, in a practical way, the tramways of London, and, if the present policy is adhered to, in a few years the county of London will be the undisputed owner of all tramways within its border; and not only is it the policy to absorb existing tramways, but to operate them. The last available Board of Trade report on Tramways for the year ending March, 1901, shows that there were 99 municipal street railways in the country, with a mileage of 700 miles; the capital expenditure upon these was over \$70,000,000. The companies had 114 undertakings, with a mileage of 616 miles and a capital expenditure of over \$52,000,000. Long before Great Britain is adequately supplied with electric street railways, the capital account will have increased to five hundred million dollars."

In reply Dr. Donald showed that there were two kinds of debt—one representing the burden of past expenditure without present assets to show for it, the other representing existing assets. "The assets of municipalities in Great Britain outweigh their liabilities, and over 35 per cent. of outstanding loans are borrowed for undertakings which are of a productive character and profitable investments for the community. Instead of increasing taxation, municipal ownership has diminished it. The following table shows the extent to which rates were relieved last year in a number of towns from municipal undertakings after all charges, interest, and sinking fund payments had been met:

TOWN.	AMOUNT OF RELIEF IN THE £.		TOWN.	AMOUNT OF RELIEF IN THE £.	
	s.	d.		s.	d.
Barrow.....	0	10	Liverpool.....	0	8
Bath.....	0	10	Macclesfield.....	1	2½
Blackpool.....	0	9	Nottingham.....	1	2
Bradford.....	0	4½	Oldham.....	0	9
Burnley.....	0	6¾	Preston.....	0	9
Darlington.....	1	8¾	Rochdale.....	0	9¾
Derby.....	0	9	Stafford.....	1	3¾
Dewsbury.....	0	7	Stockport.....	0	8¾
Hull.....	1	3½	Stockton.....	0	6
Lancaster.....	0	11	Warrington.....	0	7
Leicester.....	0	11	Wigan.....	1	7¾

"Such increase of local taxation as has occurred has not been due to the municipalization of street railways, gas, or electric plants, but to the reorganization of local government in recent years, with heavy expenditures for schools, roads, bridges, asylums, hospitals, and sanitation.

"The following table shows the comparative growth of municipal and company tramways:

	MUNICIPALITIES.			COMPANIES.		
	No.	Capital Expended. £	Mileage.	No.	Capital Expended. £	Mileage.
1882-3.....	28	2,227,192	170½	113	7,523,635	501
1888-9.....	29	2,959,633	243¼	125	10,704,958	706¼
1892-3.....	35	3,105,636	274¼	118	10,998,516	686½
1896-7.....	42	4,459,488	367¾	117	10,405,622	663½
1897-8.....	47	6,116,687	450	116	10,376,282	614
1898-9.....	61	8,134,530	519½	108	10,468,602	602½
1899-1900.....	70	10,203,604	584¾	107	11,532,284	592¼
1900-1.....	99	14,057,664	689½	114	12,741,359	616

"While public bodies, at the end of that year (March, 1901), operated only 27 per cent. of the total tramways, they earned 43 per cent. of the aggregate net revenue and carried 46 per cent. of the total number of passengers conveyed. Since 1901 the greatest development in municipal tramways has taken place, while many of the companies figuring in the above returns have

been expropriated. Almost all the large cities not only own but operate their own tramways.

"One of the elements which helped forward the municipalization movement was the bad management of companies. They allowed their undertakings to become dilapidated toward the latter years of their leases. They were only concerned in making a general scramble to pay as much in dividends as possible. They paid their workmen so disgracefully that there were serious strikes in several cities, interrupting traffic. The cars were dirty, the horses bad, the service irregular, and in Glasgow, Liverpool, Leeds, and other cities there was general discontent at the incapacity of the tramway companies and the inefficiency of the service provided. In some towns the companies broke down altogether, and the municipalities took up the transportation problem and have successfully operated the trains.

"The average fare in Glasgow is less than two cents. The majority of the people travel short distances for one cent. The same is the case with the London County Council's municipal tramways.

"In London the average fare on the municipal cars is $1\frac{3}{4}$ cents. One-cent fares are introduced on the council's tramways, and 50,000,000 of workers are carried annually at this rate, thereby saving them over £100,000 a year. The employees are better treated; there is no friction, as has existed on the North Metropolitan system.

"The advantages of municipal ownership, even when it does not involve direct working of the tramways, are considerable. The municipality in leasing its lines at a yearly rental imposes terms, it regulates fares, provides for workingmen's cars and fair treatment for employees.

"The opponents of municipal ownership foreshadow that danger will arise from increasing the number of municipal employees, and that the tramway motormen and conductors will take part in elections, to serve their own ends. It is even suggested, as a remedy for this supposed danger, that all municipal employees should be disqualified from voting. On the other hand, it is pointed out that street railway companies in the past

have tried to use far greater influence upon public opinion than ever the employees are likely to do, and have used it solely with the hope of preserving their privileges. It is also shown that municipal employees are not likely to be so short-sighted as to advance unreasonable demands, knowing as they do that such conduct will only lead to reaction and the injury of their own class. As to their influence at election times, no indication of danger from it has yet arisen. It is possible for a representative of the tramway employees to be elected on a city council, but not solely by the vote of the employees. Trade-unionists have representatives at councils already, but so far they have only tended to increase the representative character of those assemblies.

"The municipalities are proving to be the pioneers in street railway enterprise. Huddersfield, for instance, led the way in using cars for post-office purposes. It placed collecting boxes on the cars and carried postmen and telegraph messengers, for which privileges the post-office paid an annual fee. The cars were also used for parcel delivery. Blackpool municipality gave the first example of the conduit system in England. Leeds experimented with the surface contact system of traction. Wolverhampton has laid down the Lorain system for a year's trial. Bournemouth is the only town now using the conduit system. Bradford contributed toward an experiment in electric traction to help the company get rid of its steam cars. Half-penny (one-cent) fares were popularized by Glasgow. Free transfers were initiated in Sheffield as soon as the system was municipalized. Until the London County Council acquired the tramways no night cars were run in London—no cars were on the streets after 12 o'clock, and they did not run early enough in the morning. The companies followed the example of the Council, but have now discontinued the system. Then the municipalities study the convenience of the population in all sorts of ways. They put on more workmen's cars for early morning service; Nottingham Council and others run special cars to football and cricket fields; Blackburn carries school children at farthing (half-cent) fares. The municipalities also

have led the way in providing their motormen and conductors with neat uniforms. They have treated their staff well, and the public has benefited by greater courtesy and politeness on the part of the men. Companies were in the habit of disfiguring the cars inside and out with advertisements; municipalities permit only very little advertising on cars, and in some cases—as in Glasgow—abolish it altogether. In every case municipalities have striven to provide the best possible services and to charge the lowest possible fares consistent with profit. They have sent deputations to European towns to investigate existing systems of traction, and each town has given the benefit of its experience to others. Unquestionably the British municipalities have in all directions shown more enterprise in street railway matters than companies have.

“The result of the municipalization of the gas and water undertakings has unquestionably been lower charges. The same is shown in the case of electric light. The average price charged, for instance, is more than 1d. per unit, or thousand watts, lower by municipalities than by companies. The benefits of the municipalization of the street railways—the latest development in municipal ownership—are now recognized. But public authorities have not done all their duty by showing that they can manage undertakings profitably and cheaply. Their chief aim should be to raise the standard of comfort, to improve the social and moral condition of the people they govern. Municipalities, for instance, must be model employers. They need not seek to surpass the best standard, but they should not fall below it.

“One of the dangers seen in municipal progress is said to be in the large increase of employees it involves. These employees, however, have various interests and are never likely to act as a unit. Their influence in local elections is not yet great, as they do not all live within the town in which they work. Should they become extravagant in their demands, or otherwise try to exploit the governing authority, there would be a reaction from which they would be the first to suffer.

“There are other aspects of a forward municipal policy.

There is the splendid stimulus which it gives to good citizenship. We see that in the rejoicings that take place in the opening of municipal street railways. The people feel that the cars are their cars, that it is the duty of the community to support their communal service. There is the feeling of corporate responsibility for the welfare of all classes. This spirit, which calls for self-sacrifice on the part of those who serve the public, leads to greater progress in the sanitary and intellectual needs of the people. *There is in every city, as the results of municipal work, a social and moral balance sheet which cannot be represented in figures, but the effect of which is enjoyed by all in the lives saved from disease, in a higher standard of living, and in an amelioration of the social conditions of the whole community.*"

The Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, speaking of the political influence of franchise corporations and the cause of the growing interest in municipal ownership, said: "The movement is primarily due to the popular indignation felt at the corruption and degradation incident to the policy of private ownership. There is an ethical reaction against such practises, and it is manifesting itself in a demand for municipal ownership."

Nothing in the proceedings was more important than the discussion of direct legislation, showing that the referendum (or popular veto) and the initiative are essential to popular sovereignty of public ownership and operation of the government, which, as all three of the speakers declared, is the key to real and trustworthy public ownership of franchises.

It was a notable fact that those who spoke against municipal ownership were in every instance employees of some corporate interest, while those who spoke for it in most cases had no financial connection with it, and no motive for their advocacy but public spirit and conviction of the truth.

AFTERMATH OF THE VENEZUELAN AFFAIR.

IN THE ARENA for February we dealt with the case of the Allies *vs.* Venezuela from the standpoint of international law, and then expressed the hope that arbitration be substituted for force as a means of settling the dispute. That hope has been realized. And now, that the smoke of battle has cleared away, it occurs to the writer that a short time may be profitably spent in considering the affair from the standpoint of international politics and trade.

That the matter has had a marked effect upon the prestige of certain nations does not admit of doubt. Nor is it less certain that the effect has been very different in the case of different nations. While the prestige of a nation is not susceptible to exact measurement, it can nevertheless be rather closely estimated; and it is usually not difficult to discover an increase or decrease. Not infrequently even a slight variation is noticeable. The bases of prestige are chiefly these: wealth, as shown by the condition of a country's industries, commerce, and credit; the general intelligence and moral worth of its people and the skill of its statesmen; military strength, either present or potential. The barometers by which prestige is measured are: the opinion of the "man in the street," the press, and government officials. The readings upon each of these may differ considerably, but in this case a sort of general average is struck.

Bearing these facts in mind, let us notice the effect of the Venezuelan affair upon the prestige of the United States, first among the Latin-American countries and second among the countries of Europe. It must be confessed that previous to the present dispute, which has done a great deal toward clarifying in the minds of Latin-Americans our real attitude toward them, there was among them a rather general lack of appreciation of our importance as a factor in international politics, and especially as a protector of their welfare. Our evi-

dent mastery of the situation in the present emergency has gone a long way toward convincing them of their error in both respects. The very great service we have rendered them in bringing to an end the hostilities between the allies and Venezuela, in providing for a just and equitable settlement of the claims, and thus establishing a precedent that will discourage a resort to force in the future, has been a most practical demonstration of our friendship and of its value to them. And as it has given us an opportunity again to put ourselves upon record as favoring the submission to arbitration of disputes to which they or any of them are a party, it has served further to impress upon their minds a fact that they have been slow to accept; *viz.*, that we do not favor a resort to force as a means of adjusting disputes with our southern sisters, notwithstanding the advantage such a method would give us in case of a dispute between them and us. In the nature of things the weaker States, in which category are all the Latin-American republics, must be grateful to us for championing the cause of international arbitration as against brute force.

Not only has the general fact of our advocacy of the cause of international arbitration in the present instance endeared us to our southern sisters and increased our prestige among them, but several incidents have tended in the same direction. The fact that during the gallant and fearless naval exploits of the allied fleets we had a powerful squadron at Culebra did not escape the notice of those countries which felt their helplessness in the face of foreign aggression. Whether or not their conclusion was correct we do not say, but the fact is that they believed that the proximity of our fleet had a steadying influence upon the somewhat exuberant gesticulations of the "mailed fist." The effect that such a belief must exert upon our prestige among them is too evident to require comment. The choice of Minister Bowen to represent Venezuela is a striking evidence of our prestige, which his firmness in the negotiations has served still further to increase. The promptness with which our Secretary of State agreed to a protocol and the liberality of its terms are placed in contrast with the action of

the allies and have produced in the South American mind the natural result. Our courtesy in tendering the Venezuelan government the use of our warships to bring the officers of the Venezuelan navy from Trinidad to La Guayra contrasts very favorably with the lack of courtesy on the part of the allies in failing to return the Venezuelan ships and officers to their port.

The effect that all this will have upon our South American trade cannot, of course, be predicted with accuracy; yet we are entirely safe in predicting that it will have some effect, and especially in Venezuela. For while friendship is not the foundation upon which trade rests, it is nevertheless a factor in determining trade relations, whether between individuals or between nations.

Thus far our trade with Latin-American countries has been severely handicapped by reason of a lack of direct communication between their ports and ours. Yet this handicap will not continue forever. With the increase in our merchant marine, due to our relatively cheap and abundant supply of coal and iron, it is not at all extravagant to predict that we will soon have direct steamship communication between the eastern ports of South America and our Atlantic and Gulf ports. Furthermore, the completion of the Panama Canal will bring our manufacturing centers several hundred miles nearer to the western ports of South America than are, or rather will be, those of Europe. Until very recent years our lack of communication with Mexico placed us at a disadvantage with Europe in our competition for the Mexican trade, notwithstanding our geographical nearness. A change in transportation facilities has brought about a change in our share of the Mexican trade, over half of which is now with us, and our share in it is rapidly increasing, both absolutely and relatively. As we can now produce the articles desired by the countries lying to the south of us at as low a cost as they can be produced by any other country in the world, and have ample ground for believing that we will in the near future have equally good and cheap transportation facilities, the question of friendship becomes an important and deciding one.

At present the country that is most rapidly increasing its trade in South America is Germany. But with the changed feeling brought about let us suppose that two articles of the same quality are offered in a South American market at the same price, the one bearing the trade-mark, "made in Germany," the other bearing as its trade-mark, "made in the United States": it does not require a master of occult science or telepathy, a soothsayer or a philosopher, to determine which make of goods will be in the greater demand. If in addition to this our Senate should permit reciprocity to become something more than a name in our political code, the fact of our increased friendliness with our neighbors to the south of us would have an added and very practical significance from the standpoint of international trade. For in the negotiation and ratification of a treaty it cannot be denied that national likes and dislikes, *i.e.*, national prejudices, are an important factor.

Turning from South America to Europe and from trade back to prestige, we find that the settlement of the "Venezuelan mess" is considered as a diplomatic triumph for the United States, and has increased our prestige accordingly. This is especially true as regards England, though hardly less true as regards France and Russia. In many quarters this demonstration of our mastery of the situation is regarded as sufficient to put an end to any similar aggressions by European powers in South or Central America. The very substantial assistance that our action has rendered the cause of peace by increasing as it has the importance of The Hague tribunal as a court for settling international disputes has, of course, challenged the admiration of the smaller States of Europe. It is gratifying to note that the charge of bullying or bluffing cannot be successfully urged in order to mar the completeness of our diplomatic triumph. The conduct of the Department of State was characterized by courtesy and wisdom at every stage in the negotiations.

So much for its effect upon American prestige. How different its effect upon the prestige of the "Allies!" The latter cannot be said to have secured any glory at all out of the pro-

ceedings. Even their demonstration that their combined fleet was superior to that of Venezuela did not fill the minds of other nations with either awe or admiration any more than it filled the coffers of the allies with coin.

As regards England, her loss of prestige, which is now frankly admitted by Englishmen, is due to a twofold reason: (1) that she should have played the rôle of bumbailiff for bondholders at all on this occasion, and (2) that she should have allied herself with Germany, or, to put it in the words of Kipling, "to league anew with the Goth and the shameless Hun," thus becoming to a considerable extent a cat's-paw and being forced to countenance methods in which she could take no just pride—and, what was perhaps equally distasteful to her, to risk a straining of her friendship with the United States. In describing this "triumph of inefficiency," Henry Norman, a member of the House of Commons and editor of the *World's Work*, says: "On all sides and by people of all opinions it is condemned as a gratuitous and inexplicable blunder." The *London Times*, which is a very conservative journal, contains the following: "It is perhaps less clear to the public at home than it is to Englishmen residing abroad to what extent this latest move in England's foreign policy has affected British prestige. It cannot be denied, however, that, since foreigners have come to look upon England as more or less the dupe of Germany in the Venezuelan affair, our foreign policy, at all events, has been the object of general censure abroad."

The conduct of Germany has unquestionably added nothing to her prestige, either in Europe or elsewhere. The methods of the bully are not well calculated to reflect credit upon any nation. Italy has played the rôle of the small boy who tries to appear large by imitating a large companion, and has of course added nothing to her prestige thereby. The prestige of a nation, like that of an individual, cannot be increased by aping others.

The future South American trade of the allies will undoubtedly suffer to some extent from the high-handed methods to which they have resorted in the present instance, which South

Americans feel might have been still further persisted in had not developments in the Near East diverted the attention of the allies. This loss will, we are convinced, be particularly noticeable with reference to the Venezuelan trade, which fortunately we are in a position to handle, as we have in the Red D Line direct steamship communication with the Venezuelan ports, and already have a large share of their trade—larger than that of any two European countries and larger than we have with any other South American States. We again call attention to this fact, as it illustrates two things: (1) the importance of having our own steamship communications as a factor in securing trade, and (2) the effect of our friendliness to Venezuela in her dispute with England of eight years ago.

It is but natural that Americans should take a pardonable pride in the part that we have played in the drama; nor can they fail to admire the wisdom shown by President Roosevelt in courteously refusing to be inveigled by flattery into accepting the responsibility for rendering a decision that would necessarily subject him to adverse criticism by the one side or the other, or by both, and hence would result in a sacrifice of a part at least of the advantage we have gained.

It is indeed gratifying to note that this triumph has come at a very opportune time, and that it has cost us nothing. The "other fellows" have footed the bill. It rarely happens that so great a victory can be achieved without some sacrifice of blood or treasure, self-respect, or the respect of others.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE BLACKS.

THE following are actual happenings: A year ago this month of March, while driving with a typical Florida "Cracker" through his open pine woods, in balmy air and amid the odors of orange blossoms, I was informed by my companion that "a nigger's a nigger all the way through." This driver was one of Nature's noblemen, and although he had never been out of his State he was gentle, reasonable, brave, and an honest man. He had a large family, whom he had trained to be dutiful, obedient, respectable, and industrious. He doted upon his children, and always said a pious and feeling "grace" at the table. He was a hearty and jolly host, and an American to the tips of his fingers; he was deputy-sheriff of the county and a good citizen. In this poor, illiterate, backwoods planter I became acquainted with a type of our countrymen that called for respect, confidence, and love—and I told him so. After a week of intimacy I found him to have a natural flavor of fairness, tolerance, and generosity that inclined me to leave local questions to his class with entire confidence.

Per contra: My respected relative in northern New York, with whom I had enjoyed a friendship of sixty years, and by whose side I had fought for the Union all through the Civil War, represents the geographical antithesis of these Southerners upon this negro question. His is the abstract, the other's the concrete. The Northerner had lived upon a farm all his life, had scarcely ever seen a negro, certainly had never employed or lived with one, and had always since he was knee-high sworn by Horace Greeley. He denounced me as a family degenerate because I acknowledged that the same uncivil words were more vexing when spoken by a negro than when spoken by a white man. I replied: "Bill, wait until you get your first unprovoked and unnecessary insolence from a nigger; then you will find something new rising up within you—a

strange, bad blood." To this was the indignant answer: "What! You—from an old Free Soil family and a Republican all your life—spell *negro* with two g's, like a Democrat?" We have never been the same to each other since. I do not quote "nigger" as against all negroes; my relations to them, both North and South, have always been agreeable and mutually trusting, which has not always been the case with white employees.

The above incidents are an epitome of our respective sectional attitudes upon the negro problem. It is not my present intention to catalogue the crimes and nuisances with which the Northman's ears are assailed by the Southman, although I will continue the remarks of my "Cracker" friend. He said: "I'd just as soon shoot a nigger as shoot a snake, and yet I manage them very well and hire them right along. Freedom has spiled 'em, though it has liberated us. I tell you, Cap'n, a bad nigger's like a bad egg or a bad oyster—very bad. You ketch a disease from a nigger an' it goes hard with you; the doctors kin tell you thet." When I denounced lynching and burning at the stake as disgracing the whole country in the eyes of the world, he replied that he did not believe in cruelty, but *did* approve of lynching, saying that was the only means to a desirable end and that the lynchers were surer in their law than the authorities. He continued: "Why, I hild a lynching spree once and the nigger sot right thar on this seat, whar you're settin', and I sot right here, and that's the same pony that druv him under a limb whar we left him hangin'. He had abducted a young white girl out into the woods and tied her up thar three days. What d'ye think I'd do if hit was my 'Melia thar at the house? I tell you, Cap., ye don't know anything about it." Just then a negro passed, raised his cap to the sheriff, and there was a friendly greeting. My companion added: "See that? Oh, they know me; I'm squar with them. They know when I come out with my Winchester they hev ter come. But I allus treat 'em right, and they know they can depend on my word."

In all governments, especially confederacies, local views are

important factors in the decision of national questions. It is neither good sense nor good law for a geographical majority to override a geographical minority on questions affecting the latter almost solely. The habit of doing so springs from innate tyranny and intolerance. While the laws, like negro suffrage and office administering, must be sustained, they are not cast iron, and they must be administered with some practical regard for flexible human nature and provincial breeding. First, we Americans have the inborn social sentiment of master and slave. No Northern employer will take insolence from a white servant. Then there is the natural antipathy of color when not momentarily overcome by dog appetite. We cannot demonstrate that all men are brothers; they may be only cousins. If, first off, "God made man out of the dust of the earth and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life," there was plenty of dust, and the breath of life filled the Universe with which to start a different beginning of species on every continent and island of the sea. Spontaneous generation could as easily have occurred many times as in the one allegorical Adam. This ethnic prejudice is as universal and deep as the foundations of the earth. Nowhere in the world is it deeper than in our Pharisaical North—in all our society. We must be patient and tolerant on both sides, confronting our situation as reasoning, Christian men, or there shall come unutterable woe. We all shall have our griefs soon enough without political follies. Even our old Abolition families who have retired from business and gone to Washington to settle have become the most bitter negro haters, while the Southerners there are practically tolerant; indeed, their composure under the trying circumstances of the aggressive thievery, indolence, and insolence of the blacks is most admirable.

What is the remedy? Race hatred is like a silent magazine—ready for a touch and havoc. I would rather to-day domicile permanently over a powder-house than in the South. There is no more sacred obligation that this nation owes than to begin immediately with all its wisdom and wealth to set these race relations right, because our sudden emancipation of the slaves

by the act of war, without any adequate provision for the new relation of both races, upsetting in a day the social laws and economics of all past time, necessarily entails confusing incidents and requires time, patience, and wisdom to compose society. The following is suggested:

Segregation.—Remove, by agrarianism, the blacks from personal contact with the whites, by their voluntary consent, down to a political minority. This can be done without any individual hardship or inconvenience. Then all other questions relating to the races will naturally take care of themselves. The blacks are naturally adapted to the soil, and we have plenty of that in our own country. But the *Cubans* stand ready to sell to them a million farms for spot cash. In Cuba our blacks would readily assimilate, find themselves a political factor, no color line, a suitable climate, near home, would take thither the Stars and Stripes, help spread the English language, and vote for annexation every time. They would have no small share in helping to Americanize Cuba. It is for them truly the Promised Land. The new truck farming, the undeveloped mechanical arts, and the coming need of Americans there for American servants—all invite them. There need be no “colonization,” nor enforced expatriation, but just individual emigration—dispersion and selection as all white peoples do to better their condition, many now going to Cuba.

Our fee-simple in the island by both conquest and treaty almost seems providential in helping the solution of the American negro problem. We have let slip some of our opportunity in not applying this theory to our Western lands before they were settled. We may profit by that mistake in Cuba. There would be no objection there to a million black incomers backed with Northern money. Moreover, our great West is still inviting the labor, the patience, and the loyalty of the negroes, by individual location as well as by townships and countyships. Let a national bureau be formed for the purpose of buying and distributing small and equipped farms for free distribution to all blacks of the cotton States where their numerical superiority is dreaded. It could be done more

easily and cheaply than transporting an army of invasion and occupation. These people could be located and supervised during a few years of probation, after which the farm could be presented to them as a gift for good behavior.

It is said that one hour's work a day in Cuba will support an individual, and that not over one-tenth of the land is under cultivation. The population is now a little over a million and a half, although the island can support ten millions. So what a wonderful field of development is there presented!

This is an old-fashioned cure-all for social ills, like bone-set for physical ills. Both simple home remedies have been too long disused. While there is now opportunity for the individual diffusion of these beneficiaries among the normal population of our own country, where they would receive the benefits of contact and example, there could be town and county organizations where they would enjoy political enfranchisement equally under the laws—also representation, where the whites never would object, on account of their being a minority. In fact, their force would be sought after by politicians and the spoils divided. If General Leonard Wood, while having summary military authority in Cuba, had started this plant there, it would have been found tenacious and thrifty. There is time yet. Any Congressman should deem it the most useful and honorable act of his life to vote a hundred millions of Federal cash to buy and equip small farms and transport to Cuba all the surplus and threatening blacks of the South.

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JEFFERSON'S SERVICE TO CIVILIZATION DURING THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC.

I. HIS PLACE AMONG CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMEN.

AT the present time, when we are preparing to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the peaceable acquisition of the Louisiana territory, the splendid service to the nation rendered by Thomas Jefferson as President of the Republic is rightly commanding the attention of thoughtful patriots; for the peaceable acquisition of this vast domain was rendered possible largely through his foresight and broad-visioned statesmanship. He did not create the opportunity, but he so prepared for the contingency that when the opportunity arose the representatives of the Republic were on the spot to act with the courage and despatch necessary. And this service to the United States was but one of many noble achievements that marked his eight years as Chief Executive. Yet, important as was his work in the Presidential chair, it is overshadowed by his inestimable service to civilization prior to and during the establishing of the Republic.

Thomas Jefferson possessed in a larger degree than any other leading constructive statesman in active political life during the foundation period of our Republic the ideals and aspirations of the noblest thinkers and most devoted friends of free government of the present time. He more than any other President of the last century stood for the four cardinal and essential demands of a civilization dominated by the genius of justice, progress, and felicity: (1) equal rights for all and special privileges for none; (2) liberty of conscience, freedom of speech, and a free press; (3) peace and amity between men and nations; (4) universal education. Moreover, he more than any leading New World statesman of a hundred years ago embodied the noblest concept of the spirit of Democracy that up to his day had appeared above the horizon of civilization.

II. PREPARATION FOR HIS WORK.

Thomas Jefferson was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, April 2, 1743. From his fifth year until he was sixteen he enjoyed the instruction of the ablest tutors in the vicinity of his home. When sixteen years of age he entered William and Mary College, at Williamsburg, and two years later was graduated from that institution. Though only eighteen years of age, he was remarkably proficient in Greek, Latin, and French, in higher mathematics, natural science, and history, and was thoroughly conversant with the masterpieces of literature, ancient and modern.

Determining on law as a profession, he entered the office of George Wythe, one of the ablest and most high-minded attorneys and jurists of the time. It is an interesting fact that this profound legal scholar prepared three young men for the bar who were destined to rank among the most illustrious public servants of the Republic—Thomas Jefferson, Chief Justice Marshall, and Henry Clay.

In the early days it was no difficult task to obtain admittance to the Virginia bar. Patrick Henry, with no special previous training, passed muster after only six weeks' study. But Jefferson was born with the instincts of a true scholar. No superficial knowledge or half-way recognition of facts satisfied him. He must sound the depths and seek the fountain-head for a thorough knowledge of the origin of statutes.

For five years Jefferson studied law—studied it exhaustively, after the manner of a scientific student who is not content until he has traced laws to their origin and has become conversant with the conditions obtaining when great rulings were made or precedents established.

III. HIS SERVICE TO FREEDOM BEFORE THE REVOLUTION
OPENED.

In 1768 Jefferson was elected to represent Albemarle County in the Virginia House of Burgesses, a position to which he was

chosen at every successive election until the House was closed by the Revolution. His legislative experience during the first session was very brief; for three days after the formal opening of the House the members of the legislature, in response to an appeal from Massachusetts to resist by all constitutional means the attempt of England to collect duties on certain articles of import, passed resolutions declaring against taxation without representation, affirming the right of the colonies to confer and coöperate in efforts to redress their grievances, and denouncing as "an inexpressible complexity of wrong" the act providing that accused persons should be sent from their country for trial.

For the passing of this outspoken act the royal governor dissolved the House, whereupon the legislators repaired to the historic Raleigh Tavern, at Williamsburg, and resolved to buy no more English goods that could possibly be dispensed with, and to urge their countrymen to do the same. Among the eighty-eight members who signed this compact were Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Patrick Henry, George Mason, and R. H. Lee.

Rapidly and darkly grew the clouds that threatened war. The excitement over the investigation being conducted by the authorities for the Crown over the burning of the "Gaspee" in the waters of Rhode Island had reached fever heat in March, 1773, when a company of as rare souls as ever risked life in defense of a principal assembled in Raleigh Tavern. All were members of the House of Burgesses; all were young men; and Thomas Jefferson was there, as he was from the first a leading spirit in the Revolutionary meetings. These daring young statesmen framed a resolution with great care, so as not to alarm the timid members, but which was destined to bear momentous results. It provided for the appointment of a Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry for the dissemination of intelligence between the colonies. It was to be a standing committee of eleven. To prevent miscarriage and allay apprehension the resolution was offered—"For the purpose of quieting the minds of His Majesty's faithful servants in this colony, which had

been much disturbed by various rumors and reports of proceedings tending to deprive them of their ancient legal and constitutional rights."

Other colonies were urged to appoint similar committees. The resolution was promptly passed, and the committee appointed contained such earnest young patriots as Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph, and Richard Henry Lee.

This bold action was followed by the dissolution of the House, but the committee remained at the capital and carefully prepared a circular letter, addressed to all the colonies, in which the purpose of the committee was fully explained and an urgent invitation was put forth to each colony immediately to appoint a similar committee, to the end that the thirteen dependencies might be kept in close touch and promptly informed of every overt act taken.

Not only did the colonies promptly respond, but ere long almost every county, settlement, and village had its committee. Their work was indispensable. At one time they were the soul and strength of the rising tide of opposition, the hope of liberty, and the bond of union that emboldened men and colonies to speak and strike in a way that would not have been thought of if there had been no sense of strength through organization and concert of counsel.

If to-day in every State the friends of Majority Rule and the foes of the criminal aggressions of corporate greed had these State and county standing Correspondence Committees of Eleven, like the old colonial patriots, and composed of the brightest and bravest men among the conscience element, the corruption of political life incident to virtual government by the corporations and the exploitation and robbery of the people through privilege and monopoly could be quickly checked. Here as on numerous other occasions the actions of Jefferson and the young patriots of the seventies indicate a wise course for the apostles of progressive democracy and justice to-day.

In the spring of 1774 the House of Burgesses assembled, with Jefferson and many of his patriotic friends in their accustomed

seats. The Boston Port bill had been published. For the throwing overboard of some chests of tea by some citizens, the first city of New England was to be destroyed by the closing of her ports on June 1st. Young Virginia was as much alive to the gravity of the situation as were the patriots of Massachusetts. All were brothers now, and again in the famous old Raleigh Tavern we find Jefferson, Patrick Henry, the two Lees, and a few other leading spirits of revolt closeted. They are again mapping out an important line of action. All feel that the object of the most pressing importance is the immediate rousing of the whole population of Virginia to the peril that confronts the American dependencies.

It was finally decided to attempt to pass an order through the House of Burgesses setting apart June 1st as a day for fasting, prayer, and humiliation, to be observed in all the churches. It required tact and skill to prepare a resolution that could be passed, as the nearer the hour drew for the cloud-burst the more timid became the older and more conservative members. In after years, when referring to this important meeting, Jefferson wrote: "We cooked up a resolution, somewhat modernizing the Puritan phrases, appointing the first day of June for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore Heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war and to inspire us with firmness in support of our Rights, and to turn the hearts of the King and Parliament to moderation and justice."

The young men who prepared this resolution were famed more for skill with the violin and grace in dancing than for piety and prayer; and Jefferson well understood that if he or any of his youthful confrères were to offer the resolution, with their pious preamble smelling so strongly of the "godly" days when Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides ever had a prayer on their lips, a psalm in their throats, or a sacred text on their tongues, it would, or at least might, call forth the ridicule of the opposition and in the end defeat the measure. So a pious elderly member was sought out, and he agreed to offer the resolution, which was promptly passed.

Again the royal governor dissolved the House. The mem-

bers met the next day at the Raleigh Tavern, where they directed the Committee of Correspondence to propose an American Congress of Deputies for all the colonies. Next they voted to meet in August to elect the Virginia members to the proposed congress, and they boldly declared that an attack on one colony was an attack on all.

With this action Virginia may be said to have passed the Rubicon.

Immediately after the adjournment of the meeting the members set out to their various bailiwicks, where they enthused the clergymen of the colony with their own patriotism and so aroused the people that by the first of June the great fast day led to the crystallizing of the revolutionary sentiment of the colony, just as the leaders had predicted it would. Never before, and rarely since, have the clergy been so brave and outspoken. "The cause of liberty is the cause of God!" exclaimed one minister; and this was the sentiment echoed from ocean to mountain. In after years Jefferson wrote of this memorable occasion: "The effect of the day was like a shock of electricity, arousing every man and placing him erect and solidly on his center."

Between the dissolution of the House of Burgesses and the meeting of the members to appoint delegates to the proposed American Congress, Jefferson had been busily engaged in a somewhat exhaustive and remarkably bold and brilliant presentation of the cause of the colonies, embodied as an outline for a series of instructions to be given to the Virginia delegates for their introduction at the general congress. Unfortunately, when he was *en route* for Williamsburg he was taken suddenly ill and was thus prevented from attending the meeting. Copies of this brief of his for the colonies were, however, forwarded by him to the president of the House, and by him laid before the members. The legislature regarded the argument as rather too radical for the time, though it exerted great influence on those who read the manuscript; and the members ordered that it be published in pamphlet form and circulated for the good of the cause under the title of "A Summary View of the Rights

of America." In it the fearless young statesman boldly contended—

"That the relation between Great Britain and these colonies was exactly the same as that of England and Scotland after the accession of James and before the Union, and the same as her present relation with Hanover, having the same executive chief but no other necessary political connection; and that our emigration to this country gave no more right over us than the emigration of Danes and Saxons gave to the present authorities of the Mother Country over England."

The publication of this pamphlet produced a tremendous impression wherever it was read. It was eagerly sought for on every hand and ran through several editions. There can be no doubt that, coming at the time it did, it exerted a very positive and far-reaching influence in favor of a bold and firm stand against English aggression.

Copies soon found their way into England. The Liberals hailed it with delight. Some one, it is said to have been Burke, after making some interpolations, republished it to aid the cause of the Opposition. There also several editions were exhausted. "This paper," observes the Honorable John Bigelow, "placed Jefferson among the leaders if not at the head of the revolutionary movement in America. The Declaration of Independence, two years later, was but a perfected transcript of the 'Summary View.'"

From the date of the publishing of this pamphlet Jefferson was the master spirit in the Virginia convention and was as a matter of course selected as a representative from Virginia to the general congress that had been called to meet in Philadelphia.

IV. WRITING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Shortly after arriving in Philadelphia, Jefferson was assigned committee work when important memorials and replies were to be prepared. His superior education, his knowledge of law, of the precedents of history and of problems relating to political progress, and his happy faculty for presenting a cause

in a strong and convincing manner, rendered his services invaluable.

After the Battle of Lexington even the most timid of the representatives came to share the opinions of Mr. Jefferson embodied in his "Summary View." Then it was seen that he had not only clearly perceived the coming storm, but he had voiced with marvelous clearness and felicity the opinions and position of America. Consequently, when the memorable committee was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence, consisting of Franklin, Adams, Sherman, Livingstone, and Jefferson, the latter was selected to draw up the momentous paper. This he promptly did, and after some slight and inconsequential modifications it was adopted by the House and signed on July 4th, 1776.

In speaking of the historical importance that circumstances have given to this great document, Mr. Bigelow observes that—

"It seemed to be the weapon that dismembered a great empire and that gave birth to a nation of unbounded possibilities. It gave guaranties for the fame of its author which are possessed by no other production of an American pen. For more than a century it has been read to assembled multitudes in every considerable town in the United States on the anniversary of its adoption; and its style and sentiments have been the model for every people which since that time has sought to assert for itself the right of self-government."

For two months after the signing of the Declaration of Independence Jefferson labored incessantly further to aid in the organization of the government and in the preparation for the struggle being waged. At length he felt he could be better spared to the cause of freedom from the general congress than from the legislature in his own State, where matters of great moment were to be met. Accordingly, he resigned his seat in congress and repaired to Virginia.

V. PROFOUND STATESMANSHIP EVINCED AS A LAWMAKER.

This step was taken because he was profoundly impressed with the importance of Virginia aiding in setting the pace for

civilization in the New World in regard to just laws that should supplant the old, cumbersome, and unjust statutes that had prevailed. He wished to wipe out many relics of barbarism, and he knew he possessed much influence that might at that time prove of genuine service to civilization.

"When I left Congress in 1776," he tells us in his Autobiography, "it was in the persuasion that our whole code must be reviewed and adapted to our republican form of government, and, now that we had no negatives of councils, governors, and kings to restrain us from doing right, that it be corrected in all its parts with a single eye to reason and the good of those for whose government it was framed."

Arriving at the seat of government, he was at once recognized as the leader and the very life of the progressive or reform element; while around him ranged four or five of as noble-minded men as Virginia has given the world. But in the great reform battle in the legislature, as well as as the leader of the committee for the revision of all laws of Virginia, Jefferson was from first to last the master spirit. This is not saying that nearly all the splendid reforms he sought to compass were enacted at this time, or even during the ten or twelve succeeding years, when the magnificent work outlined by Jefferson so far as possible was pushed forward by his most able disciple, James Madison. That could not be expected when a statesman fully one hundred years in advance of his age labored with men who were the products of generations of monarchic rule and whose whole lives had been passed under ancient and oftentimes cruel and barbarously unjust laws.

But the work he accomplished and the measures outlined by him and enacted within the next few years would alone entitle him to a high place among the great benefactors of the New World, though his bold championship of the cause of justice raised a storm of opposition from conservatives and upholders of the old order that continued in a measure for more than thirty years.

"Never, perhaps," observes Mr. Parton, "since the earliest historic times has one mind so incorporated itself with a coun-

try's laws and institutions as Jefferson with those of new-born Virginia."

His first victory was won in a hard-fought battle for the abolition of the laws of entail. Many of the great old Virginia houses regarded with dismay the success of this bold innovator in sweeping from the statutes this time-honored and deeply cherished *injustice*.

Next came a still more severe contest—the battle against a State Church and for freedom of thought in religious matters. The Established Church of England had long been supported by the people, and now this powerful church organization, almost its whole clergy, and the majority of its wealthiest members were arrayed against Jefferson and his intrepid band. Yet the spirit of the hour and the masterly arguments of the broad-minded reformer overturned intrenched injustice, bulwarked though it were by prejudice, precedent, and conventionalism. At first the victory was but partial, but the arguments marshaled by Jefferson and the fearless pushing forward of the work by Madison and others of his enthusiastic disciples soon accomplished the great reform.

Another hoary but cherished injustice was swept away after a stubborn contest in the abolition of primogeniture and in the enactment of a law requiring equal partition of inheritances. Here again conventionalism and conservatism made a desperate but unavailing stand.

Another bill successfully defended by Jefferson at this time forbade the further introduction of slaves into the State of Virginia. This was all that it was then found possible to accomplish against slavery, on account of the moral blindness that, save in rare and luminous instances, has ever made men, nations, and civilizations grope instead of walk toward the light, because they refuse to behold and follow the divine light of justice, duty, and love, when self-desire, sordid gain, or material advancement promise to be furthered by such refusal.

He is blind indeed who, to-day, surveying the past in the perspective of over a hundred years, fails to appreciate the essential wisdom and far-sighted statesmanship as well as the

noble humanitarian spirit that characterized the carefully wrought schemes of Jefferson made at this time for the gradual emancipation and civilization of the slaves. George Wythe, who was an outspoken advocate of abolition, heartily agreed with Jefferson, and Mr. Pendleton also assented to the fundamental demand—that of “freedom for all born after a certain date and deportation at a proper age.” But all agreed that it would be wise to fight for the abolition of slavery, when the motion concerning the slave laws came up, by introducing at that time Mr. Jefferson’s amendments. Such was the opposition manifested, however, that it became evident that the proposed amendments had no possibility of receiving a fair hearing, and they were not pressed.

The provisions of the proposed legislation, which this statesman, who was destined to be the first Democratic President, desired to see enacted, were briefly as follows :

(1) The emancipation of all slaves born after the passage of the act. (2) The children to continue with their parents to a certain age, then to be brought up at the public expense “to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their genius,” until the females should be eighteen and the males twenty-one years of age. (3) They should then “be colonized to such places as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household and of handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of domestic animals, etc.” (4) “To declare them a free and independent people and extend to them our assistance and protection until they have acquired strength.” (5) “To send vessels at the same time to other parts of the world for an equal number of white inhabitants and to urge them to emigrate here by making them proper inducements.”

Thus he would have had the State gradually abolish slavery, substituting white free labor in the place of what he saw would ere long become a supreme peril.

It has been the custom of progressive writers, even the biographers of Mr. Jefferson, timidly to apologize for this proposition as something that indicated the lack of practicality in the statesman; while his enemies, the gold-worshipping, idealless,

opportunistic contingent, have ever ridiculed it as something at once reprehensible and absurd. Yet the fact remained that Jefferson was right and all his apologists and critics were wrong, as in the long run the man is always vindicated who takes his stand on fundamental justice. If history teaches any one truth more clearly than another, it is that only the disciples of the *ideal* live in the love of the ages and are an inspiration to upward-striving life. Ignoring for the moment the supreme reason why Jefferson was right,—that of his position being just and in alignment with the demands of the Golden Rule,—and considering the question merely from the viewpoint of expediency, it will be found that of all statesmen of the age and time he was on this question the most preëminently practical. The Civil War, with its frightful waste of human life; its measureless ocean of suffering and despair; the enormous public debt it entailed; the transformation of opulent States into desert-like wastes; the frightful aftermath of the reconstruction period; the hate engendered; and last, but by no means least, the moral degradation that crept into public life when the thoughts and energies of all the noblest statesmen were centered on the maintenance of the Union—moral degradation and corruption that laid the foundation for the reign of special privilege and the rise of plutocracy: these are some of the frightful costs that came as a result of the people turning a deaf ear to the far-seeing statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson. The sum that he would have had the States spend for the abolition of slavery would all told have been a mere pittance compared with even the monetary cost to the North and South of the great civil struggle that he foresaw and sought to avert; while the triumph of Jefferson's program would have placed the American people still higher in the scale of moral worth.

No question or cause can be settled until it squares with the Higher Law. The demands of justice, of human rights, and of freedom may be ignored and pushed aside for years, generations, and even centuries, but every infraction of the moral law sooner or later brings its terrible retribution—the reaping of the tares. In after years Jefferson wrote: "Nothing is more

certainly written in the Book of Fate than that these people are to be free. . . . It is still in our power to direct the processes of emancipation and deportation peaceably and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly and their place be *pari passu* filled up with free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospects held up." No truer warning was ever uttered, no prophecy more terribly fulfilled.

If his clear seeing in regard to slavery proved him a prophetic statesman, above and in advance of his age, his noble plan for popular education showed that he more than any other philosophic statesman of his time understood the basic fact that free government can only live in the presence of an enlightened people. His elaborate and carefully wrought out plan for popular education was worthy of a great thinker whose appreciation of the importance of enlightenment was only second to his passion for justice.

He proposed that common schools should be established in the counties of the State, one school to every one hundred householders. They were to be supported by the State. Every ten schools were to have a director or overseer. The State was also to be divided into twenty grammar-school districts, in each of which a grammar-school building, with suitable accommodations for bed and board, was to be erected on public land. These, like the common schools, were to be supported by the public, and here English grammar, Greek, Latin, higher mathematics, and other studies were to be taught. Those scholars who industriously pursued their studies and successfully passed their examinations were to be permitted to attend for several years, while those failing to reach a certain percentage were to be dropped out at the end of each year. Each year also one especially competent pupil was to be selected from each grammar school, thus making twenty in all from the State, and sent to William and Mary College, where they were to be given their tuition, board, lodging, and clothing during the three years required for the full course in that institution.

Jefferson knew that the wealth of the colony was at that time

insufficient to enable it to board, clothe, and school all the children, but by his proposed plan every child would have the opportunity to obtain a common-school education, and many a grammar-school training; while each year the State would be enriched by twenty youths whose previous education had indicated that they were intellectually the flower of the youth of the State, equipped with the best college education the community afforded. It will be observed also that this plan would have established the precedent of the State assuming as her proper function, not merely the intellectual education of the children, but the supplying, so far as her resources would permit, of food, clothing, and shelter for the young while they were acquiring the knowledge he felt to be absolutely essential to the permanent triumph of true democracy. This may have been socialistic in spirit and tendency, but it certainly was wise and evinced far-seeing statesmanship.

The plan of education as outlined by Mr. Jefferson included the founding of a State public library and the establishing of William and Mary College as a State university. He had the drafting of the entire educational plan, but in this work George Wythe and Edward Pendleton concurred.

VI. MINISTER TO FRANCE.

In 1779 Jefferson was elected Governor of Virginia. The infant State thus far had for the most part escaped the ravages of war and had lavishly sent men and means to strengthen and aid General Washington; and later, after Jefferson became Governor, when the more southern colonies were attacked, she sent men and munitions to aid in the Carolinas, and when, drained of men and resources, the enemy descended upon her defenseless shores, Richmond was captured and ravished by Arnold. The legislature adjourned to Charlottesville, but being pursued they disbanded. Jefferson narrowly escaped capture.

The lack of aggressive defense on the part of Governor Jefferson was seized upon by his enemies all over the State, whose animosity had been aroused by his great reform acts, as some-

thing reprehensible. But here, as at other times, Jefferson's actions were prompted by the highest motives of patriotism. The success of Washington and of the whole nation was of far more importance than the making of a doubtful stand against the British in Virginia; and, when it was found that Jefferson had merely acted in harmony with Washington's desires, the next legislature passed a strong resolution of confidence and approved his services as Governor.

In 1784 Mr. Jefferson was appointed by Congress minister plenipotentiary to act with Benjamin Franklin and John Adams in negotiating treaties with European nations, and in 1785 he was appointed Minister to France, to succeed Dr. Franklin, a position he held until 1789, discharging his duties in an eminently satisfactory manner. He succeeded in securing important modifications of the French tariff in the interests of American commerce, and also became a great favorite with the abler and more progressive and republican thinkers of France. Daniel Webster in referring to Jefferson's ministry at Paris said: "No court in Europe had at that time a representative in Paris commanding or enjoying higher regard for political knowledge or for general attainment than the Minister of this infant Republic."

VII. THE GREAT BATTLE FOR POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

It was while he was absent in France that his friend, James Madison, forwarded to him a draft of the Constitution. Jefferson was amazed and alarmed at its defects. There was no bill of rights properly safeguarding the liberties of the citizens or the States; no precautions against that deadly menace to a republic—a large standing army; no provisions against the curse of monopoly. Freedom of conscience and speech was not granted, and the right of habeas corpus was not made secure. Furthermore, there was no provision against Presidents succeeding themselves indefinitely. The absence of these things was well calculated to disquiet a statesman whose prevision was so keen and whose mind was so richly stored with the warnings

of history. Nevertheless he appreciated the perilous condition the country was in without a Constitution; so he reluctantly gave his support to the instrument, relying on amendments to remedy its dangerous defects.

When Washington entered upon his duties as first President of the infant Republic, Jefferson was urged to take the portfolio of State, which he very reluctantly accepted. Shortly after the assumption of this portfolio began that struggle of giants for supremacy in the nation, representing two opposing and mutually exclusive ideals of government, which became the chief source of bitterness in the Cabinet of the first President. The apostle of privilege, class rule, and centralization and the apostle of democracy soon found themselves differing at almost every point, because their fundamental conceptions of government were entirely unlike.

Alexander Hamilton, a man of splendid intellectual abilities, of imperious will, and of aristocratic tastes, as ambitious for military glory as he was autocratic in temper, was under the spell of the limited-monarchy idea. He was in spirit, taste, and temper monarchic or imperialistic, and his contempt for the masses—or the “mob,” as the early Federalists were pleased to term the people—was as sincere as was his deep-rooted distrust of them. The fact that he was sincere in these conclusions made him doubly dangerous. With him the old Tory citizens went heart and soul. They desired to make the best of what they considered the unhappy outcome of the war. With him naturally was ranged a large proportion of the wealthier citizens, as he was the special champion of the property class. He also attracted the shrewd financiers, who saw in his schemes golden opportunities for the acquisition of the special privileges and subsidies that would enrich the few, not infrequently at the expense of the many; while even more dangerous than all else to the cause of republicanism was the great number of high-minded patriots whose whole previous reading, training, and prejudices inclined them to Hamilton's view of class superiority and of the right of persons of property or means to arrogate rights denied their poorer brethren.

These theories were altogether abhorrent to Jefferson. He was too much of a philosopher, well versed in history and human life, to imagine that there could be any security or safety such as Hamilton imagined would exist under a firmly established property-holding class government. He knew, as every deeply thoughtful and philosophic student of history knows, that a ruling class, be it ever so wise and humane at the beginning, soon comes to legislate for its own interests and against those of the masses. He knew full well that the splendid new theory of government—that of liberty, justice, and fraternity for all the people—would rapidly resolve itself into an iridescent dream if the government became subservient or in any way limited to a privileged class, or was left to the administration of individuals not directly accountable to all the people.

Hamilton, though he had fought manfully for the adoption of the Constitution, was never satisfied with that instrument, because of its republican character. He had wished to make the offices of President and Senators dependent on good behavior, with provisions for removal only by impeachment, which would virtually mean life tenure. He desired that no one but members of the propertied class should be allowed to vote for Senators, and that all State Governors should be appointed by the President. Other autocratic provisions were also desired. In a word, he wished to model our government as nearly as the American people would permit after the fashion of the limited monarchy of Great Britain, as he regarded that as the most admirable of governments. Hamilton's lack of confidence in his fellow-men, his sympathy with caste, aristocracy, and wealth, and the fact that his eyes were ever riveted on the past rather than the future, made him timid and fearful of any government not bulwarked by precedent and well-established examples.

On the other hand, Jefferson was a man of faith and conviction. He believed in the divinity of humanity. He had perfect confidence in the people, if equal and exact justice were guaranteed to every unit in the State. He knew that kingscraft, priestcraft, feudalism, aristocracy, autocracy, and in a

word all rulership of classes, had been oppressive, unjust, and unfavorable to the highest development of manhood and the rapid progress of civilization; and he believed that the path of safety lay along the line of freedom, fraternity, justice, and equality of rights and opportunities. Hence, though he was as dissatisfied with the Constitution as was Hamilton, it was for reasons diametrically opposed to those of the apostle of privilege, classes, and imperialistic ideals.

Hence, the struggle of the titans for principles that each held to be essential to the permanence of the new nation grew so fierce that Jefferson's life in the Cabinet was made the most miserable period in his long public career. So bitter at length became this contest that Jefferson resigned his position, not wishing longer to serve in a Cabinet whose discord he felt would itself prove disastrous to the best interests of the State. He did not retire, however, until he had aroused the masses to the extreme peril to republicanism arising from the determined attitude of Hamilton and his party of privilege and reactionary tendencies. As Jefferson had hoped to remedy the defects of the Constitution by amendments, Hamilton was determined to make the government stronger than the Constitution, and thus step by step gain through aggressive centralization, through precedents and the ever-growing power of class interests, the ends that he so devoutly desired at the outset and that Jefferson knew would be subversive of the fundamental principles of free government. The masterly opposition of the greatest exponent of faith in the people against the determined champion of class rule and imperialism checked Hamilton's victorious course ere its baleful influence had dominated the government.

Important as was his brave and determined course in uniting the fortunes of Virginia with those of Massachusetts when the latter colony was the special object of monarchic tyranny; helpful as were his efforts in securing the Standing Committee of Correspondence for the colonies; immensely valuable as was his "Summary View" to the cause of American freedom; essentially glorious as were his voicing of the New World pro-

test and proclamation in the Declaration of Independence; great and far-reaching for good as was his work as the pre-eminent leader in aggressive statesmanship in Virginia, which eventuated in religious freedom, the abolition of entail and primogeniture, and the provision for the equal division of inheritances; splendid as were his program for popular education and his plan for the abolition of slavery and the colonization of the negroes—all these services are overshadowed and eclipsed by his brave, masterly, and victorious stand for freedom against monarchic, reactionary, and class interests. This may indeed be said to be the supreme service he rendered in the founding of the greatest of modern nations; for his genius, courage, single-heartedness, patriotism, and loyalty to the lodestone of liberty and just government, guaranteeing equality of opportunity and rights to all citizens, served to beat back the baleful influences that in the light of history and the nature of society could only in the end have proved fatal to free government.

The owls and bats of reaction were put to flight, as were also the harpies of privilege and the cormorants of class interests, while the principles of free government were so clearly established in the imagination of the people that the high priest of the English system and the apostle of classes lost his sway over the nation. Mr. Jefferson, on the other hand, not only became the great leader and interpreter of democracy and the people's choice for Chief Executive for eight years, but the highest office in the Republic passed from him to Mr. Madison, his best-beloved and most devoted disciple, who in turn yielded it to another of Mr. Jefferson's friends and followers. And thus the reign of popular government and robust Americanism became so firmly established that until after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln—another apostle of freedom and champion of the common people—the Republic was the greatest moral world power of any age or time.

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RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL LIBERTY IN RUSSIA.

THE discouraging experience the people of Canada have had with the Russian Doukhobors is apt to create in America a wrong impression as to the character and tendencies of the Russian Dissenters. To the friends of the Russian government the conduct of these fanatics of vegetarianism may furnish a ready excuse for, if not a justification of, the persecution to which they were subjected at home. Is it not singular, then, that these religious "cranks" are universal favorites with all non-office-holding, educated Russians, who as a rule are indifferent in religious matters?

For the last quarter of the century just past the religious movement among the common people has engaged the attention of the periodicals and the daily press. Writers of note have made its study their life-work, and the latest phase of Count Tolstoy's activity bears unmistakable marks of the influence of these simple folk upon the élite of the cultured class—the "intelligentzia." A brief outline of the history and recent development of the "sectarian movement," as it is called in Russia, will therefore be not without interest.

The great Russian "schism," in official terminology, dates back from the latter part of the seventeenth century. There had been "heresies" before; and one, that of the "Judaizing," survived centuries of persecution. Yet those were small, isolated sects, without influence upon the people at large or the course of Russian history. The great religious movement of the "Old Ritualists," on the contrary, tore away from the Established Church great masses of orthodox adherents of the "old faith." The movement grew steadily in numbers, and all the efforts of the State to check its progress resulted only in the spread of "the ancient piety" to the outskirts of civilization. Russian expansion southward and eastward is greatly indebted to the indomitable spirit and perseverance of the thousands of "pilgrim fathers" who were driven to seek safety from persecution in the wilderness of the north and in the seclusion of the Ural Mountains.

The origin of the "schism" was purely ritual. The innovations introduced by Patriarch Nikon met with vigorous opposition from a part of the clergy; the controversy developed much bitterness on both sides, and finally led to the separation of a large and influential minority from the main body of the Orthodox Church. The majority of the communicants, ignorant of the law, accepted without challenge the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; the dissenters carried with them such as were versed in Holy Writ and able to follow the niceties of the controversy. The union of Church and State naturally drew upon the latter the hostility of the dissenters. Peter the Great abolished the patriarchate and proclaimed himself the head of the Church. His reforms aiming at the Europeanization of Russia met with the opposition of the adherents of old customs. The immediate object of his reforms was the creation of a strong military empire, which imposed heavy burdens upon the taxpayers of the country. It became plain to those who could read the signs of the times in the light of the old faith that Antichrist had arrived in the flesh of the Czar. The "old believers" naturally became the spiritual leaders of the discontented in the numerous revolts against Peter the Great. Active resistance was crushed with an iron rod, but the spirit of active opposition strengthened by religious zeal could not be downed; persecution excited a thirst for martyrdom.

As time went on, the breach between the Established Church and the dissenters grew wider. In Russia, as elsewhere, doctrinal discussions led to multiplication of sects; thus the dissent, originating from a defense of literal orthodoxy, developed in the eighteenth century, and especially in the nineteenth, into a broad movement for religious reform. Though akin in spirit to the Reformation, this movement fed solely upon native sources until, a generation ago, the wave of western reformation reached Southern Russia.

A little over a century ago the territory extending southward from Little Russia to the Black Sea was under the rule of the Crimean Khans and sparsely populated by semi-nomadic Tartar tribes. When under Catherine II. the land was incorpor-

ated in the Russian Empire under the name of New Russia, the government, desiring to hasten the settlement of the country, granted special privileges and immunities to German immigrants. German colonies grew and flourished, and their orderliness and prosperity excited the admiration of their poor Russian neighbors. About the middle of the last century Baptist propaganda spread from the mother country to the German colonies. This coincided with the emancipation of the serfs in Russia.

The dependence of the serfs upon their lords in Russia was political in origin; the power to gather taxes and demand corvees from the villeins was granted to the lords in compensation for military or civil services. It was only in the eighteenth century that this political institution of the Muscovite State developed, through the reforms of Peter the Great (the "Anti-christ") and his successors, into an absolute title to the land upon which the peasants were settled. To the conservative peasant mind emancipation meant the abolition of the political power of the nobility over the tillers of the soil; the land was the Czar's and would remain so; the peasants would continue to hold and cultivate it, as a condition for performing their duties to the Czar.

Under the actual plan of emancipation, the land was evenly divided among the nobility and the peasantry and the latter were made to pay both for the land and the value of their services. This arrangement was contrary to all legal conceptions of the peasantry; they could not believe it to be the real will of the Czar; it appeared to them a huge fraud upon the Czar and his loyal people, concocted by the nobles. Thus the liberation of the serfs became the signal for a series of peasant riots and uprisings throughout the country.

The repression of this movement left the spirit of the peasantry dejected, and their conceptions of right and justice badly shattered. At this hour of doubt and despair the German Baptists brought to their neighbors the solace of the burdened and heavy laden of all ages—the word of the Son of Man crucified for Truth. The teachings of the Baptists rapidly spread from

village to village, from county to county, all over Southern Russia, under the name of "Stundism" (from the German *Stunde*, "hour," meaning the hour of reading of the Gospel). For the first time the Bible reached the Russian people in their native tongue; the Bible used in the orthodox Russian Church is in the "Church-Slavonic," *i. e.*, in ancient Bulgarian—not easily intelligible to the mass of the people. It was the first book that came to the people, and it gave them a philosophy of life and social relations. It gave them a new interest in life; drink, the only relaxation of a human beast of burden, lost all attraction for the regenerated peasants; mutual aid and coöperation, preached by the new religion, contributed their share to the improvement of their material condition.

Had the government let them alone, the Stundist movement would probably have remained confined within the field of evangelical work. This, however, was impossible—the Church, like the police, being a State institution. Apostasy from the Established Church is rebellion against the powers that be. The orthodox priests, aided by the police and the courts, entered upon a vigorous campaign of persecution, with the result that the Stundist movement is now repeating the course of the Reformation in England: purely religious non-conformity is developing into political and social radicalism.

From association with their foreign brethren the Russian Baptists gained some knowledge of the political institutions of other countries, where the State does not interfere with the religious beliefs of its citizens. The revolutionary agitation of the '70s and the '80s, though confined to the educated classes in the great cities, awakened among the Stundist peasants an interest in political questions. They sought information upon the live problems of the day in secular books and the periodical press. To-day the naïve ignorance of the rustics is gone; one meets among their representative men the same comprehension of political and social problems and the same schools of thought as among the "intelliguentzia" (the college-bred class). There are among them moderate liberals, with whom the paramount issue is the separation of the Church from the State and

a constitutional government, as a guaranty of religious and civil liberty. There are followers of Henry George—whose ideas, by the way, had been anticipated by the Russian “Land and Liberty Society” in the '70s; the priority of that revolutionary society is acknowledged in George’s “Progress and Poverty.” There are Christian Socialists, who remind one of Mayor Jones, of Toledo. There are those who believe in revolutionary action, some even going so far as to justify the acts of the Terrorists.

This fact is of the greatest significance to the coming political development of Russia. Heretofore opposition to autocracy was confined to the great cities, while the government was backed by the passive support of an ignorant peasantry. The development of political aspirations among the Stundists brings into the ranks of the opposition the most intelligent class of the Russian peasantry, whose influence is spreading in spite of persecution. The labor movement, which came upon the wave of industrial expansion in the last decade of the last century, and the spread of Socialism among the workers of the cities, have had the support of the Stundists, who are numerous in all southern towns. The current from the country to the city, which is characteristic of all modern nations, gains additional force in Russia from her long winters; there is a vast class of peasants who seek temporary employment in the city and return to the country for the farming season. In the absence of a free press and of the privacy of the mails these workers are so many “walking delegates” of political agitation, too numerous to be spotted out by the most watchful police.

A handful of “Nihilists,” recruited from among the college-bred class, could easily be exterminated: the Baptists cannot be exterminated. The demand for religious and political liberty is growing among the masses of the Russian people, from whom the soldiery are recruited; hence, the day may come when the army can no longer be relied upon to suppress the agitation for popular government.

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FREE SOCIALISM.

ALL that Socialism needs to make it acceptable to the masses of the people is to remove the erroneous conception prevalent concerning it. The work before every advocate of this system is to carry on a constant labor of education, for the supporters of the present capitalistic system have placed Socialism in a false position upon every available occasion.

Socialism would bring into existence a state of society in which all people would perform some useful and productive labor, either manual or mental, and the wealth of each would be based upon and proportionate to the labor of each; but in no case could any one who did not labor secure the fruit of toil of those who work. Do not become possessed of the erroneous impression that Socialists recognize only physical labor; they recognize as clearly as any one the importance and usefulness of the mental labor of direction, administration, superintendence, and invention. They emphasize the importance of all these when usefully applied, and advocate their due reward; but they do not believe in the reward of mental labor when directed to efforts by which one person tries to secure the wealth another's labor has produced.

Socialists claim that under the present capitalistic organization of society those who work the hardest and produce the most, whether it be in the department of physical labor or creative art and invention, possess the least; while those who work the least in genuine, useful effort possess the most. Socialism contends that all wealth is produced by labor, and therefore that all wealth should belong to labor.

Under the present form of society there are three special institutions by means of which the non-producers secure the wealth of those who produce; *viz.*, Rent, Interest, and Profit. Under Socialism these institutions would be abolished. Realizing the impossibility of removing the effect without first de-

stroying the cause, Socialism does not undertake to abolish these institutions as long as the conditions that create them remain; therefore, they go to the fundamental cause, the root of the evil, and would destroy it.

First, then, under Socialism only those who *use* the land could own it, and then only in the sense of an equity consisting of the value of the wealth their labors had produced upon it. No less an authority than Blackstone says that the original title to land was given upon possession and use. The only justification for a title to land is to protect the owner in the possession of the labor values he has produced upon it and of necessity attached to it. But this protection can be secured far more justly by having the absolute title vested in the State and granting the possessor a lease in perpetuity so long as he complies with the conditions of occupancy and use.

Socialism does not necessarily mean that all persons engaged in agricultural and kindred pursuits must do so as employees of the State, upon a wage basis and under the direction of State managers. It would permit of such collective labors upon petition of a sufficient number of persons who evinced a desire to work in that manner, but such operations would be purely voluntary upon the part of those who participated. In time such associated efforts would demonstrate their greater superiority, but, until all were convinced of the desirability and higher efficiency of collective grouping and voluntarily entered into formed groups, individuals could lease their lands in perpetuity from the State and labor according to their own methods. And, having once entered into collective groups, they could at proper times drop out and return again to individual efforts.

Under such a system of land tenure all speculation in land would cease, and all idle and unimproved lands would be open to settlement. No one could sell the land he possessed, but only the labor values thereon, and all such transfers would have to receive the sanction of the State to secure equity. It is plain that, under such a system of land ownership and tenure, rents would cease and the first and most powerful instrument

by means of which those who do not labor secure the products of those who do labor would be abolished. Under this system the actual farmer now in possession of and using his land would experience no change; so long as he complied with a statute of uses, he would remain in undisturbed possession, but all who held land out of use would be forced to use it. As the amount of land one man can use is comparatively limited, capitalistic landlords would be forced to surrender their leased possessions.

But, it is objected, this is confiscation and unjust. Now, no one is moved by stronger motives of justice than the Socialist—the very spirit of Socialism is to secure justice; and, while the property of the capitalist landlord may have been secured unjustly by the exploitation of those who labor, the Socialist is willing in order to avoid violence to give the expropriated owner compensation. This could be paid by compelling all tenants of such property to pay the former owner an annuity continuing for a period of years, each payment reducing the amount of the owner's original equity until entirely paid for. Thus the land would pass from a capitalistic system, where the simple fact of ownership enables the fortunate owner to draw a regular and continuous income without the performance of any labor, to a socialistic system where the State holds it in trust for actual users.

With this first great and fundamental reform in land ownership, not only rent would be abolished but also most of the underlying causes that produce interest. Interest is based upon the assumption that when the owner turns wealth as capital over to some one else he loses its reproductive and multiplying power, and that the user should reimburse him for the gain he thus foregoes. But wealth in itself, without labor, is absolutely inert and impotent, and not only fails to increase, but unless used will decay and waste away. The supporters of interest say labor could do nothing without capital, and therefore should pay for its use. Their statement is fallacious and inverted. Capital could not do anything without labor, and labor saves it from perishing. Therefore, instead of de-

manding compensation from labor for the use of capital, the owner of capital should pay labor for preserving it. This he can do by allowing it to be used with the condition only that it will be returned, not diminished in value. Yet under Socialism no one would be compelled to allow others to use his accumulated wealth without interest, but conditions would be established that would cause him gladly to do so voluntarily. This would be accomplished by the people collectively owning and operating a sufficient number of the means of production and distribution to employ all who had no capital, which it would allow them to use free of all charges above cost of maintaining without depreciation in value. No one would pay individuals interest for the use of capital when the Social State was ready to provide it free. Yet by its very nature the capital of individuals would have to be used to be preserved, and, as an individual could use only so much, he would be glad to loan others all in excess of what he himself could use without interest and simply upon the condition that it be returned to him unimpaired or of equal value.

By these two methods of land ownership and tenure and the collective ownership and operation of sufficient capital to employ all who have no capital, the two great sources by means of which those who do not labor secure the wealth produced by those who do labor are abolished, and without taking away the freedom of any who may prefer to labor as individuals. They would even be free to associate and form partnerships, companies, and corporations, if they could get any one to work for them—which, however, would be improbable, not from constraint but from conditions; for who would work for an individual or firm, where his employer must of necessity retain a portion of the wealth he produces to make his profits, when the collective State was standing ready to employ him without retaining any portion of the wealth he produced?—for under Socialism all undertakings by the State would be run without profit over and above the cost of maintaining the original capital unimpaired. All profits of the capitalistic system would disappear, going either to the employees or the consumers. Yet

it would be well, and not necessarily destructive of the Socialist State, to allow individual methods of production and distribution under the conditions imposed; for if such individual efforts could compete with the organized industries of the State, operating upon a large scale and under the most favorable conditions, it would indicate a deficient State management that the people would have to replace. Conditions would then truly resolve themselves into a struggle in which the individual methods of production and distribution would have to compete with social coöperative methods, and the fittest would survive. It is not difficult to see which this would be; inevitably the Social State would prevail.

The industries that Socialism would first find it expedient to own and operate would necessarily be those requiring large aggregations of employees and monopolistic under the present system, such as railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, steamships, mines, oil wells, and industries producing the basic articles of our commercial and industrial life. These industries could be expropriated and paid for upon the same plan as the land: a series of annuities payable out of the former profits of the undertakings, all being operated upon this basis until the compensation had been paid.

In addition to the foregoing legislation, Socialism would have general laws applicable to all municipalities requiring the local authorities, upon petition of a specified number of citizens, to establish trade stores and warehouses for the storage and distribution of all commodities at cost, including the services of actual employees. By this method all unnecessary middlemen, now non-producers and consequently a burden upon those who do produce, would be forced to seek useful employment, which they could secure without difficulty as the State industries would be ready to receive them if they did not choose to employ themselves individually upon the land.

Any one can see that the vast number of retailers and their clerks and employees perform the office of distributing agents for us, yet under the present system their number is many times in excess of actual and efficient needs. Who in private

business would think of employing twenty persons to do what one could perform equally well? This useless burden upon producers should be removed. At the same time these numerous middlemen, while performing the functions of agents for us, are irresponsible in the sense that they are under no obligations to look after our interests. Every incentive to adulteration and imposition is placed before them, while under the Socialistic system they would have no other motive than the best interest of the people who employed them. The policies of Socialism would aim to get all products and commodities from producer to consumer by the most direct and economical route possible, in order to avoid all waste and useless burdens upon production.

Thus, with rent, interest, and profits eliminated from our social system and the means of industry free to all who desire to labor, the Socialist sees a State in which labor receives the full product of its toil and all exchanges are of equal value and different in kind only. At the same time he sees conditions that give free play to the greatest diversity of natures—the philosopher, if he choose, tilling his little plot of land for the meager products necessary to supply his wants, and the captain of industry earning the highest fame by organizing and administering the great industries of the State.

WILLIAM L. GARVER.

Chillicothe, Mo.

TRUE PATRIOTISM AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

SINCE the time when men first banded themselves together to establish government and enact laws for protection, national patriotism has been an incentive to eloquence, self-sacrifice, and daring deeds. This human emotion, like the others, is somewhat spasmodic in its degree of intensity. At some periods of national existence it seems to slumber, while at other times, aroused by some crisis, it becomes the most fierce of human passions. A series of political and industrial events that have transpired in our national life during the last few years has resulted in a general awakening of the American people along patriotic lines. Relying as we do upon the proper education of the coming generation to perpetuate our institutions, it is but natural, perhaps, that we should hear much about teaching the youth of the land love of their country and their country's flag. The flag is unfurled daily from the schoolhouses, and parents and school-teachers alike are urged to instruct young people to revere the flag and honor their country. All this is well. Far be it from my intention to deprecate any act that will instil in the mind of youth a wholesome regard for that emblem that floats over the greatest republic known to man, that stands for the grandest institutions under the light of the sun, that has been bathed in the blood of countless patriots, and that has been borne to victory in some of the most glorious battles ever fought for righteous principles and the emancipation and elevation of humanity.

But there is something more to true patriotism than that passionate love for flag and country which prompts men to leave home and comfort, and everything dear to them, and to march forth to do battle, suffer privation, and even die for the perpetuity of the Republic and its principles. That sort of patriotism lies dormant in the breast of every good citizen and

flashes up spontaneously when cause is given. It is not likely that our country will ever lack for martial defenders in case of assault from within or without. We were told a few years ago that in our mad rush for the almighty dollar our natures had become sordid and would not respond to a call to arms in an hour of need. Yet, a few years ago, when that battleship was blown up in Havana harbor, and two hundred and sixty-three American sailors were killed, what an uprising there was in the land! The bellicose nature of man is still too strong not to be fired with that fierce passion, amounting almost to an uncontrollable frenzy, when insult is offered to his country or to himself. Still, the fact may remain true that our patriotic impulses have become somewhat dulled on account of our desperate struggles for position, power, and wealth, but we hardly think it has much, if any, bearing upon our martial patriotism. Neither are we willing to concede that this national scramble for self-advancement has to any great extent obliterated our sense of justice and moral rectitude. It can still be counted to a certainty that the great mass of the American people will be found on the right side of any strictly moral question when once they "see the light," as witness the almost universal support given President Roosevelt in his contest with a few refractory Senators over Cuban reciprocity. The trouble is that the present trend of American life along lines of self-aggrandizement has by degrees brought about such a social condition that we are growing less and less susceptible to the urgency of problems demanding high, unselfish, patriotic consideration.

We believe that our country at present stands in dire need of the earnest cultivation of that homely, every-day patriotism that should lead men in their daily life to leave no effort unattempted to raise the standard of citizenship to such a point that men will be willing to make their own selfish ambitions and purposes subservient to their country's welfare. This standard of citizenship will not be established by the number or eminence of our political leaders; it will not be raised by the eloquence and wisdom of our statesmen, nor will it be maintained by our

wealthy philanthropists. It will be determined by the degree of faithfulness with which every sovereign citizen of the Republic discharges the individual responsibilities that he assumes when he arrives at an age when our Government recognizes in him a responsible factor in the management of its affairs. There is no danger of establishing too lofty an ideal of such responsibility in the mind of youth. The urgent need of such ideals was brought to the public mind with startling force a few months ago, when a half dozen men appeared before our President and with an audacity amounting almost to insult talked flippantly of their "property rights," which, regardless of their bearing upon the public welfare, should enable them to continue a condition in the anthracite regions that threatened the very life of thousands of honest citizens who had no part in the controversy these men were maintaining. If these men had been thoroughly imbued with that unselfish patriotism which should lead men to have respect for the brotherhood of mankind, to sacrifice private ambition for public good, and to humble their pride before their country's altar, it seems incredible that they could have taken the stand they apparently did.

But the selfish disregard for the rights of others so manifest in the action of these men was, unfortunately, not peculiar to them alone. It is only because their actions touched the public in a particularly tender spot that they became marked and brought down upon themselves the wrath of the people. A few months previously it was the set of men who composed the Beef Trust that were the objects of special condemnation. To-morrow it may be still another set of men that will meet the disapprobation of an avenging public. Nor is it alone on the part of such magnates that we find this spirit of obdurate disregard for whomsoever may be trampled under their feet in the rush for "success." It is just possible that the men maintaining the other side of the anthracite argument may not at all stages of the proceedings have been actuated by the highest patriotic regard for the welfare of their countrymen. There is not a State, city, town, or hamlet in which there cannot be

found a class determined to carry out its own schemes regardless of the effects upon society or individuals. The strong are trampling upon the rights of the weak, and the weak are snapping back with almost fiendish hatred. The employer too often treats the laborer as an inanimate machine, and the laborer in turn plots ruin to the employer's interests. Fie on the patriotism of men who boast of the love of flag and country on the Fourth of July, and who by their every-day relations to their fellow-men bring about a condition of society that strikes at the very vitals of their Government!

And in this fight for position, domination, and power too often the very laws of the country are wilfully broken or evaded. At present the best legal minds available are being used by the Government to devise laws that will protect the interests of the people against the machinations of such of those great corporations as are striving to further their greedy schemes at the expense of the public. At the same time another class of men equally brilliant is being paid fabulous sums by these corporations to find loop-holes in the law by which they can evade its intent and carry on their nefarious methods. But again this evasion of law is not monopolized by the monopolists. Nor, on the other hand, is disregard for law the exclusive weapon of strikers and mobs. It is going on to a certain extent every day, everywhere, and is practised by the so-called respectable citizens of the country. Any one who observes the trend of affairs in his own locality must be cognizant of this fact. It is the result of the twentieth-century "fight for position" mania, to which end self and selfish aims and ambitions are placed above duty to the country and its laws. A prominent candidate for a high office is reported as saying recently: "The era of the young man is at hand. He may have to fight for position and perhaps for existence, but in the end he is bound to win if he is persistent and never lets up." Perhaps this is true, and perhaps it is well; but does the gentleman not know that in the course of this fight this young man who does win is bound to displace and make vindictive a hundred other worthy ones, and that the very spirit that such

a fight engenders will produce that stubbornness and selfishness which so actuated the coal barons as seemed to blind them to duty to their country and fellow-men? It is in just such strife that lofty patriotism is lost sight of in an unnatural fight for the gratification of greed and power.

The energetic man should be encouraged, and should have the legitimate fruit of his energy and push; but it does not follow that he may carry it so far that he shall forget his obligations to his country, nor that he should forget that obligation to his country includes an obligation to every citizen of that country. The nation should not be considered an abstract thing represented by a "flag" to which alone the citizen is to pay homage. He should rather pay allegiance to the nation as a great family, and should remember, when fighting for position, that it is incumbent upon each to look somewhat to the welfare of the other members of that brotherhood. If the individual would but realize that he alone has obligations to his country and to his fellow-men, no matter what his station may be,—responsibilities so peculiar to himself that he cannot shirk them without in some degree lowering the standard of his country,—then there would be fewer causes for arbitration. This lesson we should learn: We are not required to respect the personalities of all people, but we should respect the inalienable rights of every citizen, and doing that we will display the highest order of patriotism.

Alas! we are hapless shirks when it comes to discharging the every-day, common responsibilities we owe to our country. We condemn the acts of the Government, not considering that we ourselves are the Government, and that in condemning it we are most likely censuring the result of some derelict act on our own part. We sneer at the inefficacy of the laws and impugn the sincerity and honesty of the lawmakers, overlooking the fact that we by right are the makers of the lawmakers and have the power to *unmake* if they do not meet the requirements. We impeach the acts and motives of the men holding the elective offices, and remain away from caucus and polls. As I write I can hear at intervals the booming of a cannon dis-

charged to force upon the minds of voters the fact that unless they are registered to-night they cannot vote at the coming election; yet withal thousands will hold so lightly their responsibilities as sovereign citizens that they will thus disfranchise themselves. We think the only way to serve the country is in an exalted position, forgetting that this is a Government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," that upon the people rests and must ever rest the responsibility of the accomplishment of the purposes for which the Government exists,—the welfare and protection of the whole people and their rights,—and that so far as we fail to perform our every duty as free citizens will the standard be lowered. Every one knows that the words of the most gifted platform orator would have little effect upon his audience if the *janitor* did not do *his* duty and have the condition of the auditorium such as to put the hearers in a receptive mood. Neither can the legislative and executive officers, even with the best of motives, do much toward the betterment of existing or undesirable conditions, unless we as individual citizens do our part to put the public in a receptive mood for better things. This we will do, if we will but turn the light within and discharge our individual responsibilities as shown by that light as conscientiously as we expect those in high places to discharge theirs.

This would seem to be a propitious time for the awakening of the people along such lines. With such flagrant examples of unpatriotic action as that of the coal barons and their kind to arouse our indignation, may we not hope that the people will take new obligations upon themselves, that the wonderful patriotism that dominated our forefathers may again obtain, and that the grand old Ship of State may go proudly on to the fulfilment of her manifest destiny—that of guiding star to the universe of nations?

JOHN T. YATES.

Jamestown, N. Y.

A FEDERATION OF LABOR.

THE status of capital seems to be firmly established under the law of social development. It has but one interest, and all its movements indicate that it is thoroughly class-conscious with regard thereto. Wherever it is threatened it is a unit in defense of its rights. Its defenses are the strongest; its sentinels are always posted, and their watches are untiring. There is no point at which an attack might be made on it that all its forces would not immediately be concentrated in its defense. Its army of defenders is comparatively small, but thoroughly disciplined and trustworthy. Its present condition of solidarity marks its obedience to the law of evolution, which has brought it by slow processes of integration to its present state. To-day it is a concrete whole, admitting of no divisions of interest or action. It is not possible to arouse a spirit of antagonism between parts of it interested in one enterprise against other parts interested in some other enterprise. Whatever objects it has to gain, all its parts move as a harmonious whole. All nations operate their machinery at its beck and in its interest. Legislatures, administrators, and judges are its servants. It brooks no opposition.

The fact of its establishment under the law of evolution is no longer denied or even doubted; like every other social factor, like everything that exists, it is a creature of law and must obey the law. It is subject to the law of integration and its concomitant, and like all moving things it is subject to the law of moving bodies. It is imperative that it should integrate, and it is equally imperative that it should move along the line of least resistance or the line of greatest traction.

There is but one kind of capital, no matter how minutely political economists and financiers may divide and subdivide its phases. Its sole end is investment, no matter what name may be given to that use of it. Its manner of gaining return on the investment may in one case be called rent, in another

interest, in another profit, and so on; but the object of its employment is that it may bring return—and that fact makes such employment an act of investment. Wherever, however, and by whomsoever employed, its interests are one and never separable; for the one thing sought by putting it to use is that it may bring the owner some gain or return. It is ever in harmony with itself. It is never disturbed by questions of ethics; it is like a spoiled child—it *wants*, and whatever it wants it is determined to have. It never discusses right or wrong; it *determines*, and there is no argument after that. It has erected its defenses, and they are impregnable; it mans them, and its soldiers are unconquerable. It is so solidified that, if it be attacked by anybody or at any point, all its resources and all its strength are instantaneous in resistance.

What a power is wielded by capital! Governments are its subjects; all the equipments of nations are the ready tools to execute its will. Legislatures are as submissive to it as if they lived not in free times and under enlightened constitutions. Emperors, kings, presidents, governors, and the lowest municipal officers bow their heads before it. Courts have been fashioned for it; judges are the humblest of all its slaves.

Why do we utter these truths? We behold capital in all its phases; we survey it in its relations to all the other factors of the social life; we compare it with other elements of our civilization, marvel at the perfection of its mechanism, and are stunned at the speed of its movement toward an inexorable destiny. We know that it is now doing what all things in the material universe have done before it—making haste toward a state of integration, and, while doing so, choosing lines of least resistance or greatest traction.

Since the commercial age was ushered in, the progress toward the unification of the interests of capital has been more rapid than that of civilization itself. It has laid hold of everything that could serve it, and that which it has seized it has never released; and, so far as the concomitant elements of civilization have permitted,—for these have generally been obstructions to its progress,—it is a marvel of evolutionary ad-

vancement. Its greatest hold on the world has been gained in the last fifty years, during which time it undermined empires and prostituted all the machinery of government, besides grinding the material substance, even life itself, out of the majority of the human race.

But it is not the writer's intention to enumerate its wrongs to the social body, nor even to devote space to criticisms of it. The real object is to present an outline, and then draw a lesson from its development that will give the cue to other social factors. The need that this lesson be learned is great and pressing. Capital is a social instrument enjoyed and held by a few, while the great remainder of the world's population is victimized by its brutality. Brutality is an incident of the peculiar functions of capital under our system of inhumanity, and does not inhere in capital *per se*. Capital in a true social organism would be its benefactor, while as now organized it is an oppressor.

As if patterning after capital, now come other social factors. We behold the instruments of production and distribution, in their efforts to escape the ruinous effects of "free competition," flying to the city of refuge to which capital had previously taken itself—consolidation, which under the law is known as *integration*. Here we see the distinctively commercial interests learning the lesson that no two bodies can expand their forces against each other without mutual loss, and that the competitive world is filled with irrefutable proof that all the examples of business competition result only in losses.

And so we proceed from one social factor to another, and everywhere is presented the spectacle of this one or that one moving toward integration. What does it mean that every little collection of individuals gives forth some manifestation of its repugnance to individualism, if it be not to accentuate the destiny of the race in closer social relations and consequent wider social functions? Does it not mean that the slower factors, following the lead of others, are yielding to integration? While this seems to be the rule with all factors called "commercial," there are others much slower still; and

we see others that have hardly begun the movement. Our great agricultural population is in the last class. While many functions formerly performed by individuals have been taken from them, and while better tools of production are used by them, they have not yet become class-conscious, as has capital, and in some degree wage labor. This class has not yet been buffeted severely enough to cause it to seek easier paths. Then, besides, its units are so widely scattered that it has not had the opportunity for reciprocal intercourse that exists in more congested communities.

But now we reach a class that, next to capital, shows its subjection to the law of evolution, though it may well be doubted if it is conscious of the fact. This doubt is sustained when we take into account the many frictions arising between separate conventional divisions of this element. Reference is now made to the *labor class*. Its organizations, both national and local, effected to resist the encroachments of capital, are signs of the process of integration designed at a future day to bring its units into close and reciprocal relations. With the struggle it now has with capital it lacks much of making the presentation of force of which it is undoubtedly capable. It is too much divided in directness and unity of effort to make the best possible resistance, and is far from being moved by a oneness of interest. It is yet in an early stage of integration, and, unlike capital, is unable to direct its forces, as a unit, against one point of attack; and until the knowledge that all labor is of a single kind, and until the spirit of oneness takes possession of all the different orders of labor, it will be impossible for it to exert itself effectively against any antagonistic element.

How soon labor will be moved by a plan that will be based on a unity of interest—which will recognize that every one who labors should be under the fullest protection of but *one* organization of labor, with one head, one plan, and one object to be attained—is not within the limits of positive prediction. But until labor has reached that state of class-consciousness which will impel it to effect one organization rep-

resenting every salaried brain-worker as well as the humblest laborer in the land; until labor has done that which capital, its only aggressive antagonist, has done; until there is but one federation of labor in our country, including in its ranks *all* labor, without distinction of occupation—it will not be possible for it to make itself felt to the fullest in its contests with capital. When it has learned the lesson that capital teaches—that there is no effectiveness in opposition unless it come from united ranks; when it has learned that to protect the interest of one of its branches, it is necessary that all labor shall be united in its demand—then shall we see labor obtaining its every demand without recourse to the strike or the boycott.

This federation of the producers is a necessary lesson to be learned from the class-conscious consolidation of capital. When this day comes we shall hear that *labor* is sensitive wherever its interests are involved, and all the talk about capital being exclusively so will no longer be heard. Then speed the day of the organization of *all* the producers of the land into one federation! If such an organization now existed it would be the director of all the interests of the nation, as it should be of all the nations of the world.

If we apply the law of social development to the present-day labor organizations we are forced to admit that they are far from showing as high a state of organization as that exhibited by capital. That the labor interests of the country are represented by innumerable bodies is indisputable; that labor fails at critical times to recognize that its complete success depends on concentrated action is also indisputable; that it has not yet realized that if it were as united as capital its victories would be as complete seems clear—for until its recognition of the law of evolution is as thorough as that of capital its defeats will be many. Therefore, it seems to be demanded that labor shall evolve itself into *one* organization, and that it should stand as a unit in pressing the demand of any of its several divisions or of any individual among its members.

JAMES A. SLANKER.

Joplin, Mo.

A CONVERSATION

WITH

C. Y. ROOP,

Editor of "The Co-operative Journal,"

ON

THE ROCHDALE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA.

Q. Mr. Roop, California has taken the lead in the Rochdale coöperative movement of the New World, and I am sure that our readers will be deeply interested in knowing the present status of the work in your State. Will you kindly tell us something of the condition of the movement. What is the volume of business for the present year?

A. Yes, California has taken the lead in the Rochdale co-operative movement; and though, as has been the usual experience with pioneer movements, and especially with attempts at coöperation, the movement in its earlier stages was marked by many vicissitudes, for some time our growth has been steady and healthy, while with the multiplication of successful stores the volume of business is rapidly increasing. During the last year it amounted to about one million dollars.

Q. What were the profits realized?

A. About twenty per cent. When the people are made to realize by means of practical illustration that they can enjoy the great benefits accruing from reduced expenditure incident to combination or union, and the vast sums of money that for generations have been going to enrich middlemen while the producers have remained comparatively poor, they will not be slow to unite enthusiastically in coöperative movements, as is

seen in the rapid increase in coöperative work in Great Britain and elsewhere during recent years.

Q. I am glad to know that the volume of business has already reached so commanding a figure, and especially is it gratifying to know that it is steadily gaining. May I inquire what is the proportion of increase?

A. It is now more than doubling each year.

Q. How many coöperative stores are there in California, and which are doing the largest business?

A. We have now over fifty stores in this State. Those at Los Angeles, Sacramento, Fresno, Grass Valley, and Kingsbury are carrying on the largest business.

Q. I infer from what you have said that the movement is in a most healthy and flourishing condition?

A. It certainly is. As yet we have given little attention to manufacturing, except in our creameries; but doubtless the day is not distant when the coöperators of California will be a large factor in the manufacturing interests of the Pacific Coast.

Q. Has the coöperative movement extended along the Pacific Coast to any extent outside of California?

A. Yes. Oregon and Washington are rapidly organizing, and there are already several stores in Nevada, Utah, and Idaho.

Q. Are there many manifestations of the coöperative spirit and interest in coöperation outside of the Rochdale stores?

A. Oh, yes. The leaven of coöperation is working among our people, and the logic of events no less than the instinct of self-preservation is exercising a strong influence in favor of coöperation. There are several coöperative fruit exchanges. One in the southern part of the State last year did a business of nine million dollars. There can be no mistaking the fact that coöperation is rapidly taking hold of the public imagination, especially among the more thoughtful people, in all classes of life; and this is to me the most encouraging sign of the times. Coöperation is the greatest cause of the twentieth century. The greatest difficulty we have had to encounter has been the lack of means properly to disseminate a knowledge of the truth.

Wherever we have been able liberally to distribute educational literature, public interest has been aroused. I heartily wish that some Carnegie might arise with millions to flood the land with the glorious doctrine of commercial salvation. Slow as the work has been in the past, it is quite evident that the change is coming, and I believe it is coming more rapidly than most of us have dreamed that it would.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

A CITY ROBBED OF FIFTY MILLION DOLLARS FOR LACK OF MAJORITY RULE.

So long as the corporations and the political "boss," through the party machine, rule, the cities will be plundered by the monopolies, and the people's representatives will degenerate into bands of thieves who will wax fat through bribery. We have had many startlingly impressive illustrations of this character during the last few years, notably in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and St. Louis.

In the latter city, for example, according to a prominent St. Louis banker quoted by Mr. Lincoln Stefferes in his excellent article in *McClure's Magazine*, on "The Shamelessness of St. Louis," "fifty million dollars' worth of franchises and municipal assets" have been given to corporations by the people's representatives, who individually received large bribes in consideration of thus handing over to a few individuals enormously valuable franchises that, if operated by the people or sold or leased at a reasonable figure, would have reduced the taxes to a minimum or have supplied the treasury of the city with enormous sums for schools, museums, libraries, and parks.

Had the people the right of initiative and referendum, this carnival of corruption and robbery could not have prevailed. We know of no instance where the people, when they have had the opportunity to vote directly on a question involving disposing themselves of valuable property without compensation, have not overwhelmingly refused to entertain the corporations' pleas.

The fifty million dollars lost to the people of St. Louis through the bribery of city officials by the corporations is typical of the vast sums that our present system of legislation is costing the public, while it also affords an equally impressive illustration of the demoralization and corrupting effect of corporation and ring rule, or representative rule instead of government through direct legislation.

The corporations' tools and apologists are in the habit of ob-

jecting to giving the people the right to initiate and to veto legislation on the pretext of the expense that the extra elections would involve. As a matter of fact, instead of direct legislation proving a great additional expense to the public, it is safe to say that it would result in saving the people many millions of dollars that are now annually given away by legislators and municipal authorities to corporations and special class interests.

There are three reasons that make the campaign for Majority Rule supremely important:

(1) It is imperatively demanded in order to preserve the fundamental principles of free government. Without it the people are not the real governors or rulers. The masters are the corporations that rule the party "bosses" and political machines and that dictate the persons who shall make and execute the laws.

(2) On considerations of public economy these strictly republican measures are urgently demanded. The carnival of loot that has made multimillionaires of scores of persons, who by bribery, direct or indirect, have gained and are gaining for nothing inestimably valuable special privileges, must be stopped. The hope of relief for the people from the tyranny and oppression of the trusts and monopolies lies in the prompt enactment of Majority Rule legislation, which is thoroughly feasible through the Winnetka method of procedure.

(3) The corruption of the people's representatives will rapidly spread and the virus most deadly to national integrity and perpetuity will quickly permeate society, unless the people promptly assert the fundamental demand underlying all true republics or free governments—that of the sovereign right of the people to initiate and to pass upon such legislation as changing conditions and the good of the State demand. Freedom cannot live in the midst of general official corruption, and human rights will be brutally ignored unless the people have the direct and ultimate vote on measures of importance.

The amazing revelations of corruption in St. Louis and other great American municipalities are typical and warn the friends of republican institutions that they have slept overlong and that only by resolute and wise action can the splendid heritage of our fathers be restored and maintained. Through Majority Rule the citizens of the Republic will become, as they are in Switzerland, the real rulers, and the power of the corporations will be destroyed.

Mr. Folk, the noble and incorruptible State's attorney for St. Louis, who has not only unmasked the wholesale bribery of the "boss," the city legislators, and the corporations in that city, but who has convicted a large number of the guilty parties, gives it as his conviction that "ninety-nine per cent. of the people are honest; only one per cent. are dishonest." Mr. Folk has convicted every man he has tried before a jury. He is convinced that the people as yet are sound, but they lack leadership. They have been under the rule of the "boss" and the party machine, and have no leaders, organizers, or patriotic apostles of justice and freedom to enthuse them with the old-time spirit and arouse in them a passion for those great fundamental verities that made our revolutionary era one of the most inspiring moments in the world's history.

But it is a noticeable fact that, wherever the people have been allowed directly to vote on any issue that has been clearly presented, they have evinced soundness of judgment. A notable example of this kind was seen in the city of Boston, when the street-railway corporation made one of the most desperate fights it has ever attempted in order to secure the right to relay tracks on certain streets. All the press of the city, with one exception,—and that exception a journal not enjoying a very great circulation,—became special pleaders for the corporation. A small band of patriotic citizens, with comparatively small funds at their command, attempted to enlighten the electorate by sending to all voters a Socratic discussion covering the main points involved. The result was that the electorate voted against the corporation's program by almost a two-to-one vote.

Majority Rule is the blade that will strike down the upas tree of political corruption and corporate domination. It will avert from our Republic the greatest dangers that have menaced free government since the foundation of this nation, and will open the way for continuous progress through peaceful education.

* * *

LIGHT DAWNING IN THE FAR EAST.

The seeds sown by Tolstoy and the martyrs of freedom and justice throughout darkest Russia are already bearing fruit. Our readers will remember that several months ago we called attention to one of the most sublimely heroic tragedies of modern times, in which a company of Russian soldiers refused to

shoot down their starving countrymen because the latter had tumultuously demanded food and fuel for their starving and freezing wives and children, and had coupled the demand with the threat that if their petition were unheeded they would help themselves to the grain in the full storehouses of their rich masters and would take wood from the great forests that surrounded them. The soldiers, it will be remembered, refused to shoot their countrymen at the behest of the rich and powerful, though they knew that refusal meant death or imprisonment and exile; and as a result one in every ten men was shot and the rest were condemned to penal servitude.

Such displays of heroism, in which men choose death rather than to commit crimes against their unfortunate brothers, have a divine potency that exerts a marvelous influence over the conscience force in a people; and this deed of lofty manhood, together with the nation's monstrous crime, served greatly to augment the seething discontent of the millions throughout Russia.

For many months the most disquieting tales of rising discontent have poured into St. Petersburg from almost all quarters of the realm. The threatened revolt became so giant-like that the hitherto all-powerful bureaucracy became appalled. Something had to be done, and done speedily, or a nation-wide revolution would surely ensue. The specter of the French Revolution rose before the Czar and his autocratic councilors. It was by no means a pleasing vision, and in order to escape the present peril they determined to act. Accordingly the two most urgent demands—those of religious freedom and of a measure of democratic rule in communal life not hitherto permitted—were taken under consideration; hence the double rescript of the Czar, one apparently dealing a heavy blow to the arrogant, intolerant, and oppressive State Church, the other seemingly permitting the entering wedge of popular government to be inserted into the trunk of absolutism.

Whether these proposed measures are intended merely to quiet the present storm by pretended rather than real reforms is yet uncertain. It may be that the rescripts will be in effect nothing more than the appointment of Turgot by Louis XVI. and his subsequent recall when he attempted to inaugurate those radical reforms that alone would have averted the French Revolution. If so, the present action of the autocratic government will merely serve to postpone a terrible day of reckoning. On the other hand, if the Czar and his councilors are thor-

oughly sincere and are resolute in the enforcement of the reforms promised, it is highly probable that Russia will proceed along the highway of liberal government in a progressive, peaceful, and evolutionary manner. Be that as it may, the universal discontent throughout the land of the White Czar has reached that point where no absolute or autocratic power can crush it.

The light is dawning in the East, and whether the day is preceded by the lurid fires of forcible revolution, or the twilight gives place to the dawn as winter yields to spring, of one thing we may be assured, and that is that the light is breaking in the East. All forward steps of this kind taken by a people not corrupted by venality, dominated by avarice, or weakened by licentiousness have proved the marching orders for real progress.

* * *

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AGAINST THE FIELD IN GERMANY.

The battle between the reactionary and progressive impulses—between democracy and free government on the one hand and absolutism, oppression, a censored press, and intolerance on the other—is being waged with deadly earnestness throughout Germany. The Emperor, though at heart despotic,—as is shown from the fact that since his accession more than six thousand editors and other prominent Germans have been thrown into prison for *lèse-majesté*, or criticizing the oppressions of autocratic rule,—is marshaling all the powers at his disposal to crush the social democrats in the pending election.

But what is at once more portentous and significant of the alarm of all reactionary influences is seen in the amazing spectacle of the union of the conservatives, the so-called liberals, representing the capitalistic class dependent upon special privilege, and the clericals or Romanists into one powerful coalition against social democracy. As a result we have seen during past months the enactment of a vast number of laws that are either extremely reactionary or cruelly oppressive; and, in order to check the growing number of socialist representatives in the Reichstag, not only are all the influence and power that the government dares to employ brought into requisition, but a signed union has been effected for electoral purposes, as will

be seen from the following despatch cabled from Berlin on March 10th :

"Under a written agreement all the political parties in Saxony are united against the socialists. The compact's chief feature is a pledge not to nominate candidates against each other in districts already held by one of these parties, and assigning the several districts now represented by socialists to the parties entering into the agreement. A union of the parties is being effected in other parts of the empire, and the election will be a contest between the socialists and all other parties except small radical groups."

This, of course, will tend greatly to reduce the representation of the socialists in the Reichstag. Yet it is doubtful that in the end socialism will gain by the unholy alliance for despotism and reaction ; for it will be remembered that, when Bismarck undertook to stamp out socialism with an iron hand, it flamed up all over the empire and grew with marvelous rapidity.

In the election of 1898 the socialists polled 2,300,000 votes—a formidable opposition for absolutism to attempt to curb, either by force or injustice and finesse ; and we incline to believe that, though in the pending elections social democracy may lose many seats, in the end it will be strengthened rather than weakened by this *mesalliance* of the Lutherans, the Roman clericals, the absolutists or reactionaries, and the so-called liberals of the *bourgeois* class.

* * *

THE SPIRIT OF FRATERNALISM VS. GOVERNMENTAL FAVORITISM.

The beneficiaries of vicious governmental favoritism have been loud in their outcries against every sane movement looking toward extending in a helpful way the aid of the government to the less fortunate ones as an act of justice and of wisdom, and with equal bitterness have they inveighed against the extension of government in such a way that all the people should reap the benefits of natural monopolies. Every effort of the State to help man to help himself, or to employ the public utilities by the whole people for the benefit of all, has been cried down as "paternalism"; and we have been told, by the mouthpieces and special pleaders of those who were becoming immensely rich through the exploitation and oppression of the

people, that the Republic had no right to meddle with the concerns of individuals or to extend its functions. Yet in each instance such action would have been a fuller expression of fraternalism in the State by which the nation would have been greatly strengthened and the interests of all the people best conserved. Furthermore, in almost every instance those who have declaimed against governmental ownership and operation of public utilities and the governmental employment of out-of-works have been fattening off of that most dangerous and un-republican of evils, governmental favoritism—a species of governmental paternalism that grants special privileges to the few by which the many are placed at a disadvantage, and often at the complete mercy of the few. The life, progress, and victory of democracy depend on the existence of the spirit of fraternalism; its most deadly peril is found in special privileges or governmental favoritism—the paternalism of the unjust parent.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

THE PERVERTS. By William Lee Howard, M.D. Cloth, 388 pp.
Price, \$1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company.

I.

Few problem novels or scientific studies clothed in the pleasing robes of fiction have appeared in recent years so well calculated to arrest the attention and compel the serious consideration of the thoughtful as Dr. William Lee Howard's remarkable romance entitled "The Perverts."

The author is a well-known physician, distinguished for his scientific studies, especially in the field of neurotic diseases. His researches and conclusions given in various papers on mental disease, the perversion of sexual instincts, and allied pathological phenomena, have placed him among the foremost scientific physicians in the United States. Thus he is peculiarly well fitted to discuss dipsomania, sexual perversion, and other phases of neurosis with which the volume is so largely concerned, and which, indeed, form the chief *motif* of the work. The author is not only an able thinker and a high authority in his field of research, but he is animated by the noblest of motives—that of the reduction of present-day vice to the minimum and its ultimate eradication through the introduction of rational and scientific treatment and measures, not the least of whose benefits would be the rapid improvement of the human species during its evolution: an improvement susceptible of being made as striking as that found in the culture of flowers, vegetables, fruits, and animal life under man's direction and guidance.

A little over a century ago the tomato was a little, marble-like, red growth, very strong and acrid in flavor, tough, and considered entirely unfit for food, it being grown merely as an ornamental plant. Through careful cultivation and rational treatment it has been transformed into the large, luscious, and important food product so enjoyed to-day. In the floral world witness the almost incredible improvements and transformations that have been wrought through wise and rational culture in the pink, the pansy, and various other well-known flowers. And what is true in the vegetable world is quite as marked in the improvement of domestic animals under modern scientific care and treatment.

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Yet, when we come to the human race, the incredibly important facts relative to improvement in life are blindly ignored, and society is yearly receiving the spawn of a veritable world of criminality and degeneration; while even the rational discussion of the importance of unions made with a view to the improvement of the race and the introduction of children who shall prove a blessing to the world and aught but a curse to themselves arouses the blind prejudice of the Church and society; while the same element insists on treating the victims of morally criminal unions—the dipsomaniacs and certain other neurotic offenders against society—as criminals instead of as persons as much diseased as are the victims of epilepsy or tuberculosis.

Now, against these palpable wrongs,—these grave crimes against the individual and civilization, born of religious prejudice, superstition, and ignorance,—Dr. Howard protests with the convincing power of a clear, incisive thinker trained to the critical methods of modern scientific research.

The subjects treated of are of so delicate a character that, in the hands of a bungler or a writer whose mind was in any degree tainted by pruriency or morbidity, the story could not prove other than revolting; but under the pen of this author subjects rarely dwelt upon in fiction are so presented as to prove unoffensive to the most sensitive among normal minds, however much the reader may dissent from the author's views on religion, on the sphere of woman, and other theological or social and philosophic questions.

So important a work as this cannot in justice to the reader be dismissed with a few words. The motive is too important when so ably treated, even though the work as a literary production were far less notable than is "The Perverts;" and intelligently to consider the strong and weak points of the volume, or what to us appear its excellences and defects, it will be necessary to notice it first as a romance, second as a study of dipsomania and allied neurotic states, and third as a criticism on religious and social subjects.

II.

A rule, fiction that is employed as a vehicle for the propagation of some special theory or view—whether economic, scientific, social, or theological—is a miserable failure when considered merely as a romance creation. The overmastering thought of the author usually destroys his literary and imaginative prowess, and those not especially interested in the subject that is the motive of the work find the volume wearisome reading. In this respect Dr. Howard's work is a pleasing exception to the rule; for though the author is a scientific historian rather than a romance writer, and though he lacks something of the realistic power of Zola, Frank Norris, and other modern novelists, still he evinces in a marked degree imagination, dramatic power, and skill in the construction of the story that render the novel a book of absorbing, and at times of intense, interest.

The cool, calculating, but demoniac efforts of the pervert, Mizpra

Newcomber, to destroy her brother, his wife, and their child; her determination to ruin her sisters, to bring her mother completely under her own control, and thereby obtain full possession of a large fortune that should have been equitably divided among all the children; the mastery over her weak husband and the power she exerts over a former Jesuit who has committed certain crimes of which Mizpra is cognizant; and the devious ways in which she utilizes her long studies in bacteriology, hypnotism, and medicine in attempting to compass her diabolical purposes—invest many chapters with thrilling interest only equaled by the story of the struggles of the brother, Leigh Newcomber, the dipsomaniac who rises superior to his inherited curse by the scientific knowledge that he has obtained, and that furthermore enables him successfully to meet and overcome the attempts against the life, happiness, and reputation of himself, his wife, and their child.

The saving power of true goodness exerted by a noble woman who protects the young physician and his wife at critical moments, and by a large-hearted and scholarly physician, is brought into bright relief—as are the highly suggestive illustrations of how the hero was saved from becoming the victim of a most nefarious plot by a degraded woman of the street, because he had pitied and befriended her and protected the life of her child on another occasion, and further showing how through kindness and mercy shown to the tool of her sister, when the wretched man was in his power, the physician ultimately triumphed over the machinations of the perverted Mizpra. These form golden threads running through the web and woof of the story, teaching far more important lessons in a practical way than are found in volumes of conventional theological sermons.

Leigh Newcomber is not only a strong, well-drawn personality, but his struggles with the baleful curse of his inheritance, his essential nobleness, his tenderness and humanity, his strength in the midst of inherited weakness, his salvation through knowledge of the cause of his weakness, and his resolute determination to save himself, cannot fail to prove a tremendous inspiration to thousands who read the volume.

Considered merely as a novel, the work is one of more than ordinary interest and merit.

III.

That, however, which gives special value to "The Perverts" is the masterly and scientific manner in which the too little understood subject of dipsomania and other perversions due to neurotic conditions is treated by Dr. Howard. Here this immensely important subject is presented so clearly and incisively that the dullest mentality cannot fail to comprehend the author's reasoning, while it is accompanied by such striking and impressive illustrations that the truths presented cannot fail to be lastingly impressed on the mind.

The interest in the story is increased by the author's statement that the characters depicted "are not imaginary, but are drawn from cases taken from my note-book. Obviously some are toned down and others

polished up to meet the purposes of the story, but, instead of being exaggerated, most of the characters have had some of their impulses kept within reasonable bounds."

In discussing dipsomania our author makes many profoundly thoughtful observations, which are well calculated to modify the unthinking prejudice and popular opinion on this subject. For example, he observes:

"The public gazes at the club-footed child, or the deformed adult, and utters a sigh of sympathy or an expression of regret that the parents or friends have allowed the sufferer to go uncured, the deformity uncorrected. The child whose twitchings are the symptoms of St. Vitus' dance is the cynosure of its playmates, and often the victim of their ignorant ridicule. The child's distressing uneasiness and odd muscular movements, however, are recognized as the effects of disease, and the social attitude of young and old adapted to this recognition. Does the public ever realize that *any* group of cells which make up the human body are liable to be distorted, undeveloped, or misplaced during their formative period? That, while we pity the man with the deformed bones, and appreciate the fact that the deformity is due to no fault of his conduct, the man who was born with an analogous psychic defect is shunned, ostracized, and meets with social degrading? It is the same old story. The world is ever too eager to censure what it does not understand. What is objective it accepts; what is subjective it ignores or ridicules.

"With its knowledge of modern corrective surgery, the world blames the parents who allow their children to grow up deformed, rightly holding them responsible for not having had the defect remedied. But if the child grows up with some defect in its controlling centers, if the nervous system is a little unbalanced, the neglect and ignorance of the parents increase the instability, and the result in the adult is some form of impulsiveness. For the objective signs of this impulsiveness the helpless one is thrust aside, and the real offenders—the parents—meet with the sympathy of the world.

"If this symptom of a nervous affection exists in the man of ordinary intellect; if this man periodically demonstrates his restlessness by resorting to alcohol to relieve his horrible feelings, it is called by the unthinking masses vicious drunkenness. This condition, however,—the disease inebriety, or its rabid form, dipsomania,—rarely prevails in the man of ordinary mental powers.

"The psychic conditions producing the unreasonable passion to consume enormous quantities of alcohol, morphine, and allied drugs is as distinct an affection as is the physical epilepsy seen daily on our streets.

"Dipsomania—not drunkenness—is mostly seen in the man with extraordinary mental powers; the genius. It is here the laws of Nature reveal themselves most plainly in the extreme of their manifestation. The world tries to excuse, palliate, or smooth over with specious and unscientific methods the moral eccentricities of these individuals. It calls them unfortunate vices, when in truth they are symptoms of disease.

"In a genius we have the development of a single faculty at the expense of others. When this greatly developed faculty has for the time being exhausted itself, the other undeveloped faculties run riot, and we have the sad phenomena of some form of psychic epilepsy. This psychic riot, if inherited, does not necessarily take the form it had in a past generation. Environment controls the phenomena. This follows the law of material progress. The fundamental cause

remains the same, but the effects are governed by circumstances. Hence, men are more like the times they live in than they are like their fathers.

"Bad social conditions, unfavorable environments, a predisposition for alcohol through heredity, faulty training, and neglect of moral education will cause lawlessness, drunkenness, and its concomitant vices; but, aside from the vexed question of heredity, we have none of these conditions existing as the cause of true dipsomania, but only as the effect during the attack. The unfortunate victims of this form of defective nervous inheritance are generally those whose surroundings are the best, individuals of genial and honest natures, bright and highly intellectual; many have been the most brilliant of their time.

"As the majority of the individuals who suffer from attacks of dipsomania are those who live at a high nervous and mental pressure,—physicians, litterateurs, artists, and musicians,—exhaustion of nervous energy is frequent and often continuous, and the reserve brain power is soon used up.

"Such mental spendthrifts as Cromwell, Humboldt, Goethe, and Dante had no capital to transfer to their sons. The almost simple-minded Duke of Reichstadt,—*"L'Aiglon,"*—the legitimate son of Bonaparte, was the result of the ruined mental vigor of the hero of forty campaigns.

"Among the men and women of genius who had both the alcohol and opium habits were Coleridge, Thompson, De Quincey, Carew, Sheridan, Steele, Addison, Hoffman, Charles Lamb, Madame de Staël, Burns, Savage, Alfred de Musset, Pierre Dupont, Kliet, Carracci, Jean Steen, Morland, Turner, Gerard de Nerval, Dussez, Handel, Gluck, Praga, Rovani, and the poet Somerville. The list might be carried out to an astonishing extent, confining it strictly to the present times. But we must not forget poor, misunderstood Edgar Allan Poe. Science has changed many of the old views of the order of things in the last decade, but in nothing has she been so gracious as in taking away the stigma of drunkenness too long attached to that American genius. Born with intellectual powers beyond the ken of his contemporaries, he also tried to struggle through his physical life heavily burdened by a psychic form of epilepsy over which he could not possibly have control, and which at intervals held him in its impulsive grasp. Literature always recognized Poe's genius. Science now recognizes his disease."

On intemperance in the United States our author says:

"In the United States it is probably true that the ordinary drinking of strong stimulants is on the decrease. This is so because the normally developed man recognizes its curse, sees its fearful ravages on those who suffer from a disease which tyrannically demands alcohol, and later on morphine, to quiet an agonizing unrest, and profits by the lesson. But, unfortunately, it is also a fact that the *conditions* which produce the rabid impulse to consume enormous quantities of stimulants—the disease dipsomania—are on the increase in this country. Nothing but an early knowledge, either in the parents or in the individual himself, of a tendency to neurotic disease will check the progressive and forceful growth from gradual stimulation to the disease inebriety, or the insane conditions of dipsomania.

"Let the parents be as careful in watching for some direct or atavistic neurosis as they are in watching the child's physical and religious formation, and the question of intemperance will be seen to be governed by natural laws, and the cure of inebriety and dipsomania shown to rest on a purely physiologic basis. The vices and habits of man, as vices and habits purely, will always be with us. But the increase of vice can be controlled by a frank admission of facts."

The above quotations will give some idea of the author's style and method of presenting the subject with which the book is chiefly concerned. On the whole his views on these subjects are so richly well worth reading and so important that the volume merits a far wider circulation than can be hoped for it, owing to the author's outspoken and uncompromising assaults on popular religious and social views and theories.

IV.

Dr. Howard is a pronounced free-thinker, a materialist, or perhaps a Deist; but his hostility to Christianity as revealed in his hero's views is very marked. From the Unitarian clergyman, who "remembers what he is taught and forgets what he thinks," to the Roman Catholic, he has little use for the churches. Now, so far as a church retards the exercise of reason by prescribing what a man may or may not read and think, or by making him so much the creature of fear that mental development and growth are hindered, it unquestionably checks progress; and doubtless in very many cases the teachings of the Church have unfavorably affected highly-sensitive, emotional, and neurotic individuals, not infrequently occasioning pronounced insanity. But, on the other hand, we believe the Church has proved one of the most powerful agencies in controlling unfortunate tendencies and vicious appetites. On this point we could cite very, very many cases that have come under our personal observation. Moreover, we are not prepared to accept as demonstrated facts the theories of Lombroso, and the school of which he is the illustrious head, touching the phenomena of genius. Nor do we hold the emotional nature and the imaginative faculties in such contempt as does our author. By ignoring the spiritual man the materialistic school, it seems to us, mistakes a partial appearance for the whole, and thus much that is potentially highest and best escapes the vision of its disciples.

To assume with Lombroso and men of his school that genius is merely the development of a single faculty, or dogmatically to reason on the assumption that religion is born of the emotional or sentimental side of life, and that there is no warrant for belief in a future state; that the spiritual world is the phantom of emotionalism; that the soul or spirit as something persistent after death is non-entity; or to flout the emotional side of life, enthroning reason as the only rightful ruling element in man, is in our judgment to presume far beyond the limits that present knowledge warrants.

Men of genius have frequently been very many-sided, and their noblest creations have possessed a wonderful potency in exalting that which is finest and purest and highest in life. If these assumptions are to be accepted, then it follows that reason alone is to be recognized in the tribunal of the mind, and the great poets, artists, sculptors, and musicians, who are preëminently the interpreters of the imagination and emotions, are to be dismissed as simply manifestations of unbalanced mentality or life in which some special faculties have been abnormally

stimulated and developed, notwithstanding the fact that their creations stir the profoundest depths and awaken the noblest aspirations and desires in the brain of millions who come under the influence of their power, thus stimulating life in all its higher centers so as to exalt, uplift, and enrich civilization for all future time.

Is it not more probable that these thinkers, however splendid may be their intellectual attainments and their power to reason upon physical phenomena, are too deficient in imagination and emotion to be able to appreciate some of the profoundest verities in life or to recognize the potential salvation of society through the dominion of a noble idealism, vivified by the basic spiritual truths that, like love, appeal preëminently to the emotional life?

On the question of woman's sphere, while many of Dr. Howard's observations are doubtless true, we are impressed with the conviction that here again he lacks breadth of vision—it is so easy to accept a partial appearance for the whole. If conditions of justice prevailed and if mutual love and consideration obtained in the home life, there could be no doubt that woman would be far happier at the head of a home. But what is the main cause of the unrest among women to-day? Is it not the absence of these things, and are not the children who come as a result of enforced motherhood (children who are in no high sense the offspring of love) one of the main causes of physical, nervous, and mental degeneracy in society to-day? Has not Dr. Howard overlooked perhaps the chief cause of neurosis in modern life? Children who come into homes where love is dead, and where the wife feels an aversion for the man who claims the rights of a husband, cannot be other than fatally handicapped and in the long run, in many instances, prove a positive curse to society. Is it not possible that Dr. Howard, who has studied one question from a view-point diametrically opposed to that occupied by millions of other men and women, may here as elsewhere have accepted a partial appearance for the whole?

Though we think our author's religious and social criticisms are open to serious question, and though at times they are diametrically opposed to those we entertain, yet we could heartily wish all thoughtful men and women to read this book, because of the really vital, timely, and important thought it contains, and also because it would give to most of them a new view-point from which to consider some of life's most serious problems.

UNDER THE ROSE. By Frederic W. Isham. Cloth, illustrated in colors. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

"Under the Rose" is the best romantic novel we have read in months. It is a story invested with a subtle and delicate charm seldom found in the present-day romantic and so-called historical novels, in which brag and bluster are usually present, and the hero is of the swash-

buckler sort who not infrequently affects modesty in his narration to emphasize his prodigies of valor and his improbable feats and achievements. This story, on the other hand, is exciting and frequently highly dramatic, and, in spite of some melodramatic climaxes that detract from its probability, is a beautiful mystery tale that unfolds into a charming romance of love.

The scenes are laid in the eventful first century of Modern Times. The historic background is the gay, cynical, cruel, and voluptuous court of the ambitious and vainglorious Francis, the patron of arts and culture, a king of strange contradictions that were constantly exemplified in the most surprising ways, as, for example, in his burning of heretics at the behest of Rome, and on the other hand imprisoning the Pope and entering into an alliance with the Mohammedan Solyman.

There are some admirable pictures of court life in this summer-time of pseudo-chivalry, and among the interesting figures introduced is Rabelais, who, if we except John Calvin, was the most powerful intellect in the France of that period; while the pen pictures of Francis and of the Emperor Charles V. are admirably drawn.

The chief interest in the tale, however, centers in the hero, who is supposed to be the jester of the Duke of Friedwald, and Jacqueline, joculatrix to the Princess Louise. The latter is supposed to be the daughter of the gardener at the castle of Dubrois. The hero is not the coarse, wine-drinking, devil-may-care character of the conventional historical romantic novels of our day, but rather a person of rare charm and delicacy of feeling; a gentleman who is at once brave, learned, imaginative, and true hearted; a Protestant who dared to carry the works of Calvin with him at a time when to do so was a capital offense. Jacqueline is also a strong, striking, and unique creation in romantic fiction, quite as attractive as the supposed jester; and the experiences of these two are replete with deadly peril and exciting incidents, some of which are highly romantic. At length, however, love conquers, bringing felicity to the noble central figures who have played the rôle of life in the motley.

This is a story that would lend itself to dramatic representation, and, we think, make a far better play than many dramatizations of recent novels that have proved successful.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM. By Herman Lieb.
Cloth, 178 pp. Chicago: H. Lieb, Jr., & Co.

This is a volume that should be possessed and carefully read by every thoughtful voter. It is a complete, well-digested discussion of the initiative and referendum and their bearings on American politics. Perhaps the most valuable and interesting chapters are those giving the origin and historical development, together with the practical workings, of direct legislation in Switzerland. The book is timely, clear, and convincing.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE symposium on the Mormon question with which our magazine opens this month is of peculiar timeliness owing to the recent election of Reed Smoot as Utah's representative in the upper house of Congress. The failure of the Salt Lake Ministerial Association to prove that the incumbent is a polygamist has shifted the battle waged against Mr. Smoot on to different ground—that he represents a church hierarchy rather than the people of Utah. Concerning this allegation, the contribution by President Joseph F. Smith may be regarded as an official statement of the institution's attitude toward its office-holding members. That religious history is repeating itself in this latter-day development of theology is seen in our second paper, in which the head of the "Reorganized" church gives the reasons for its protestantism and secession; while the view of Evangelical Christianity, as presented by the general secretary of the National Anti-Mormon Missionary Association, in opposition to both the contending factions, completes the symposiac requirements—a conflict of opinion that impels the reader to form his own conclusions.

The reports furnished by our staff correspondents of the proceedings of the recent Municipal Ownership Convention embody the vital results of what was undoubtedly the most important gathering of the kind ever held. Meetings assembled for the discussion of popular control and operation of public necessities are regarded in a more serious vein than formerly—due quite as much to the corruption and abuses of corporate monopoly as to the logic of facts and figures and the number of distinguished economists and statesmen enlisted in the advocacy of their municipalization. That this idea is spreading also among the mass of voters is proved by the recent reelection of Tom L. Johnson as mayor of Cleveland, of Samuel M. Jones as mayor of Toledo, and of Carter Harrison as mayor of Chicago—all candidates of the people running on platforms demanding the abolition of special privileges and the establishing of popular rights in the management of common utili-

ties. The convention marks an epoch in the evolution of purer political ideals and points unmistakably to a brighter economic day in the vista of civic government in America.

The centennial anniversary of the acquisition of Louisiana, which is about to be celebrated in a triumphant World's Exposition, renders opportune the publication this month of Editor Flower's study of the immortal Jefferson and his contribution to racial progress. It is perhaps the most searching and informing of our series of biographic papers, for it conveys many salutary lessons to the would-be Republic-builders of to-day and is most vital in its admonitory portions.

The pressure on our space caused by these three lengthy features compels the withholding for later insertion of Editor Flower's continuation of "The Case against the Trusts," the Hon. Boyd Winchester's paper on "The Lust of Money," and our usual short-story contribution.

The recent decree of the Czar, announcing the inception of certain long-needed reforms in the internal government of the Muscovite Empire, imparts unique interest to Mr. Hourwich's paper on "Religious and Political Liberty in Russia," in this issue. It is not difficult to see in either the irresistible nature of the law of progress, though civilization may be retarded for centuries through man's abuse of his vaunted "free agency." This essay is authoritative, as the author is a widely known writer on Russian topics, having contributed extensively to American and European periodicals, and has written a monograph on "The Economics of the Russian Village," which appears in the second volume of the Columbia University studies in economics, history, and public law.

THE ARENA has yielded much space, during the last few years, to the discussion of subjects having a more or less direct bearing on Socialism; but it is probable that a more comprehensive and accurate definition of the doctrine itself has not appeared in any impartial journal than the article we publish this month by William L. Garver, the well-known author of "Brother of the Third Degree." We are glad thus to aid in the removal of many misconceptions in the average mind concerning one of the most significant developments of modern philosophy.

The JUNE ARENA, which will complete our Twenty-ninth Volume, will contain, in addition to the features above mentioned, a timely paper on "Treason," by Capt. W. P. Kent; "The Federal Judge," by Edward M. Winston; "Will the Churches Survive?" by the Rev. C. E. Ordway, and a Southern view of "The Negro Problem," by J. M. Bicknell, who reaches conclusions quite different from those of Col. Hemstreet on the same subject in the current number.

J. E. M.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

THE ARENA

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THE ABUSES OF INJUNCTION.

UNDER English and American jurisprudence an injunction is a command issuing out of a Court of Equity requiring the person to whom it is addressed to do, or refrain from doing, a particular act. It does not relate to the property of the person to whom it is directed, but following the maxim that "Equity acts *in personam*," it addresses its command to the person whose action it seeks to regulate. Disobedience to such a command subjects the person violating it to summary punishment for a contempt of court.

An injunction has always been regarded as an extraordinary method of relief, and Chancellor Kent called it the "very strong arm of a Court of Equity." Appreciating the extraordinary character of this remedy, judges desirous of preventing its abuse have prescribed certain legal principles which should limit the occasions for its exercise. Thus, injunctions should not be issued when there is an adequate remedy at law, or when the facts or law are in doubt.

It has always been recognized that an injunction should not be issued merely to prevent the commission of crime, because a Court of Equity has no criminal jurisdiction. In recent years this power has been arbitrarily exercised and grossly abused. The restrictions formerly regarded as established have been abandoned, and Courts of Equity have traveled over the whole field of human action and subjected the liberty of the citizen

to restraint whenever it has seemed to the individual judge that restraint should be imposed. Lord Eldon resented what he called "the reproach that the equity of this court varies like the Chancellor's foot." But some of our modern judges do not seem to regard the elastic nature of this jurisdiction in this light. The ridiculous extreme to which this power has been stretched is nowhere better illustrated than in the opinion of the Texas Court of Appeals, sustaining an order punishing a defendant for contempt of court for violating an injunction which prohibited him from attempting to alienate the affections of his neighbor's wife. (*Ex parte Warfield*, 50 S. W. Rep. 933.)

The practice of issuing an injunction in a labor dispute originated in an English case decided in 1868. In that case members of a labor union were restrained from issuing placards which requested "all well-wishers" of the union "not to trouble or cause any annoyance to the Springfield Spinning Company Lees by knocking at the door of their offices, until the dispute between them and the self-actor minders is finally terminated." The court held that the publication of such a placard constituted intimidation, which prevented workmen from hiring themselves to the company, and an injunction therefor issued. (*Springfield Spinning Co., vs. Riley*, 6 L. R. Eq. Cas. 551.)

This is the decision which has been followed in the American cases, notwithstanding the fact that it was decided under a local statute and was distinctly and deliberately repudiated and overruled in the Appellate Court. (*Prudential Assurance Co. vs. Knott*, 10 L. R. Ch. App. 142.)

The practice, however, does not seem to have become general in England. It is upon American soil that the injunction has grown and flourished in cases of this nature. The first American case to establish itself as a precedent for the many which have followed it was a case decided in Massachusetts in 1888. (*Sherry vs. Perkins*, 147 Mass. 212.) Here it was held that the displaying of a banner constituted intimidation, deterring others from working for the employer. The only visible sign

of the conspiracy which the court found to exist was the following inscription upon a banner: "Lasters are requested to keep away from P. P. Sherry's. Per order L. P. U."

Since this time decisions sustaining such injunctions have followed one another in rapid succession. It is impossible here to make even a reference to them. Nor is it easy to discover any controlling principle which is recognized by the courts in granting these injunctions.

The cases decided, however, can be divided into three classes:

First—Those cases where the courts hold that force, violence, and intimidation constituting a crime have been resorted to.

Second—Those cases which are based upon the Act of 1887 regulating interstate commerce and the so-called Anti-Trust law of 1890.

Third—Those cases where the application commends itself to the judgment of the judge to whom it is addressed.

Between 1888 and 1891 there were several cases where injunctions were issued in labor disputes, prohibiting solicitations, threats, parading with banners, issuing circulars, and other methods of making a boycott effective. These injunctions were all granted upon the ground that a conspiracy existed and irreparable damage to property would result unless a Court of Equity interfered.

In 1892 an injunction was issued against a miners' union in Idaho prohibiting the miners from entering upon mines of the Cœur d'Alene Consolidated and Mining Co., or from using force, threats, or intimidations preventing employees from working. (Cœur d'Alene Consolidated and Mining Co. *vs.* Miners' Union, 51 Fed. Rep. 260.) The ground upon which the court claimed to grant this injunction was not to protect private rights, but to preserve the public peace and thus protect public rights. In 1893 the field of government by injunction was largely extended by Judge Taft. In this case Chief Arthur of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was prohibited from ordering a strike and commanded to rescind an order

which he had already given boycotting the road. Here the injunction was issued upon the ground that the Interstate Commerce act imposed certain public duties upon the railroad company, the omission to perform which constituted a crime; that Arthur had conspired with others to make it impossible for the railroad company to perform its obligations, and, therefore, Arthur and his associates were guilty of a crime which constituted irreparable injury to the public as well as to the railroad company, and an injunction issued against him. Other cases followed based upon the theory that it was necessary for the public welfare and to protect public rights. By what Carlyle would have called "a satiric destiny" the Anti-Trust law, passed largely in response to the demands of labor unions against those combinations known as trusts, was invoked against organized labor, and injunctions were issued under it. A legal writer thus reviews the history of these injunctions up to 1894: "The Attorney-General of the United States, acting for the United States in the exercise of its sovereignty as a nation, has sued out injunctions in nearly every large city west of the Alleghany Mountains. Injunction writs have covered the sides of cars; deputy marshals and Federal soldiers have patrolled the yards of railway *termini*, and chancery process has been executed by bullets and bayonets. Equity jurisdiction has passed from the theory of public rights to the domain of political prerogative. In 1888 the basis of jurisdiction was the protection of the private right of civil property; in 1893 it was the preservation of public rights; in 1894 it has become the enforcement of political powers." (C. C. Allen's article on "Injunctions and Organized Labor," 17 Rep. of Amer. Bar. Assn. 315.)

Employees have been forbidden by injunction to leave the employ of receivers of a railroad with the intent of injuring the property in the custody of the receivers. And the court assumed the existence of the intent to injure the property from the fact that the men had combined to prevent a reduction of wages. (*Farmers' Loan & T. Co. vs. Pac. R. R. Co.*, 60 Fed. Rep. 803.)

In one case an injunction even went further than this, and absolutely prohibited the workmen from leaving the receiver's employ, regardless of any conspiracy or intent to injure the property. This seems to have been more than the Appellate Court could approve, and this provision was declared illegal on the ground that it subjected employees to involuntary servitude in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. (*Arthur vs. Oakes*, 63 Fed. Rep. 310.)

The courts have not only prohibited persuasion, when accompanied by intimidation and threats, but have actually denied the right of workmen peaceably to persuade their fellows to join them on strike. Thus, in the case of *York Manf. Co. vs. Obedick* (10 Penn. D. Rep. 463), the court said: "It is seriously contended by counsel for the respondents that they had a legal right to approach other workmen in the employ of the complainant, and to *persuade and induce* them either to quit or not to accept such employment. . . . *There is no such legal right.*"

The famous "starvation" injunction issued last summer prohibiting workmen from giving food and assistance to their associates during a strike has been followed by a recent injunction prohibiting the payment of benefit moneys by a labor union to its members pending a strike.

These injunctions, and many others of the same character which have been issued during the last few years, violate fundamental rights. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that in every instance the workmen were engaged in acts in violation of the criminal law, these injunctions were unnecessary and unjustifiable. If the acts were not criminal then the theory upon which the injunctions were issued is incorrect, and they were admittedly without justification. If the acts were criminal, the criminal law provides the punishment to be imposed and the procedure to be followed. The fact is that the only reason for issuing injunctions in those cases, where the prohibited acts are in violation of the criminal law, is to dispense with a trial by jury.

Consider the protection with which the law, as a result of

centuries of struggle and experience, safeguards the liberty of the lowliest citizen. If he is charged with a crime, there must be a hearing before a magistrate, a grand jury must be satisfied that a crime has been committed, and that reasonable ground for believing the accused guilty exists. Upon the indictment found by the grand jury he is tried by a petit jury, and even their verdict if improperly arrived at or contrary to the law may be set aside upon appeal. This protection safeguards the rights of one accused even of murder.

How different is the new method, introduced by these injunctions. A judge sitting at his chambers, upon the *ex-parte* application of a private person or corporation, makes an order commanding not only the defendant in the suit but all the world to do or refrain from doing certain things which are specified in the order. Those violating the order are summarily arrested and brought before the judge whose ukases they are accused of violating. He inflicts punishment upon them. He is judge, jury, and executioner, and if he had jurisdiction his acts cannot be reviewed upon appeal, and the accused is not entitled to counsel. The committing magistrate, the grand jury, the petit jury, the right of appeal, and the right to have counsel are all dispensed with.

Under this system a person can be punished twice for the same offense. He may be fined or imprisoned summarily for contempt in disobeying an injunction issued against him, and for the criminal offense charged he may be tried and found guilty and be subjected again to fine or imprisonment or both.

The sweeping character of these injunctions may be realized when it is recalled that they are issued not merely against the parties to the action, but against all mankind. In the Debs case (158 U. S. 564) the injunction was issued against all the persons named in the bill, and against all the members of the American Railway Union who were engaged upon twenty-three railroad systems and, lest some should be forgotten, against "all other persons whomsoever."

In no legal sense is such an order an injunction at all. It is simply a general police proclamation putting the community in

general under peril of punishment for contempt if the proclamation is disobeyed. The jurisdiction now exercised by Courts of Equity in issuing injunctions in labor disputes is similar to that exercised by the odious Court of the Star Chamber. The offenses which were regarded as peculiarly within the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber were riot, libel, and conspiracy. The course of procedure was similar to that prevailing in Chancery. It possessed power summarily to punish by fine and imprisonment for what an old writer called the "breach of proclamations before they have the strength of an act of Parliament."

The similarity between this jurisdiction and that exercised by courts issuing injunctions in labor disputes is manifest. The cases in which both assumed to act are the same. The procedure adopted is the same. The punishment to be imposed rested entirely within the discretion of the court.

The infamous tribunal of the Star Chamber, resting as it did mainly upon the denial of the citizen's right of trial by his peers, was not without its defenders. Lord Bacon praised it as a "sage and noble institution," and Lord Coke commended it as "a court of criminal equity."

The rights of free speech, free press, and trial by jury, the exercise of which are glibly prohibited by these injunctions, have only been won by centuries of struggle. Men have suffered imprisonment, the thumbscrew and the rack, and sacrificed their lives that we might enjoy these rights.

Are we to be deprived of them now by pieces of paper signed by judges of Courts of Equity?

JUDGE SAMUEL SEABURY.

New York City.

THE FEDERAL JUDGE.

A JUDGE, no matter upon what bench he sits, has enormous power to affect the interests of litigants. Moreover, his decisions deal with difficult and disputed questions. It is inevitable that every decision should carry disappointment to some one, and that many of them should be received with discontent, with criticism, or even with suspicion of wrongful motives. It is, therefore, important both that the conscientious judge should not be unjustly accused, and that blame should attach where it rightly belongs, that all possible influence which may affect a judge's decisions should be thoroughly understood. The present paper proposes to consider some methods of influence which are not always understood. Of deliberate dishonesty, possible upon the bench as elsewhere, no discussion is necessary. It ought to be possible to say as much of the receiving of passes and of like favors from possible litigants. There is, in truth, a double aspect to the dishonesty of this practise. On the one hand, the transportation thus presented is a valuable commodity which belongs to the stockholders. If it is a gift the officers are guilty of a breach of trust. If this accusation is not justified, if, in other words, the transportation is given for consideration, it is very apparent that such consideration is one which cannot be frankly stated; in short, it consists of favors expected from the judge in his official capacity. All this is commonplace, and is tolerated by men of intelligence only because they have grown callous through interest and long usage, else they could not be blind to the patent fact that railroad corporations granting favors to public officials do it only with the expectation of receiving favors in return. Yet the taking of such favors justifies suspicion of the impartiality of the recipient, though doubtless he is often blind to the fact.

I am not able to determine how many judges still put them-

selves under such obligation. Certainly the public impression is that such cases are common. Take one illustration. A certain railroad company has lines running into the city of Chicago, but is organized under the laws of another State, and is, therefore, entitled to have practically all of its controversies tried in the Federal court. Strangely enough, it never lost a case before that tribunal in the space of two years, and a very widespread opinion is that expressed to me in these words: "The judge has an annual pass from that road in his pocket as he sits on the bench, and half of the jury have come in on free transportation over the same road. No wonder it is impossible to win a case against them." Now, I do not say that these charges are well founded. I do say that the public strongly suspect that they are. No man upon the bench will object to an investigation of these matters, provided he has not put himself in an equivocal position. The present intention, however, is to consider certain more subtle influences, which tend to interfere with the even swing of the scales of justice.

A story, published some years since by a Boston publisher, entitled "The Federal Judge," so well illustrates the matter referred to that if it could be universally known the public would more fully understand the actual cause of certain judicial decisions than is now possible. For the present purpose but two characters in the book are of importance. A judge of a State court on a country circuit has earned, when the story begins, a reputation as a corporation baiter, and little hope is entertained that a suit pending before him can be won by the defendant, a certain railroad company; but the president of the road thinks it worth while to attend the trial and study the presiding judge for purposes of future advantage. He meets the judge, a conscientious and strong-willed man, is entertained in his house, discovers his fads and fancies, industriously posts himself upon them, and the two are soon on terms of intimacy, to the astonishment of all the bystanders, who would have said that the two men had nothing whatever in common. As time rolls on a Federal judgeship in the neighboring city, where the railroad president and his friends are paramount in politics, becomes

vacant, and, in the caucus called to consider the question of a successor upon the bench, the president astonishes his friends by suggesting the corporation-baiting country judge for the vacant position. The suggestion is hailed with derision but is finally complied with, and the judge, without an instant's warning, finds his new commission in his morning's mail, and, in his innocence, imagines the nomination to be unsought recognition of individual merit.

Thus, thrown into new and strange surroundings, the judge finds this influential acquaintance a vast solace in the loneliness of his new position. By him he is introduced at a club which proves a pleasant lounging place for his unoccupied hours, and through him makes numerous pleasant acquaintances. As time passes, the president or his friends find means of offering him opportunities of profit, legitimate enough in themselves, but involving no expense or assistance on his part. He feels, and rightly, that offers of this sort are offers practically of bribes, under a pretense of investment, but his scruples are smothered and he finds the prospect of increased income doubly pleasing under the stress of increased expenses, due to the removal of his family to the city. In time, therefore, the one man, as he had foreseen, comes to wield over the straightforward and unsuspecting mind of the other a powerful influence. The judge, who had once been suspicious of his new-found acquaintance because of his corporation affiliations, has come to trust thoroughly in him and in all his acts.

Then comes the contingency for which all this planning was intended. The railroad president finds himself confronted with an adverse element among his own stockholders who are determined to displace him and his friends from their control of the company, and, as the annual meeting approaches, it becomes more and more apparent that their efforts have been successful and that they hold control beyond possible resistance. Again, in caucus of his friends, the railroad president caused surprise by his statement that the railroad will not pass from their control at the annual meeting, and directs his solicitors to prepare a bill for a receiver, declaring his ability to se-

cure the appointment whenever it shall become necessary. Adroitly and carefully, by long course of dissimulation, he persuades the judge by extrajudicial suggestion that the opposing faction are simply railroad wreckers, and that their control means damage to the smaller stockholders. The judge, quick of sympathy and impatient of injustice, falls into the trap and volunteers the receivership, and the majority owners of the stock find themselves ousted from control at the very moment when they had thought victory in their grasp. Again a crisis arises in the form of a strike of the employees of the railroad, and again the judge is led to believe that this, too, results from a dishonest conspiracy of the element hostile to his friend, and he issues a sweeping and blighting injunction against the employees. Only when he finds himself denounced for his subservience does the judge begin to suspect that he has been made a puppet, and that all the specious pretenses in which he has been led to believe were false. The story which I have thus sketched has not in all things been well told, but it sketches most skilfully the method by which certain forms of influence may be applied to the undoing of justice.

Turning from these exceptional, and, therefore, typical methods, let us consider the situation of a judge (and particularly a judge of a Federal court) in a large city where, of necessity, the separation of classes has gone further than in country districts. Every man in the community, and, therefore, the judge as well, seeks the companionship of men in his own class. He is a man of education and intelligence, and consequently he is thrown into association with men of prominence. If he is not a man of large property he has at least that capacity for earning considerable income which amounts to capitalized property, and therefore he associates with men of property. Everything tends to throw him with, and make him the familiar associate of, a certain class of men prominent in business and in social and political life. He meets them at public banquets, at clubs, in societies, philanthropic and charitable. Many of these men he comes to know intimately, and, naturally, to like and to trust them. Their word weighs with him, and in their honesty

he has implicit reliance. Now, let it be supposed that a case is brought to trial before the judge in question, in which one of these men is a party upon the one side and people wholly unknown to the presiding judge appear upon the other. It is but an axiom to say that the judge must be strongly disposed to believe in the willingness to do justice of the man he knows and trusts, and in the truthfulness of the statement that he makes. So far the statement is not likely to be denied. But let it be further supposed that the defendant, perhaps, is a corporation whose directors are men known in business and in social life to the judge, men of prominence and financial respectability. The attorneys of the road as well are men known and trusted by him. On the opposite side are men of whom he knows nothing, save, perhaps, that they are men of less prominent success than the officers of the defendant. It certainly is probable that very considerable bias would result from the facts stated. Add still other elements to the problem. Many of the questions involved in such cases are matters largely of opinion upon social questions. For instance, suppose that the ruling question in the case is one of the application of the doctrine of so-called assumed risk, which is the doctrine that one who engages in a given service, knowing that it implies a certain danger, takes the risk of that danger and cannot recover any damages which may result by reason thereof. Now the defenders of that doctrine would assert that this is fair and just. Upon the other hand, that doctrine is assailed by people having other views upon social questions, with the proposition that it is wholly unjust to make an Italian laborer, earning \$1.25 per day, take the risk of an employment of which he knows practically nothing, and which he must accept in many cases at the risk of starvation, and at the further penalty of being declared unwilling to labor if he refuses. Without considering in any degree which of those two views is more just, it would seem perfectly apparent that the judge is likely to share the opinions and point of view of those who have a similar situation in life to his own. He very probably has some investments, if not in stocks of this or some similar company at least

in some other money-making enterprise, or may reasonably hope to have. Certainly he is not in a position to understand very thoroughly or very justly the exact position of the Italian out of a job, hungry and penniless, who is offered work in an iron furnace; or to perceive that he might, from motives of prudence, refuse to engage in so dangerous a work. Let it be remembered that decisions on such questions as this are made usually on questions of inherent reasonableness, that is to say, upon the opinion of judges who render them, and it is apparent that the views of a particular class are likely to be crystallized into law, and opposing views are not likely to secure very patient attention from the bench.

But there are cases still more extreme. Let the suit at bar involve not only the rights of individuals, but some social question of the widest scope; for instance, the question of the regulation of the charges for a quasi-public corporation operating street cars, gas, water or electric light works, or that of the validity of a statute conferring a franchise which is worth millions of dollars. Upon the one side stands the corporation and its officers, who are the judge's friends, standing for theories of public administration to which he is committed, and insisting upon what they honestly believe, no doubt, to be vested rights. Upon the other hand are men holding new theories of government and of public administration, less supported by the respectability of money, and bound upon overturning the accepted view of the fathers as they have been crystallized in past enactments. Can any one doubt that, in the latter case, friendship and accepted habit of relying upon the good faith and fairness of a given set of men must be a strong motive? Again, is it possible to doubt that the habits, the associations, the established line of thought of a lifetime will largely determine the instinctive conclusions of any mind, however conscientious and unbiased it may seek to be? It would seem that an affirmative answer must be as inevitable as an axiom. No man trained in a given train of thought through a lifetime of action can ignore the conclusions which he has relied on, merely because they are presented in a new phase.

We will now take a single, concrete example of the class of cases which we have been discussing. In a certain American city, some two years since, an attempt was made by the city council to lower by ordinance the rates of a gas company, which were deemed by the people of the community unreasonable and excessively high. The case was heard by a judge residing in the vicinity. He denied the right of the council to make an unreasonable lowering of the rate, but conceded that a reasonable regulation was proper. He further held that a reasonable rate was one which would allow payment of a fair profit upon the capital stock of the company after satisfying all fixed charges. Now, let us notice what the actual questions there involved were. I have not exact figures at command, but it is safe to say that the bonded indebtedness represented at least the value of the tangible property, and that the stock, if not part of the bonded debt as well, meant nothing except the value of the franchise itself. Furthermore, this stock was limited in amount, since it represented no tangible property whatever, only by the wishes and desires of the incorporators. If they had actually made that stock a million dollars, they might just as well have made it one-half million or three millions with exactly the same investment and plant. The decision of the judge, therefore, that such rates must be permitted as would permit payment of a fair dividend upon the stock, amounted to saying that whether a given rate for gas was fair or not depended upon whether the incorporators had provided for one million or three million dollars' worth of stock, though that fact was not in the slightest degree dependent either on the cost of the plant or any other tangible consideration. Whatever the soundness of opinion might have been, it is, at least, apparent first, that the judge was called upon to rule between his friends and people unknown to him; and, second, that he was asked either to follow or discard opinions held irreversibly by men of his class, however that class is to be defined. I think it is apparent that I am not considering any question here of intentional dishonesty, nor do I mean to assert that, in the particular case referred to or any other of like class, the judge

has the slightest intent to be unfair or to allow his judgment to be in any way biased.

Now for certain conclusions from these facts. It is apparent that the various forms of influence to which I have referred shade slowly off from positive dishonesty to mere unconscious bias, perfectly consistent with an extreme desire to be fair and upright. With the grosser forms of bribery the ordinary criminal statutes have to do, and no special modification of them is needed. But when we come to the receiving of passes there is crying need of new legislation making such acts criminal, and of investigations by grand juries, or otherwise, which will strengthen public opinion and force the erring officials to an intelligent appreciation of the real meaning of their acts. When this is once accomplished, and the practice is once rated as it should be, no judge will take a pass who would not take a direct bribe. The change is surely needed. When it is rumored that a given judge has spent his vacation in a private car belonging to the manager of a railroad which has much business in his court, public respect for him and his decisions is seriously damaged, whether the statement is true or false.

As to these less tangible methods of influence there is probably no direct remedy for the undoubted evils suggested. But it is desirable that the real bearing of things should, as far as is possible, be understood. Now, the fact is, that a judge under the common law at least, probably under any system of laws, is, and of necessity must be in a sense, a legislator. A judicial decision is a statement of the right as the judge sees it, and since human notions of the right vary from time to time, judges must decide differently, however they strive to obey the precedents of the books. Now wealth, position, influence of any sort, being the result of success under things as they are, naturally tend toward conservatism. All of the forms of unconscious—perhaps I should say subconscious—influence, of which I have spoken above tend toward the preponderance of the rich, the influential, the powerful, in short, so far as they affect or are affected by general social principles, they tend toward conservatism, and against change. Hence it is that the

radical, perceiving effects though not always tracing causes, grows impatient of courts, and denounces, for instance, government by injunction. Such obstacles act like a balance wheel, delaying but not preventing motion. When men perceive the bearing of these things they will displace a judge who has fallen hopelessly behind the world of enlightened opinion, as surely, if not as quickly, as one who has taken to open bribery. But for the one they will have the profound respect due to an honest opponent, as surely as they will despise the other. And the distinction will be real, lasting, and of great importance. As things now are, however, men fail to appreciate the view-point of the judge, and viewing the matter from their own, think his decision rascally, as, in truth, it would be if he saw the facts as they do. And thus the innocent and the guilty are confounded in a confusion which is not only unjust to the individual, but breeds mischief in its ultimate effects.

EDWARD M. WINSTON.

Chicago, Ill.

THE INSANITY OF THE CITY.

THE steam age found American population fairly well distributed over the whole country; with small cities and villages as nuclei for distribution. Displacing animal power, and, largely, human power, it compelled the massing of population where power could be used. Nearly all our old domestic industries, which had constituted the chief charm of country life, were taken to large factories, around which closely grouped the homes of the workmen. The individuality which had constituted a chief feature of colonial life, gradually gave way to the herding instinct. Seventy-five years of this social training not only made our laborers satisfied with congested city life, but capital had no better thing to offer than long rows of mansions. All the difference between the manual toiler and his employer consisted in the difference between a twenty-foot lot and one with a frontage of one hundred feet. On these lots there were similar structures, which by courtesy were called homes. The herding instinct grew until three-quarters of the increase of population sought city life. The better brains on our farms found farm life dull, and separated from the vitality and the activity of the age.

The amassing of wealth necessarily followed, and, by contrast, poverty became more and more conspicuous and less tolerable. The tenement and the flats, at the close of the century, became symbols of social sentiment and spiritual thought. These were simply more or less distressing methods of vacating individuality and aborting home life. Our schools and our churches, instead of being supplemental to home life and to family culture, became intellectual and spiritual hospitals for the young people. Parents deliberately farmed out their children to get their morals, their religion, and their information from organisms outside the household. Home steadily was losing its meaning, and possibly its necessity. The farmer

became Mr. Hayseed, and was despised by the grocer, who peddled the products which the farmer had created. At last it became impossible to convey to and fro the vast masses of humanity that the city collected. By no possible means can the tide that goes into and out of New York city be accommodated with conveyance. Surface and overhead transit are already overburdened, and it is estimated that underground transit will be swamped as soon as opened. Buildings climbed higher and higher toward the skies, until the people actually grew proud of sky-scrappers, pointing at them as great achievements of engineering. In this way humanity was piled in strata, and conventionalism ruled, not only in social affairs and in household matters, but in office life.

In 1894 Edward Orton, the geologist, and a most assured authority, published a monograph in which he said that the coal age was rapidly nearing its end. By 1930 every known seam of anthracite coal would be exhausted, the Pittsburg seam alone excepted. With coal must also go, to a large extent, the age of steam. This pamphlet had but little influence upon business life, simply because business had come to be run strictly on the principle of "after me the deluge." No one in America has been bred to save a tree or spare a scuttle of coal for the future. As a result we have succeeded in obliterating our forests in a single century, and unbalancing our climate. We have been equally successful in wasting two tons of coal for every ton of coal sent to market. Meanwhile, in England, three different Parliamentary Commissions examined into the condition of the coal fields of the British Empire. Each one of these reported that the coal deposits could not meet the demand for a single century—probably not for seventy-five years. England has, therefore, instituted a rule of economic production and use. But Mr. Orton did not foresee the almost immediate exhaustion of European coal. That of Germany failed two years ago to meet the enormous increase of demand. In this country the strike of 1902 startled the people into some consideration of the great fact that fuel was not as sure and cheap as fifty years ago. In other words, the steam age, with its rush and noise, its massing

of the people, its heaping up of wealth, and tossing of poverty into the gutter; but, withal, its ability to conceive enormous projects, and to achieve marvelous undertakings—the tunneling of mountains, the linking of States with bands of steel, and the converse of continents through ocean beds—is nearing its end.

Just at this crisis a new power offers its services, distributive rather than centering. This new power undertakes to dissolve the city and to rebuild the country. Almost without observation, the revolution has begun. From 1880 to 1890 the increase of population sent 54 per cent. into city life; but from 1890 to 1900 only a little over 30 per cent. Since that date we have sufficient statistics to make us confident that the percentage is reduced to somewhere near 25 per cent. In other words, instead of three-fourths of the population drifting into congestion and organizing itself about the factory, three-fourths are now moving countryward; organizing about the reconstructed home; reconstructing the town school and the town church, and creating a vast suburbanism, that widens out farther and farther to cover the whole country.

This tide is met and stimulated by three great forces. First of all comes that noblest evolution of socialism, the Rural Free Mail Delivery. The first appropriation for this service was made in 1894; but the Postmaster General refused to use it. Our latest news from the department says, "With four more years, at the present ratio of increase, we will cover every square mile of the United States." This free delivery of the mail means a very rapid increase of intelligence, and equalization of social privileges. Close after, perhaps even more important, is the rural telephone service. It is only about six years since the Bell Telephone Company refused to build rural country lines, considering it an unprofitable venture. There are now millions of miles of rural telephone lines in the United States, and at the present ratio of service that will be an isolated farmhouse indeed which, in ten years, has not its telephone. Our great suburbanism is thus linked together and unified. Meanwhile the trolley feels its way around where the steam

car could not extend its service—up the minor valleys, and among the hills. It even picks up the farmer's wagon at his door, and hauls it direct to market. What the trolley means to American agriculture and to American country homes we hardly begin yet to conceive.

With these mechanical miracles the reaction to country life means the evolution of a new and in every way wonderful national life. It does not reconstruct the old country life of pioneer days; but a new life, full of applied science—intensive and not extensive in its method. The new home will win more bread from five acres than the old home from fifty. Isolation is absolutely abolished. The farmhouse is connected with post-office, depot, market, and physician. The reconstituted town school gives noble buildings, centrally located, with high-grade teachers, in place of the little district schools that squatted at the roadside. By telephone the most remote inhabitant can be attached to church service or to the scientific lecture hall. Country life begins rent free; with pure air, pure water, loosened conventionalism, less nerve wear, with birds, bees, flowers, fruit—ideals. It is the only sane life. The Boston banker, the New York merchant, the Philadelphia lawyer, all these are able to live at a distance from the city confusion, each in his own tree-embowered home, and by means of the telephone conduct much of his business, quite as well as when in his store or office.

Literature is not slow in adjusting itself to reconstituted social conditions. The new rival of the novel is the nature book. Nothing sells so well. The one book that most stirred Paris during 1902 was Wagner's "The Simple Life." Nature studies are natural studies. Those who follow the lines that Nature suggests to the child find themselves studying geology, botany, entomology, ornithology. All these are legitimate factors of a country home. They are all applied in the orchard and in the garden. The school, like the home, will ere long be planted in a garden. One-half of each day will be given to books, one-half to outdoor study. The brain and the hand will go together. We shall cease to imprison our children in school-

houses during their most ebullient period of life. The supreme duty of a filial citizen is to comprehend this drift of our age, and to stimulate it by his coöperation. We are beginning a new era in State, in church, and in school. There will be more honor in politics, more charity in church, and more common sense in education. There is a deep settled conviction, with all classes, that city life is unnatural, and that country life is an institution of God.

E. P. POWELL.

Clinton, N. Y.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAYOR JOHNSON'S ELECTION.

IN the recent election in Cleveland, Ohio, which attracted such widespread attention, the people were chiefly interested in the fact that the Republican ticket seemed to be entirely nominated by the street railways, and their manager, Senator Hanna, who is president of one of the roads; while Mr. Johnson was everywhere recognized as having fought with the utmost energy and ability to secure three-cent fares and as high a proportion of assessment to true value in the case of public utilities as of real estate.

The candidate for mayor on the Republican ticket was Mr. Harvey D. Goulder, who was and is the attorney for Mr. Hanna's large shipping interests, and whose partner secured the court injunction and decision destroying the Federal plan of government in Cleveland in order to prevent the passage of the three-cent fare franchises when nothing else stood in the way.

Mr. Goulder, on the stump, boldly defended the action of his partner in overthrowing the Federal plan, and claimed that the new code for all the State was much superior, and that the three-cent fare ordinance of Mayor Johnson ought not to have been permitted to become law. Yet Cleveland and the municipal reformers the country over believed that the Federal plan of concentrated responsibility was far superior to the board plan of divided responsibility which is now forced upon us.

The Republicans also had nominated for the council some men known to be in sympathy with the street railways, and of bad record in past dealings with them; while they had refused to renominate any prominent Republican in the present council who had ever shown any independence in regard to monopoly questions.

The replies or defenses of the Republicans made the matter worse for them. They declared in the first place that it was

not at all certain that the companies could stand a three-cent fare, and that seven tickets for a quarter, with universal transfers, might be enough to ask for a twenty-five years extension as demanded in the Republican platform, but the reply was at once forthcoming that new companies stood ready to offer three-cent fares. The second reply of the Republicans was that even if the new companies obtained franchises on certain streets at three cents the old companies might continue to charge as now five cents, with six tickets for a quarter and without universal transfers, until their franchises ran out, at various times from two years to fifteen years hence. To this Mayor Johnson replied that, since the streets of this city radiate from a certain point like the spokes of a wheel, the three-cent fares on certain streets would probably force lines on neighboring streets to the same terms, and, anyway, when the franchises on one or two important lines expire between one and two years hence, the new lines would be able to bid for the old ones on a three-cent fare basis and to take them in case the old companies refused to make as good a bid.

Furthermore, the three-cent fare propositions of Mr. Johnson, on which companies stand ready to bid, permit of municipal ownership and operation at any time on paying the structural value plus 10 per cent.

Mr. Goulder tried to turn the attack by charging that Mr. Johnson had proved a failure in getting three-cent fares during the last two years, and, therefore, might prove a failure again, and said his promises were not to be trusted. The reply was a boomerang, and was that while Mr. Johnson had not actually promised three-cent fares two years ago, his strenuous efforts to secure them had only failed because of the opposition of Mr. Goulder's firm and of his client, Senator Hanna, and other Republican interests.

Mr. Goulder then charged that Mr. Johnson had shown disrespect to law by attempting to grant three-cent fare franchises and investigate inequalities in taxation in ways which the courts had declared illegal, and, therefore, Mr. Johnson was a disrupter of government. Mr. Johnson's reply was that the thir-

teen injunctions levied against the administration in the past two years, and the fourteenth that was levied during the campaign in order to prevent low fares and proper taxation, were so obviously instigated by the monopoly interests as to be deserving of little respect. Furthermore, there was so little reason to expect such injunctions that it was natural to have made the moves that had been made prior to the issuance of such injunctions, for the courts had overturned the precedents of all other previous decisions in such cases, overthrowing, for example, the Federal plan, which they had hitherto upheld for ten years, in order to stop the administration.

Mr. Goulder then charged upon the administration extravagance and an increase of taxes, but was unable to point out, or, at least, to prove that the increase in expenditure was extravagant or unnecessary. The fact was that when Mr. Johnson became mayor the ordinary operating expenses of the city per capita were only one-third of those of Boston and two-thirds of those of Cincinnati and many other prominent cities. Mr. Johnson, in harmony with the prevailing sentiments of the city, saw the need of larger expenditures for street paving, lighting, sewerage, parks, etc., and always insisted that the great problem before the city was not the saving of a few pennies in operation, although honesty and efficiency were indispensable, but how to increase the revenues by reforms in taxation so as to bear upon special privileges and land values.

Moreover, the charge of extravagance was further met by the universally admitted fact that the Water Department had been taken entirely out of politics by the mayor, despite the opposition of certain elements of his own party, and that the mayor had announced that this was his definite policy regarding the proposed municipal electric light plant, to which the administration is pledged this year, and with respect to other city departments. Senator Hanna was known to be a spoilsman of the "first water," who avows his contempt for the merit system.

The Republicans finally fell back upon the charge, sincerely believed by a good many of the clergy and church people, that the mayor had not been sufficiently strict in regard to the vice

of the city. The reply of the mayor in substance was that his administration compared well in this respect with preceding administrations, and some positive accomplishments had been secured, such as the refusal to allow the union of saloons and sporting houses, while it was frankly proclaimed that the present administration did not believe in the policy that had hitherto prevailed of raiding certain houses frequently for the sake of securing funds for the police court.

The same old story was true here as so often elsewhere, as, for example, under Mayor Jones, of Toledo; Pingree, at Detroit, and Harrison, at Chicago, that the great portion of the influential church members, who were investors or in other ways more or less affiliated with the great monopoly interests of the city, opposed any curbing of these interests, while the masses, including those whose only club room and concert hall is the saloon, were friends of economic reform. The attempt, however, to make political capital out of this situation proved a failure. Mr. Johnson brought forward many ethical ideals of economic and social progress, and captured the young men of the city, no matter what their previous political affiliations. One of the best Republicans in the city was placed upon the Democratic ticket for one of the most important offices, through the efforts of the mayor. Another of the same caliber received his support for the city council, and every Democratic candidate for the council signed an agreement to work for three-cent fares and municipal ownership of public utilities.

Under these circumstances it is perhaps not wonderful that the reorganized Democracy of this county, which held only one elective office two years ago, has now wrested fifty-six offices from the Republican party and is likely to secure the few remaining ones the coming fall; and the campaign for equality in taxation and for the public ownership and operation of public utilities on the merit system under the magnificent leadership of Mr. Johnson is only just begun. The future work of such a leader deserves the attention of every lover of good government.

PROF. EDWARD W. BEMIS.

Cleveland, Ohio.

THE RIGHT OF THE LABORER TO HIS JOB.*

I. THE MORAL RIGHT.

BIBLICAL cosmogony teaches that the decree went forth at the time of man's creation "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt earn thy daily bread." Scientific cosmogony teaches the same thing. We find the human race requiring for its sustenance and development food, clothing, and shelter, which can be procured by labor only. We find the species itself equipped with organs specially adapted for the performance of labor. If Paley's teleological argument is accepted then we were created for labor. If we accept Darwin, these organs have been developed under strain of the necessity of labor. In either case it is clear that labor is our lot.

It is our species alone, of all the species that inhabit the earth, that are endowed with these organs which make self-directed labor on a large scale possible. The animals that browse for their food or lie in wait for or run down their prey, do not and cannot perform labor in the sense in which we understand the term. The animals and insects which during a season of plenty store up food for a season of scarcity come nearer to being laborers in the sense in which man performs labor, but they are guided rather by instinct than by reason, and their activities are so limited that at best they can hardly be said to form an exception to the statement that man alone of all the species that inhabit the earth is intended by his creation and adapted by his physical structure and mental endowments to be a laboring animal.

The biblical and scientific cosmogonies, however, differ in one point. The biblical cosmogony makes labor man's doom. The scientific cosmogony makes it his birthright.

*Address delivered before the section of Social and Economic Science of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at its Annual Meeting, in Washington, D. C., December 30, 1902.

According to the Mosaic account our race was created in a garden of pleasure, where everything that it sought or desired was at hand, where every wish was gratified, and every aspiration fulfilled without exertion. It was only after man sinned that he fell to the doom of labor.

Science makes clear to us who are its devotees that it has been through our ability to labor and the impetus we have acquired from the necessity of labor that we have been kept rising among the scale of animated beings.

In the Mosaic Eden the snake and the woman stood on an equality, or rather the snake seems to have been the most intellectual and the dominant creature of the two. The snake commands, the woman obeys, and the man follows the example set by the woman. In scientific anthropology we learn that man started on his career—even at the beginning—the lord of creation, and that from the beginning to now he has ever and ever kept widening the distance between himself and the animate creation below him. He has done it by his ability to labor, and because his more complicated structure so increases his necessities and his desires that labor became imperative.

So it is, I say, that science teaches us that labor is not man's doom, but his boon. He can work and he needs to work, and, therefore, he has a right to work.

Theology and science, however, both agree as to the substantial import of the decree which emanated from the garden of our nativity, wherever that garden and wherever that nativity was. By the sweat of man's brow he is to earn his daily bread. Call it a doom or a boon, which ever you choose. The right is a necessary consequence of the necessity. If man must earn his daily bread he has a right to do so.

We lawyers have formulated certain rules for the construction and interpretation of legal documents. They are rules that are really applicable to the construction and interpretation of all written or spoken language. One of the first rules that the law student finds in his first text book is that a grant imports a right to the reasonable enjoyment of the thing granted, and a duty a right to do the things necessary in the performance of

the duty. Whether, therefore, the command "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt earn thy dally bread" is a birthright or a doom, we are entitled to enjoy it if it is a birthright and to conform ourselves to it if it is a doom.

If we must work, either because of divine command or by the necessities of our natures, we have a right to work.

II. THE LEGAL RIGHT.

A legal right is only the formulation of a natural right. The statutes against killing do not make murder a crime; they simply recognize it as such.

A man is allowed to have as his own that which his own hand has fashioned, not because the law books say so, but because the laws recognize a right which antedated the laws themselves. If a man has a moral right to work there is now some legal recognition of that right or such legal recognition must be formulated whenever it is required. If the right to work was one of the rights omitted from the enumerations in the Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence, it was because in those times no such thing was known as the inability to get a job. It required unrelenting toil fourteen and sixteen hours a day to earn the food necessary to keep humanity from starvation. Labor then, as compared with labor now, was very unproductive, but there was plenty of demand for it and plenty of jobs to be had for the asking.

Now the progress of science and invention, the improvements in machinery and the processes of production, and the advance of civilization, have so multiplied the productive power of human labor that half the world, working half the hours, produces twice as much, and the laborer—if he belongs to the under half—finds himself out of a job.

Primitive man found his job too big for him and it took countless generations of labor to make the world fit to live in. Modern man finds his job too small. He gets through with it too soon, and has to go without work and wages till he is lucky enough to find another. To the original man the whole world

was open, and there was plenty of room for everybody. He could snare his game in the forest; he could catch his fish in the waters; he could pluck the fruit from the bush; he could cultivate the soil wherever he found a favored spot; he could eat the food which he found; he could drink the water bubbling from the earth; he could sleep under any protecting tree or beneath the canopy of heaven, and there was no one to interfere. He could wander at will over the earth, a savage, but a freeman and a sovereign. There was no policeman to interfere with his sleep on the park benches. There was no barbed wire fence across his path. There was no judge to commit him for vagrancy, and no jail to confine him after a ten days' sentence. The life which he led was not altogether an enviable one, but it was the life of a man over whom no other man had jurisdiction and who could come and go as he listed.

Modern man, when he arrives at years of discretion, finds a far different state of things. The forests have been cut down and domestic animals with an owner's tag on them have taken the place of the wild game which was free to his ancestors. State officials and private watchmen protect the fish. The land has been fenced in and signs confront him on every side "Keep off the grass. No trespassers allowed." If he ventures to pluck an apple from an over-hanging bough he is tried for petty larceny. In the city the policeman tells him to move on. In the country highway if he loiters near a dwelling the farmers set their dogs on him. The only thing that can save him from starvation is a job. The only way in which his right to work can be recognized is by giving him the right to his job, for without the job he cannot work and the right to work, under modern conditions, must of necessity imply the right to a job.

The only way in which property in land—the appropriation of the common earth by the landowner—can be justified, is by giving the workman, the landowner's fellow citizen of the earth, a complementary right to earn his daily bread by his daily labor, somewhere and somehow; that is, by giving him some kind of a job. If the owner says "Keep off my land which you might otherwise cultivate or hunt upon and get your living from,"

then he must be able to answer the inquiry of the man he turns off "Where shall I get a job by which I may earn my daily bread by the sweat of my brow?" The socialist, the communist or the anarchist, or all of them, must and will occupy the chair of state now held by the individualist, unless the individualist can answer the question of the man seeking the chance to earn his daily bread by his daily labor, "Where can I get a job?"

Darwin said that the discovery in all creation of a single species that had acquired a single organ or instinct that was not for its own benefit would be a complete answer to his whole philosophy of evolution. That answer has never been found.

I say that the discovery of a single citizen, able and willing to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow, but who cannot after patient search find a job, is a complete answer to the whole philosophy of private property. Mr. Landowner, you must find a job for that man or give up your acres. Mr. Statesman, you must find that man a job or go out of business.

I do not, however, see the necessity for the landowner to give up his land or for the statesman to go out of business, for I think the job can be found and that we can find means to assure to the laborer a chance to earn his daily bread by his daily labor as a matter of right, instead of giving it to him when we please as a privilege.

I am here to-day to stand for the necessity of finding a remedy rather than to formulate one. That some legislative action must be taken seems to me clear. We must put upon some more solid legal foundation the right of the workman to his work. The discovery of the best way in which to accomplish this is not an easy task, but I do not think it is by any means impossible. The following are my suggestions:

1. Labor courts must be established with jurisdiction to determine differences between employers and employees, and their jurisdiction must not be made to depend upon the consent of the parties concerned. Limits may be imposed upon this jurisdiction which will minimize the perhaps unavoidably resulting evils or inconveniences. The jurisdiction may be made to depend upon the number of laborers employed by one em-

ployer. The small farmer and his single hired man can safely be left to settle their own differences. Certain kinds of employment will naturally be left out of the court's jurisdiction. I hardly think domestic servants need such a court. I should naturally suggest that a lawyer and the clerks in his office be left to work out their own salvation.

Generally speaking, the jurisdiction of the court would naturally be confined to the case of employers constantly employing large bodies of workmen.

The principle I am contending for is that such employers shall not have the power arbitrarily and without cause or reason to discharge their workmen or take away their jobs. As matters now stand, there is nothing in law to prevent the employers from discharging men on account of the color of their hair or the style of their cravat. A discharged man may starve. I do not think that the life of a citizen and those dependent on him should depend upon the mere whim of an employer.

2. I think the State should extend the field of its activities in the line of a more general ownership and operation of public utilities, and in that way become a larger employer of labor—have more jobs for its citizens.

3. I think the State should engage in more works of public improvement, and give the community better roads, more and better parks, better sanitation, more schools, more things which go to make the life of the average citizen better worth living.

All this gives jobs to its citizens as well as general benefit to the community.

4. I think the State must go still farther into the industrial field if necessary—far enough so that it is able to assure to each citizen who cannot get it elsewhere a chance to work for the State itself. It must, if necessary, build factories and workshops, and operate mines and ranches. It must keep on extending the sphere of its activities till every man has work who wants it.

If the State is to protect the land owner in the monopoly which he enjoys, it must be ready to see that every citizen has a chance at a job. The land and franchise owner must submit

to whatever taxation may be necessary to give men who do not own land or franchise a chance to work either for some other man who does, or for the State itself. The title deeds of him who would call himself the owner, and so have a monopoly of a part of the common earth, must be made dependent upon the giving to him who has no such monopoly a chance to earn his daily bread.

I think the time has come when we must re-write the Declaration of Independence so that it will read, "All men are entitled to certain inalienable rights, and among these rights are life, liberty, and a job."

Perhaps that is the way the distinguished author of the Declaration intended it to be read. The phrase, "the pursuit of happiness," may have been only his synonym for "a job."

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New York City.

WILL THE CHURCHES SURVIVE?

NOTE should be made that the question is not will religion, but will the churches survive, which is quite another and different matter. It should also be noted that the word religion is used instead of Christianity, because there is so much in connection with the churches that can come under the head of religion which is not Christian.

It is said that where there is a soul there will always be a body, and the church is considered as a body of which religion is the soul, the argument being that, as long as there is faith, worship, piety, a Christian spirit, and a religious life, so long will churches exist, and the implication is that that is forever, or as long as mankind remains. Doubtless there is an element of truth in this statement, yet there is abundant and perfectly obvious evidence that, however it may be with this soul (*religion*), its body (*the churches*) shows signs of weakness and inefficiency, possibly decay. Certain it is that if the churches, as they stand to-day in America, in their attendance, their influence, and their active life are the embodiment of the whole spirit, life, influence, and service of religion, if they represent fully the soul of religion, then that soul is not particularly great, powerful or vital in the life of the world, and the question here raised is eminently open to debate. For it is true that, judging the life, influence, and future of religion by the strength, vitality, and actual service of the churches to the world to-day, the result is far from certain and convincing as to the affirmative of this question.

It would seem from the fact of the great variety of efforts and expedients the churches are putting forth in the present time, ranging from a dime supper to an institutional church, as if the churches themselves are beginning to feel that their power is waning, and are anxiously considering their future and

madly striving to maintain their leading position in the life of the world and the progress of civilization. The constant and almost frenzied efforts and experiments of every sort which the great majority of churches, those outside the largest and most successful ones in the great cities, are exerting and trying, certainly indicate to an unbiased observer that the churches seem to feel that they are in rather desperate straits, and must put forth wide and strenuous efforts if they are to keep abreast of the world and hold a commanding position in its life.

The churches to-day are literally at their wits' ends to devise plans and invent means to draw and hold people, to keep up their numbers, and retain the interest and support of the communities where they exist. They are not only suffering from the commercialized view of everything, so prevalent at present in our national and social life (and are striving to get ministers who will *draw*, more or less regardless of whether they will preach and live the Gospel, the pure and good life, and the will of God in society), but they are constantly resorting to all the fads and inventions of the social and amusement world to interest and draw the public, to increase their size and strength, and command respect and influence in the nation's life.

Time and space would fail one to enumerate all the novel, sensational, cheap, and superficial attractions and amusements which the churches are constantly conducting to draw and hold the people. They range from the Seven Cent Social to Chain Whist, from Circle Suppers to Amateur Dramatics, from Ping-Pong Parties to Three-Day Fairs or Sales with their exorbitant prices and guessing contests (which, under worldly auspices would be called lotteries), all of which follow each other in endless succession. How often have we all heard from church committees and patrons the anxious and perplexed remark, "What shall we get up next to make some money and keep up the interest in our church?" Not that these things are wrong, not that they are necessarily out of place under church auspices and are to be condemned, but they are an indication of the changed conditions in the churches, and the different means and methods they have adopted to maintain their strength

and influence in civilization. Certainly all this is, on the face of it, a frank admission on the part of the churches that they cannot any longer appeal successfully to the world at large, and draw and hold the public and popular interest and support by their purely religious offices (as the word religion is commonly used), the offices of preaching, worship, and general religious services, but must resort to more worldly and attractive and entertaining means, or to those of practical and institutional religion, such as Every Day churches, etc. This fact alone is enough to raise the question whether they will always survive in the nature and sense in which they have existed up to the present time.

A second fact that indicates the uncertain life of the churches in the future is that they are out of touch with the working classes, that they have but a small place in, and but a feeble hold upon, the life of the great mass of society. So eminent a preacher and authority as the Rev. Dr. Thomas, of Chicago, recently pastor of the People's Church in that city, says: "Somehow the churches have lost their hold upon the confidence, sympathies, and almost the respect of the laboring people. I asked a leader of a labor union of three hundred members how many attended church. 'Practically none,' he said. 'A few women may go, but not half a dozen men in a year.' Whether right or wrong, the laboring men feel that the churches in general are not their friends; that they are for the rich; that money controls both the pulpit and the pew; that the preachers, as a rule, either do not care for the rights of the laboring man or that they dare not plead his cause." "The painful fact cannot be blinked that the masses have been eliminated from the churches," declares Dr. Rabbi Hirsch. The very people to whom, primarily, is the mission of the churches are now the ones least affected by them, and the true life and efficiency of such institutions are thus to a great extent destroyed. The field which alone gives the churches their greatest vitality, and affords the best opportunity for their most permanent and highest work is practically closed to them by their failure to reach and hold this portion of humanity. This portion, this great body of laboring people,

forms the great bulk of society, and is constantly increasing; it is the foundation and the principal life-giving support of all society's institutions, churches among the rest. Whether the churches can long continue to exist, in any vital, efficient, and real sense, without the sympathy, support, and the coöperation of this growing mass of humanity is, it would seem, a fair question. That the workingman does not want a church of his own, made up of his own number solely and manned from his ranks, is attested by the testimony obtained from a large number of workingmen by a recent investigator in this field. The verdict of three hundred labor leaders to whom letters were sent in regard to a workingman's church was an emphatic "No!" The further statements received at the same time furnished equally strong evidence that the workingman also has no use for the kind of churches we now have, and that these churches have little or no hold upon his confidence and regard, no influence upon his life.

It is also true, in the main, that the churches are failing to hold the interest and command the means of the more wealthy *practical* philanthropists and reformers. This fact adds to the insecurity and uncertainty of the churches' life; for the great wealth of individuals has much to do with the financial success and stable life of the higher institutions and better works of society, and in these the churches must share or slowly die. While the churches, in some cases, are struggling to keep alive, and in others to increase their work for the uplifting of humanity with but small success, the wealth of the land seems to ignore them more and more, and flows in other channels, accomplishing the purpose and work of the churches through the avenues of philanthropy, reforms, and other so-called secular enterprises.

While the churches are busy with the small and selfish things of creed, sectarian strife, and elegant and costly houses of worship, the real spirit of the Christian religion is finding expression in the world in other ways and through other avenues. And when the spirit begins passing out of the body dissolution is certain if a change does not set in.

Another fact bears upon this question. It is the unsystematic and unbusinesslike methods of administration in the great majority of the churches. And this in an age of the greatest business keenness and mastery of detail; an age when material prosperity is obtained in nothing except by care and competency, systematic methods, and diligent attention. It is not an overstatement to say that no other enterprise could live a decade in our age, managed as the average church is managed to-day.

A further fact that keeps the world aloof from the churches, and distrustful of them if not bitterly antagonistic toward them, is the evil that exists in their own ranks. For example, their quarrels among themselves and their individual members; the hypocrisy and meanness of some of their members; their failure in general to live up to and exemplify the principles they profess. The churches and church people claim a higher life and better principles than the world and their outside friends possess, and when this great body of outsiders, who make no profession of holiness or superior character and principle, see within the churches people and practises as bad or worse than their own (at least no better than their own in a multitude of cases), they naturally look with distrust upon the whole institution, and entertain but little respect for it, either as sincere or efficient. The churches have done more to kill themselves, especially in the eyes of the outside world, by their quarrels, bigotry, narrowness, and littleness; their hypocritical members, questionable morals and ethics, and various exhibitions of an unchristian spirit than all their enemies have done. One member in a church, who has a character which the outside world cannot respect, or one such church quarrel as we often witness, does the churches more harm than all their good preaching and faithful service can overcome in many years. Of course, the fact of imperfections, of evil, even, in the churches is no argument against religion, or any reason why good and spiritually minded people should condemn the churches and keep away from or out of them; for we expect nothing to be perfect in this world, and very few, if any, live as well as they profess; yet this is the way the world regards this fact, and it works against

the life and prosperity of the churches as they are now conducted.

But doubtless the greatest cause of inefficiency in the churches in their endeavors for the higher life of the world, and the thing that most strongly makes their survival open to question, is *sectarianism*. Under this head we place their selfish rivalry and theological zealotry—a zeal often without wisdom and without Christian charitableness—and their disposition to be more ardent for their dogma than for human welfare at large. This point is well illustrated by a recent instance, and the editorial comment of a religious journal upon it: “Another discordant note of a more local character was heard in the atmosphere of Chicago last week, when, according to newspaper report, over three hundred of the Chicago ministers gathered to organize in the name of their ‘Christ’ a propaganda in the interest of virtue and civic righteousness, but started out in this propaganda with an effort on the part of some to exclude from organic coöperation the people to whom Jesus and Paul belonged, the representatives of the religion that made them, and from which they and the other disciples and apostles did not willingly withdraw. When these friends of the Chicago pulpit would deliberately exclude from their organization Catholic, Jewish, Unitarian, Universalist and Independent ministers, they give encouragement and sympathy primarily to the bigot, saloon-keeper and gambler. The former is a being more solicitous for his dogma and his ‘ism’ and salvation from hell fire in the next world than he is for the virtue, peace, honesty, and salvation from hellish deeds and conditions of this world. The last named classes know they have nothing to fear as long as they have to contend with a divided church and distracted workers for righteousness.” Divided Christianity wages unsuccessful warfare against united evil, and the forces of ungodliness are not slow to see this weak point of the churches. The establishing of the kingdom of heaven in the earth is a larger and more important matter than building up sectarianism and institutions of theological dogmas. There must be a democracy of the spirit in the churches before there can be a

democracy of practical righteousness in civilization. There is a social as well as an individual salvation, and the life and power of the churches are coming more and more to depend upon their recognition and action upon this truth.

The existence of large numbers of churches, in proportionately small communities, as is often the case, all striving zealously and selfishly and separately to save individual souls by winning them to their own particular creed and membership, while society, in the very midst of which they strive, is honey-combed with degradation, and the uplifting works of common humanity and reform languish in neglect; where the poor starve in garrets or die of disease for lack of care, and crime and corruption flourish in the back streets while a sectarian gospel is preached in elegant churches to thin congregations of well-to-do and bigoted Christians who will not coöperate with their neighbors in works of humanity and social righteousness, presents a spectacle of institutions that are puerile and dying (and that, perhaps, ought to die) so far as a living and needy world is concerned. Or, again, the sight of one of the most prominent churches of a great city becoming the largest landlord in the country and grinding its poor tenants and fighting reform because it would reduce its income, together with the nerveless and flabby attitude of many of the churches toward the great moral questions and issues of the nation, causes the world and the forces of evil to have little regard for the churches' superior morals and business ethics.

But these weaknesses and imperfections of the churches should not lead to a hopeless view of their future, or to a sweeping condemnation of them. For they mean well, and are acting only from a wrong point of view and with a misguided zeal. The churches stand and stand manfully, on the whole, for the things they hold to be the most important in the life of humanity and the welfare of the world. And in doing this they do, in the largest and deepest sense, bear witness to the highest truths and principles of civilization, and stand for the fundamental and permanent things of the kingdom of God. Some, perhaps the larger number, of the noblest and most useful and efficient men

and women of the world have been and are in the ranks of the churches. And though they may have exercised their goodness and power outside the churches to a large extent, the churches have been the foundation of it all, and their influence manifested in the ideals, the faith, and the character of these lives and achievements. And yet, to-day, because of the changed conditions and the facts, difficulties, and symptoms here considered, the churches do not occupy a position in society that renders their survival, as living, potent, and leading forces absolutely certain.

That religion will fail and righteousness die out in the world there is no suggestion and no one believes. But it seems clear the churches have got to change their methods and management, and forge ahead in the world's life or gradually fail and fade; the things they once represented finding expression through other channels. With all that can be said in their support, in the present, and for the future, it practically remains true of many churches, as was said of one centuries ago, "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and thou art dead." It is true that no other institution has so high an ideal as the church, and there is scarcely one that comes so far short of fulfilling its ideal. In general, the survival of anything depends largely upon its fitness, its vitality, its power or utility. It is not too much to say that the churches may not survive if the trend of things does not change and they do not overcome the difficulties above described and renew their drawing power, recognize the social salvation, establish a social conscience and consciousness, and take the leadership in the democracy of the spirit and of humanity for which the world longs, and toward which it is slowly groping its way.

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AN ACADEMIC CENTER FOR THE NEW EDUCATION.

NEW has become a popular adjective. Like most popular persons and things it is much misunderstood. This, in part, explains all popularity.

The Athenians of Paul's time were addicted to the "newness" habit. Not what was true, but what was new, was the inquiry which drew them to the Areopagus. When the Jewish preacher quoted their own poets his speech lost its charm. They had not learned that newness is ever but the orderly evolution of that which has been from of old. Modern "Athenians" have still this lesson to learn. When we come to understand this adjective as a relative term it may lose a little of its charm, but it will gain much in utility.

The term "new" as applied to education, as to most other things, is evolutionary. It means (1) the elimination of obsolete elements; (2) the symmetrization of useful elements; (3) the unification of all the functions of all of the legitimate elements toward a definite purpose. Such a definition of "new" does not make advance any the easier. Athenian curiosity will often tolerate what it conceives to be new at the risk of its supplanting the old. Egyptian hunkerism, however, will ever cry "vandal" when transformation of old into new is attempted.

The first task of the New Education is elimination.

The normal school had a work to do. It was not, however, to make an Ixion wheel upon which to bind each successive generation. Method is a good servant, but a bad master. Science now tells us that there is no such thing as dead matter in nature. The only dead things are man's mechanisms. The contact of life with life is the first essential of progress. Artificial means may sometimes promote such contact. Oftener, however, it prevents it. When the latter happens the mechanism is obsolete and should be eliminated. Whether new mechanism

should take its place or not must be determined by the special circumstances. If it should, the law of mechanical diminution should operate. The ideal is complete elimination of artifice. Until this is possible the minimum of mechanism should be the rule. Wireless telegraphy illustrates this law of progress.

The second task is symmetrization.

When the three "R's" were all there was of educational process this was an easy task. Since the Chinese alphabet itself, much less the English, has not enough characters to represent modern educational functions, symmetry has become almost impossible. This, in part, accounts for schools turning out pupils somewhat as Herodotus tells us the Nile turned out frogs. "One part moveth while the other part is not made, being as yet but plain mud."

System is necessary to symmetry. Simplicity is necessary to system. The New Education must reduce the educational fraction to its lowest terms. It will then be as simple, although of higher value, as it was when the three "R's" ruled. Then will simplicity lead to system. Then will system lead to symmetry. This simplicity can be found only by the enthronement of the three "H's"—Hand, Head, Heart.

The third task is unification.

Everything belonging to the educational process can be classified under one of the "H's." The unity of the three "H's" is obvious. No less obvious may unity of the multifarious educational processes become.

When this comes to pass the Head will no more say to the Hand, "I have no need of thee. Thine own need will wield the hoe and the sword for all." Then will the Head no more say to the Heart, "I have no need of thee. Thine own need will rock the cradle and carry the cross for all."

Then will the Heart no more say to the Hand, "I have no need of thee. Thine own need will lay the hearth and build the altar for all." Then will the Heart no more say to the Head, "I have no need of thee. Neither my creed nor my love-ballad calls for much mind work."

Then will the Hand no more say to the Head, "I have no

need of thee. When thou thinkest it is only to think out for me a new form of servitude." Then will the Hand no more say to the Heart. "I have no need of thee. Thy call is only to command me to still childhood's hunger-cry, or build a new St. Peter's."

An academic center for the New Education has recently been established in and near Chicago. Like all things that are worth while it is not a cataclysmic but an evolutionary fact. I have been requested to give something of its evolution and of the part it promises to bear in the revolution that is to give us the New Education complete; for revolution is but the climacteric pause in evolution that justifies our putting the label "new" on things without incurring the scriptural woe for confusion of opposites.

During the last decade that spirit-voice which ever whispers in the ears of those whose faces are toward the morning, "Behold, I make all things new," seems to have had unusual heed in the educational world. The National Educational Association, through such pedagogic prophets as Parker, Hall, and Beardshear, Samuel-like saying, "Here I am," has shown signs of having heard that voice. Though indistinct, like the "far wind harp," it may have caught the ear of this slow-moving pedagogic leviathan, and the pedagogic waters have been troubled even to the quiet inlets of the district school.

Hall from the standpoint of biology, Parker and Dewy from the standpoint of psychology, and Will, Bemis, Commons and Andrews from the standpoint of sociology, heeding this spirit-voice in old institutions, have been the new wine in old bottles. Washington at Tuskegee, Ala., the McAfees at Parkville, Mo., Tobias at Chicago, the Vroomans at Oxford, England, and later in conjunction with less conspicuous listeners to the spirit-voice, including the writer, at Trenton, Mo., are representatives of the new wine in new bottles.

While not discounting the new educational wine that is in evidence more or less everywhere in the old bottles, our business at present is with new wine in new bottles, or more specific-

ally in a recently expanded new bottle, and how it gets on therein.

The writer spent a decade of his early manhood as a teacher and college president. He was dissatisfied with prevailing educational methods and took up the practice of law. He located in Chicago where he could study life in all its phases to good advantage. While he made briefs and argued cases to keep the family pot boiling, he specialized on the problem of education. He watched the steady growth of sentiment in favor of academic freedom and better educational methods. He saw it express itself in the memorable Buffalo Conference, and in numerous attempts to organize new educational institutions on an up-to-date, rational basis, and had an active part in some of them. When a ten years' free lease of a fine college property at Trenton, Mo., was offered to him three years ago he accepted it. The method of the three "H's" was adopted. To the new biology and psychology emphasized by other institutions in the direction of the New Education the new school added the new sociology. A faculty containing the names of several educators of advanced views and national reputation was announced. The school opened Sept. 3, 1900, under the name of Avalon College, with only fifteen students present. Provision had been made for students to earn most of their expenses without interference with their studies. Few believed this possible. Confidence increased, however, and by the last of the month the attendance in all departments numbered sixty. Sympathizers in all parts of the United States who were watching the experiment now began to make preparations for locating at Trenton, and making investments in the college industries on a coöperative basis.

Walter Vrooman, arriving at this time from England, fresh from a remarkable achievement made by Mrs. Vrooman and himself in the line of the New Education at Oxford, known as Ruskin Hall, became identified with the institution. The name was changed to Ruskin College and the English and American institutions were affiliated. The general plans for operating the college remained the same, but the provisions for financial support were somewhat modified. Mr. and Mrs. Vrooman pro-

vided most of the necessary industrial equipment. While some of the friends of the institution from distant points located at Trenton and became interested in the college industries on a coöperative basis, this feature of the general plan was not continued.

Metropolitan dailies gave whole pages of illustrated free write-ups to the institution, and leading magazines published breezy articles about it. The attendance increased until it reached an annual enrollment of 360, representing thirty states, three territories, and three foreign countries. Factories costing some \$15,000 and a farm of 1,500 acres, afterwards increased to 2,000 acres, supporting a fifty herd dairy and other agricultural specialties, besides a laundry, sewing department, printing office, and the necessary culinary commissariat were provided for the employment of student labor. The industrial department, notwithstanding necessarily imperfect organization, grew continually in popularity. From twenty per cent. of non-resident students earning their way in part the first year, it increased to eighty per cent. in the third year.

By the second term of the third year a \$7,000 dairy barn was being built, and other farm improvements were being made on the Vrooman farm with a view to increasing the facilities for the employment of student labor, as the attendance was fast outgrowing the capacity of the industrial department. More buildings for dormitories and minor industries became necessary, and plans were made for merging the lease into title in fee and putting up two new buildings. To carry out these plans it was necessary that \$50,000 be secured in donations. The writer started eastward in November last expecting to join Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman in New York City, in an effort to enlist the coöperation of such people of means as are coming to look with favor upon the New Education as it is represented by Ruskin College. He got no farther than Chicago. He found there such an intense sentiment for the New Education in all of its phases that it was unnecessary to go farther. This sentiment had taken tangible form in 1901 by the incorporation of Midland University, which consisted of a federation of Steiman

College, of Dixon, Illinois; the Chicago Law School, Hering Medical College, Balatka Musical College, the Phillips School of Oratory, the Turck Baker School of Correct English, the Union Telegraph College, and the Chicago Seminary of Sciences. These established institutions, with successful records of from five to twenty years and all self supporting, were coördinated by Dr. J. J. Tobias. They were maintaining a successful alliance and seeking ways and means for a complete amalgamation, with a common academic center where the ideals of the New Education which had brought them into coöperative relationship could be wrought out. Ruskin College and Ruskin Business College were invited into this federation. Their acceptance solved the problem of complete amalgamation of these institutions and the establishment of an academic center.

The statement of purpose given in the Ruskin College catalogue of 1903 was adopted in the agreement of amalgamation, as were also its liberal elective courses of study. Ruskin University became the name of the amalgamation, and Glen Ellyn, west thirty-three minutes from the Chicago depots, was chosen as the academic center. The professional and technical schools will continue their principal work in Chicago, and Steiman College, at Dixon, fifty miles farther west, will continue for the present, as the north department of the University. But here at Glen Ellyn, in a beautiful modern building costing \$100,000, and furnished at a cost of about \$25,000, on a spring-fed lake which has been re-christened Lake Ruskin, the academic work of the University began April 23d, on the arrival of the faculty and student body of Ruskin College, with only such diminution as is incident to such removals. The 110 acre tract of hilly woodland, glen, and lake is unsurpassed in picturesqueness by anything short of mountain scenery, which it much resembles, being nearly 300 feet above the level of Chicago. The Apollo Spring, which has supplied city customers with pure water to the extent of \$2,000 worth per month, and five mineral springs of high medical value, all under a single ornamental pavilion, add much to the value and attractiveness of the site.

The American X-ray College and the Art Craft Institute,

both of Chicago, have recently been affiliated. This makes a combination of twelve schools and colleges with an aggregate annual enrollment of 2,500 resident and 8,000 correspondent students, and a faculty of 250 professors and instructors. Ruskin Hall, Oxford, England, with its 3,500 resident and correspondence students, is affiliated with the University, but not included in the above enumeration.

J. J. Tobias, LL.D., Ph.D., formerly Chancellor of Midland University, is the Chancellor of the new University, having charge of administrative affairs of all the component institutions, while the writer, as Dean, has charge of the academic matters of all departments. Henry D. Lloyd, Prof. Frank Parsons, Hon. Geo. H. Shibly, Hon. Geo. F. Washburn, and B. O. Flower become members of the Academic Senate on behalf of the interests formerly represented by Ruskin College, while such distinguished citizens as United States Senator Cullom, Justice John P. Hand, of the Supreme Court of Illinois; Judge Tuthill, of the Circuit Court, Chicago; J. S. Smith, president Indiana Natural Gas Co., and O. B. Dodge, president Grand Detour Plow Co., remain on behalf of the interests formerly represented by Midland University.

But neither genesis nor geography matters much with either individuals or institutions, except as they affect character. Character is all that counts.

Ruskin University stands for the New Education. In no way can this be made to appear better than by giving the program by which it tries to practise its three essential features.

I. ELIMINATION is practiced by making the text book a mere incident, and in cases where it proves a non-conductor it is barred altogether. Whenever it is possible the student is brought into contact with the thing studied instead of a stale text book tale about the thing. The industrial department aids greatly in this. The mummied tongues are not barred. They are not permitted, however, to obstruct the living tongues. When they are studied and taught the life which wore the body of the mummied tongue is the thing studied, rather than the wrappings or the dessicated flesh and bones.

In the academic work no class fences are built. The courses are elective. No student can be located as to distance from graduation by means of the text books or class rushes. The student who is one term from the end of his course may recite with the one who is but one term from the beginning to the advantage of both. As to government there is supervision, but police machinery is nowhere in evidence. It is a democracy. While the faculty holds all executive and judicial power, except when the referendum is brought into use, the legislative body is composed of the faculty and eligible students. The efficiency of this scheme was fully demonstrated during the third year in Ruskin College.

II. SYMMETRIZATION is practiced by treating the three "H's" as of equal importance. But are there not grades in the three "H's?" Is not the Head above the Hand and is not the Heart above all? Thought is not thought until it has used the motor nerves as a distillery to transform its vapor vision into firm fact. Love is not love until it has used the motor muscles as its electric wire system to transmit its message.

The industrial department, therefore, including a printing office, a laundry, kitchen and dining room, water-shipping plant, gardening on a city market scale, all of which are in operation, with a number of factories (among which are a shoe factory and one for making household specialties) in process of development, are not matters for the Hand only.

Sixty-five thousand dollars was pledged at the last meeting of the Board of Administration to be forthcoming as fast as needed for developing and maintaining these industries in which students are permitted to earn their board and lodging by working twenty-five hours per week, their compensation coming in part as a moderate wage and in part as profits on the coöperative basis. But this is no more an investment for the Hand than for the Heart. Ruskin declares that moral character is impossible without manual labor, and Ruskin University believes it, not because Ruskin said it, but because experience proves it. It is no more an investment for the Hand and Heart than for the Head. Ruskin says, "Wholesome human employment is

the first and best method in all education, mental as well as bodily," and Ruskin University believes it; not because Ruskin said it, nor even because a greater than Ruskin said, in substance, "Do that ye may know;" but because experience proves it.

A sanitarium to cost \$150,000 is to be erected on a promontory of the University grounds, near enough to the mineral springs to utilize their healing waters and their mineralized mud and to furnish labor for students. This institution is to be under the direction of Dr. E. S. Pettyjohn, one of the most successful sanitarium managers in the United States, with a decade of successful experience in this line to his credit and five thousand physicians at his back. It is to be the central institution for the Ruskin Sanitarium System which is to have affiliated sanitariums in the East, South, and West. The net earnings of this sanitarium are to go into the University treasury, and the work which it requires is to be done by students who will learn how to be well and get well and keep well and to help others to do the same, earning wages at the same time. But this is no more an affair of the Hand than of the Head and Heart. One of the motives of the University is, "Learn to live rather than live to learn," and it recognizes that the problem of life involves all of the three "H's."

A University real estate company is putting on the market a beautiful subdivision near the University, so that all who want homes near our Academic Center may have them at reasonable prices. In this also the three "H's" dominate, as all of the net profits go to the University to advance its work.

All of the methods used in the past for developing the powers of the three "H's" that have not become obsolete, are in evidence in their work clothes—no dress parades permitted. No hobbies are harbored. If the Hand is urged with more vigor than the other two "H's," it is only because it has been neglected and left behind in former educational effort, and should be helped to catch up. If the Art Craft Institute, which doubles the wages of art craft workers by a three months' course, and which is the last to enter the Ruskin amalgamation becomes a

verification of the proverbial transposition of "first" and "last," as it promises to do, it will only be a recognition of Ruskin aphorism, "Life without labor is crime; and labor without art is brutish."

III. UNIFICATION is practiced by ignoring in all the work of the University all alleged scientific fences between the material and spiritual, all theological fences between sacred and secular, all sociological fences between aristocrat and democrat, and the thousand and one artificial fences, many of them double, with devil's lanes between, which have divided and subdivided body, soul, and spirit, physical, mental, and moral, classes and masses, into separate cages like so many wild beasts in a menagerie, destroying the unity of life and reducing it to mere being.

This law of unification, as well as the law of symmetrization, may seem to be violated because of the apparent excess of emphasis which the University lays upon sociology. This apparent partiality is explained in the same way as the apparent excess of emphasis upon the Hand as compared with the other two "H's." Emphasis upon sociology is due because of its ages of neglect and because it is necessary to symmetry and unity that it be strongly emphasized. In no other way can the necessary equilibrium be realized. But there is another and stronger reason for this emphasis which can not be better expressed than in the words of Drummond in his "Ascent of Man:"

"One-sided induction has led sociology into a wilderness of empiricism, and only a complete induction can reinstate it among the sciences. The vacant place is there waiting it; and every earnest mind is prepared to welcome it, not only as the coming science, but as the crowning science of all sciences. The Science, indeed, for which it will one day be seen every other science exists."

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THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

THE evident tendency of the United States Government at present is to permit the individual States to settle the race question to suit themselves. To many who hold extreme moral and religious views this course will appear to be almost criminal. But, if we examine the matter calmly in all its phases, we shall be led to the inevitable conclusion that this is the only way in which the question can or will be settled.

The race problem is more than a political issue. It is an organic social ailment. No mere political rights, granted through the forms of law to the negro race, can insure its permanent welfare. The rights of citizenship already conferred upon that race as the outcome of overwrought ideals of abstract justice and of religious duty, promulgated without regard to the qualifications and conditions of the negro himself, have resulted, so far as concerns the object had in view, in a series of fatal blunders.

Prior to the year 1861 the Abolitionists kept up a continual agitation. The Democrats misjudged the designs of the Republican party. The result was war—a war carried on, not, as is sometimes intimated in campaign speeches, for the purpose of liberating the slaves, but, as is well known by those who are acquainted with the facts, for the sole purpose of preserving the Union of the United States. Had the Confederates laid down their arms within the hundred days allowed them by President Lincoln they would probably have their slaves to-day. The freedom of the slaves was not the avowed purpose of either of the contending parties to the Civil War, but was simply one of the events of the war, like the killing of a man or the burning of a city, or like any other act done for the sole purpose of weakening the enemy. The negro, though he might now

call himself a freeman, suddenly found himself set down in the midst of his former owners who were now his enemies, with no one under obligation to support him, and without means or experience to take care of himself.

The slave having been relieved from the shackles of bondage it was thought to be a great stroke of justice to confer upon him the rights of suffrage. No greater error could have been committed. There is no satisfactory reason why an ignorant and degraded white man should be allowed to vote. The only reason to be given is one of necessity, growing out of the fact that the ignorant are numerous and have physical force. But when the ballot was placed in the hands of the negro, a being of a different race and of low intelligence, he was given the means not only to hurt himself by intensifying the prejudices which the white man already entertained against him, but also to greatly embarrass the government with unavoidable opportunities for fraud and corruption. Nothing generates as much prejudice against the negro as his right to vote, a right which he knows not how to exercise, and nothing would give him more relief than to lose possession of that right.

The negro is still a slave, without the protection of a slave. His qualifications and conditions make him such; nor can he be bolstered into a higher rank of society by mere artificial schemes and political resolutions. Individual exceptions there may be, due to abnormal encouragement and to unusual opportunities. But there is no evidence that any race can be made to occupy a higher plane than is consistent with that race's own natural susceptibilities and capacity for efficient effort. There is nothing to indicate that the African race has the elements necessary to contend with the Anglo-Saxon in the struggle for life. What nature might do for the negro in some thousands of years the present writer does not pretend to say. But will American progress wait some thousands of years to see into what the negro will develope?

The greater portion of the negro population is to be found in the Southern States. In those States are large boundaries of uncultivated land. There are numerous waste fields and

wide stretches of woodland. In those out-of-the-way places the negro delights to build his hut. There he dwells with his wife and children, surrounded by his little patch of tobacco and garden vegetables. He works by jobs, he hunts the "possum," he fishes, and he loafs. And this constitutes his ideal of life. Living in a mild climate he needs little clothing, and is satisfied with the cast-off garments of the well-to-do whites. He cares not for the Government. In fact, he knows little about it, and would prefer his present situation to any which his over-zealous political friends in the past might have contrived for him.

How long this state of affairs may last it is impossible to say. This is an age of great enterprise and commercial activity. The public lands in the West are growing less every year, and they are fast being limited to undesirable localities, while the South has a delightful climate, and is rich in soil and in the variety of its natural resources. So it may be considered as only a question of time when commerce and immigration will enter the Southern States and demand the occupancy and cultivation of the immense areas of untilled land in that region.

What then will become of the negro, his hut, and his tobacco patch? He will be told to move. He will suddenly find it necessary to own his own home or to pay rent. His privileges of trespass will be curtailed, and the woods, the streams, and the now permitted pickings from the homes of the whites will cease to furnish a large portion of his means of support. In short, it will become necessary for him to abandon the habits of all his past life, and to become the active competitor of the laboring white man in order to secure the means of daily subsistence.

Then will begin the battle for life. In that conflict there can be no doubt that the negro will be defeated. His existence may be prolonged by consigning him to services which the white man will not or cannot perform; but this will, in effect, by limiting the avenues to success, amount to nothing more than slavery. The negroes in cities constitute the menials, back-alley residents, and the uncertain element in political campaigns. No help can be expected from them in the elevation of their race.

The vital point seems to be that the racial characteristics of the negro, as the characteristics of the Indian and of many barbarous peoples, are natural obstacles in the way of the highest human progress. A race that cannot rise as fast as the needs of advancing civilization requires must get off the stage of life. Nature is solving the problem; and it might not be too much to say that the tightening of the lines of power in all parts of the earth indicates that a great world tragedy, the extinction of a race, is about to be performed.

The moral phases of the question throw no light on the solution of this problem. There are certain rules of right and justice which every one is supposed to observe in his daily relations with others. But moral systems soon manifest their insufficiency for the practical affairs of life. They disappear as fashions. It is absurd to say that we are to be blamed for enslaving the negro in America, and that it is, accordingly, our duty to hold him up and to promote his future prosperity. The present generation of whites are no more to be blamed for the system of slavery in the United States than the writer of this article is to be blamed if his grandfather beat his grandmother. Besides, at the time the African was enslaved, Nature had fitted him for nothing else than a slave or a cannibal.

The object of this article is not to advocate or condemn any moral movement, nor to contend that everything should not be done that will enable the negro to make of himself as good a citizen as he is willing to make. The present writer is simply holding forth the view that nothing can or will be done sufficient to protect him from extinction as a race. We tell our neighbor, of our own blood, that he must look to his own efforts for success in life. Will not the same be required of the negro?

But when the efforts of the negro to obtain a livelihood begin to affect seriously the white man's pocket or his dinner pail, let no one imagine that a bloody strife will not ensue. There exists between the races an inbred antagonism which no moral lectures can eradicate. In different places public lynchings of the negro have occurred, witnessed by crowds of consenting white citizens. To be sure, such proceedings have been criti-

cized, but they would not have been permitted had the victims been white men.

Those who talk loudest for the negro's welfare are usually persons who are zealous over an abstract idea which can not be put into practical effect. In fact, the only showing the blacks can have for prolonged existence in this country is in the South among those who know him. Doubtless one of the speediest ways to annihilate the negro population in the United States would be to move them all to the North. The white Southerner is rather slack in his methods. He likes to saunter through life and have as easy a time as possible, and he is not particularly vexed when others do likewise. The North would require the negro to conform to the methods of the North, all of which would appear to him strange and distasteful. If he should fail in this he would be ignored, and branded as a worthless wretch.

The few who have been favored in institutions of learning, supported by endowment funds, have little bearing on the case. In a final conflict between races, nearly every one will stand by his own race. All the conditions point to such a conflict, sooner or later, between the white and black races in the United States. It may be that slow struggle by which nature often brings about her "survival of the fittest," or it may be hastened by sudden outbreaks, such as a certain negro attorney, J. H. Hays, is reported to have lately advised at Richmond, Virginia.

In any event, the African in this country is confined to the South, and, as a race, he must, as every other race, work out his own destiny in the conflict of life. This may appear to be a gloomy forecast; but it is Nature's law. The only question is how long can the conflict between the races be postponed.

If the foregoing views are true, the general government may be excusable in permitting the people of the several States to take their own course on that most potent cause of friction that now exists, the negro's right of suffrage. It will appear all the more excusable if we consider the difficulty of providing a remedy.

J. M. BICKNELL.

Hyden, Ky.

THE STORY OF A VICTORIOUS SOCIAL EXPERIMENT.

PERHAPS it is not strange that at the present time, when low materialistic ideals are so prevalent in political councils and when the greed for gold seems to be exerting an hypnotic influence over the imagination, social reformers and men and women of conscience and conviction are at times overtaken by a great sadness born of doubt. And yet those who temporarily lose faith in the essential power and divinity of truth forget that all over the civilized world to-day as never before, not only are the true apostles of the moral verities giving the best that lies in them to the service of humanity, but millions upon millions of the poor are thinking and dreaming, as at no other period in the world's history, of social justice.

The noble discontent which permeates civilization to-day is entirely unlike the blind and thoughtless unrest which has expressed itself in popular outbreaks of volcanic-like rage from time to time in various parts of the world. The discontent of the present is the sign manual of general growth. It is born of reason rendered possible by the diffusion of education and the demands of the larger life of our age. Nor is this all. In spite of much practical infidelity and subserviency to wealth tainted by corruption and injustice which marks too many clergymen and churches to-day, there still remains a great number of sincere apostles of truth as taught by the great Galilean who are busily engaged in leavening with love the lives of the multitudes who exist in the dark and cruel world of poverty.

One striking example of this character, which is in a real way typical of much quiet, unostentatious work being carried forward in the great centers of civilization, is found in the labors

of the Robert Browning Settlement, in the Walworth district of London. So helpfully suggestive is the record of practical achievements carried out by this body of conscience-guided men and women that a brief description of its work cannot fail to be interesting to our readers.

Eight years ago Mr. F. Herbert Stead, a son of the eminent journalist, together with his wife and a few high-minded Christians who had imbibed the spirit of Jesus to such a decree that they could no longer enjoy egoistic life, founded the Robert Browning Settlement in the very heart of darkest London, selecting the center of that gloomy hive of labor's children known as Walworth, where life is more congested than in any other spot in the city—a fact which will be appreciated when it is known that in the square mile which surrounds the settlement of which we are writing more than 120,000 human beings exist.

Walworth has been described as "a mass of brick and smoke, dirty and dusky, the very poorest district of the vast metropolis." This district at night was for the most part dark and gloomy, save where saloons and evil resorts shone like *ignes fatui*, luring the poor from their cheerless quarters. Here the atmosphere of despair was felt on every hand. Poverty and misery jostled with vice and crime, and into this ocean of human wretchedness and sin were constantly being wafted a multitude of innocent lives, frightfully handicapped at birth and with an environment that could not fail to accentuate the worst and discourage the best impulses and tendencies in their natures.

The old Independent Chapel in York Street was selected as headquarters for the settlement. In the old days when Walworth was a wealthy suburb of London, Robert Browning's father and mother were prominent among the workers in this chapel, and here it was that the great poet was baptized.

Young Mr. Stead and his companions believed that one of the most important battles for civilization must be fought in the slums; that the Dead Sea of poverty and misery so long abandoned to the saloons, the brothels and other evil influences, must be brought under the compelling power of the best in life; that the spirit of Jesus, not that of dogmatic theology, must be

felt in the midst of the slums; that the darkness must be dispelled by light, and that they who sought to be the light-bearers must consecrate all, even as Jesus consecrated his whole existence to humanity. Glorious, indeed, was the ideal that lured on these servants of progress. But at first the people looked askance at them. They had wearied of churchmen. The hollow, mocking, self-righteous, and pharisaic conventional theology had almost driven them to atheism. They wanted no more sleek, well-fed parsons telling them how they should act, or unco' good philanthropists who condescended to speak to them as superior beings addressing an inferior order. When, however, it was found that the newcomers were friends, neighbors and companions rather than preachers and patronizers of the less fortunate ones, a marvelous change was experienced. The people came to love, trust and look to the workers as children look to elder companions on whose sympathy they can count and on whose wisdom they can rely.

Thus, though these true-hearted reformers at first encountered great disappointments, trials, and almost insurmountable obstacles, at length the tide turned. The settlement became the moral and intellectual center of Walworth. Its work everywhere challenged respect, and in most places indifference or open hostility was changed to appreciation. Nor is this strange, for the work from first to last has been not only free from cant, but it has been characterized in a preëminent degree by practical wisdom, a broad humanitarian spirit, and a comprehension of the larger demands of present-day social life which speaks of the highest order of statesmanship. Life has been helpfully touched at every point.

The systematic work outlined by the founders may be, broadly speaking, grouped under four principal heads: (1) Labor for the betterment of the community as a whole. (2) Efforts to improve the individual by broadening his moral and mental horizon, developing character, and increasing the means for the enjoyment of life. (3) Aid for the helpless, including the sick, the crippled, the aged, victims of injustice, and little children. (4) Elevation of civic life.

Eight years of toil have wrought a transformation that may well prove an inspiration to those who at times almost despair in the presence of that greatest shame of civilization—the ever-broadening slums of the great metropolitan centers—as will be seen by a brief and partial summary of assured results:

(1) *Labor for the improvement of the condition of the community as a whole:* When the settlement was opened the adjacent streets were dark and cheerless at night. This condition was changed by the introduction of lanterns and cheerful outdoor music. Back of the settlement buildings was an old, long-unused burying ground, stark and forlorn. This was speedily transformed into a charming miniature park, with beautiful flowers and ornamental shrubs. So marked has been the transformation that it is now called the brightest spot in Walworth.

Next a movement was inaugurated looking toward changing the bleak, barren, and hideous back yards of the workingmen into bright oases of emerald, decked with flowers, ornamental shrubs, and vines. Nothing is more cheerless or forbidding than the back yards in the poorer quarters of a city. They are as a rule innocent alike of grass or flowers. But these yards, with the aid of a little fertilizer, a few seeds, and instructions as to how to plant and cultivate, can in most cases be transformed into beautiful, restful, and attractive spots that will yield infinite pleasure and satisfaction to the owners. This important work, which next engaged the attention of the settlement workers, was so successfully undertaken that there are now scores of homes where creeping vines, shrubs, flowers, and vegetables have entirely changed the aspect of back yards that hitherto have been bare, unsanitary, and unsightly. Exhibitions are now given at intervals in which only flowers, fruits and vegetables grown in this hitherto barren center of life are to be seen. And the settlement has further stimulated the rapidly growing taste in this direction by opening a large greenhouse in the Browning Garden.

The long winter evenings are brightened by concerts every Saturday night, lantern lectures held at short intervals, and social gatherings which meet in the halls of the settlement.

Another practical labor that has resulted in much good has been the bringing together of families in adjacent districts and on the same street. This work has been much fostered by the appointment of persons to work in different sections, known as "street friends." By bringing families together and cultivating neighborliness the social spirit is awakened and little gatherings of neighbors become circles of friends, thus subtly but effectively enriching life that under present social conditions is all too barren.

One year ago this month a large club house for men was opened, which is operated in connection with a tavern where an abundance of good food and temperance drinks can be obtained at very reasonable prices. This club house and tavern have proved so popular that from the opening they have paid their expenses. The club house contains a large hall for meetings and various rooms especially fitted up for social comfort and enjoyment.

(2) *Efforts to improve the individual by broadening his moral and mental horizon and increasing his happiness:* The general program, including concerts, social entertainments, lantern lectures, and Sunday talks on vital, living, present-day themes, is well calculated to broaden the moral and mental vision and enrich the life of the individual, as well as improve the community as a whole; but there are numerous other efforts being resolutely put forth to develop the character, feed the imagination, and bring new life and joy to the individual. Thus, for example, there are Travel Clubs, by means of which the poor are able to visit expositions or points of interest at a distance and in foreign lands for very nominal cost. In 1901 through this Travel Club a party of forty-eight was able to visit the Glasgow Exhibition and spend nine days in Scotland. The expense to each person for railway fare, board, and lodging was a little less than ten dollars. Last year, through the agency of this club, seventy-four persons were able to visit Germany and attend the exhibition at Düsseldorf. Who can measure the educational value of such visits upon minds that have rarely been privileged to go beyond the outskirts of London? And what a

feast for the imagination, what an intellectual stimulus to the travellers and also to their friends and neighbors, to whom the wonder-stories of their visits have been many times related!

Again, every year over one thousand men, women and children are sent out into the country, where they are brought for a time near to the pulsing heart of nature. The rest, the pure oxygen, and the change of scene experienced at such times not only give renewed physical vigor, but they serve to rest and feed the imagination, so that for months the vision of the other world—the world beyond the gates of the great city, with its emerald mantle starred with gold and studded with floral jewels—is a source of healthful delight. There are also bicycle clubs and numerous other measures for giving pleasure and affording development to body, mind and soul.

(3) *Aid for the helpless:* From the little ones to the aged, the helpless are looked after. There is a maternity club and a clothing club. Special attention is given to crippled children. Every week there are at least one hundred of these unfortunates gathered into a hall of the settlement, known as the Cripples' Parlor, where they have a rare treat, with entertainments and pastimes.

For the destitute aged an opening has been made by the donation by Miss Isabel Faraday, the niece of the great chemist, of a ten-room house known as the Michael Faraday Home.

There is a Medical Mission under the superintendence of Dr. G. W. Richards, and during the year there are about two thousand visits to homes and between four and five thousand cases treated at the dispensary.

Then there are the lawyers for the poor, whose services are rendered to about one thousand persons annually who are in trouble. Through the aid of these lawyers numbers of cases are kept out of court, and in other instances the poor are able to enjoy the benefits of legal talent to secure the justice which might otherwise be denied them.

(4) *Elevation of civic life:* Perhaps the line of work which will prove of the greatest importance is the vigorous, intelligent, and persistent effort to raise the standard of civic life and

secure for the people, from vestrymen to councillors, mayors to national officers, men possessing the double merits of being of sturdy moral integrity and possessing ideals in alignment with the highest social concepts of the time. A committee of members of the settlement, as soon as nominations are made, carefully inspects the list and acquaints itself with the character and ideals of the nominees, after which a statement of the record, standing, and views of the candidates is presented to all the voters, who are urged to consider how Jesus would vote if he were a carpenter in Walworth to-day, and to then let their own conscience answer. No special party is championed by the settlement, but men of character and whose views in regard to the elevation of municipal life are in accord with the best spirit of the times are favored. The result of this course has been most satisfactory. A marked elevation in the character of public servants is noted, and through the earnest and intelligent efforts of Mr. Tom Bryan, who was first a vestryman, then a health officer, and at present is the mayor of the borough, and of other spirits similarly infused with the ideals of the Browning Settlement, the sanitary conditions of the district have been greatly improved, and spots that were death-germinating and plague-inviting centers have been renovated, drained, and rendered healthful. There are to-day five representatives to the council of the borough who are members of the Browning Settlement.

The present Mayor Bryan, formerly a laboring man but later a university graduate, is a fine type of the new statesmanship being fostered by the Browning Settlement. When Mr. Bryan was nominated for the office of mayor, friends asked him how he could meet the expenses that were supposed to be necessary for any one holding that position. "By not incurring them," was his epigrammatic reply. Later, after his election, when the question of voting him a salary was broached, he stated that if a salary was given him he would apply every penny of it for the aid of the very poor and needy ones of the borough. Mr. Bryan represents the type of men whose brains are aflame with love for humanity and moral enthusiasm, that the Browning

Settlement is pushing forward into public life, to the immense benefit of the community. The settlement has also become the propaganda center for the movement for old age pensions and the better housing of the poor in the great cities.

In this brief and very incomplete record of eight years of conscientious labor we see something of what may be accomplished by small groups of men and women, who, with the splendid spirit of the early Christian leaders, have consecrated their lives to the cause of life's unfortunates.

Doubtless some social reformers will say, as we have heard them frequently remark in reference to our work in the slums of Boston, "And what does it all amount to? What is the use of spending time on these half-way, palliative measures?" There are two things to be said in reply to these oft-reiterated utterances of radical social reformers. The first is that there will be no ideal reign of justice, freedom, and fraternity on earth until the advance guard among social reformers who are struggling for a better order are so filled with moral enthusiasm, or that love that goes forth to every child of the Infinite, that it is impossible to remain indifferent to the sufferings of the weakest and most obscure. All social movements that ignore human misery here and now, that turn aside from the individual cases and concentrate attention merely on abstract social programs, run the risk of ending in egoistic and class movements such as marked the ascendancy of the bourgeois class after the great revolutions of the eighteenth century. There must be present in the hearts and lives of the leaders of social reform that spiritual enthusiasm which renders it impossible for a man journeying from the Jericho of the present to the Jerusalem of social salvation to regard with indifference or to pass by on the other side the unfortunate victims of modern social injustice. No! They who are to give humanity any real and lasting social salvation must be so overmastered by love that while preaching and working for the advent of the new democracy and for the reign of justice and fraternity, they will also be bending every effort to save those who now and here have fallen under the wheel. And secondly, the work that is being

wrought by such movements as the Browning Settlement is of incalculable value to permanent social progress. It is in effect a preparatory education for thousands and tens of thousands of poor people, through which they are being made intelligent factors for a peaceable evolutionary social revolution; while without this kind of work they might easily, in a time of great depression and suffering, become a blind, unreasoning force retarding social progress, as did the same element when it gained ascendancy and changed the current of the French Revolution, making it a reasonless Reign of Terror.

This is a point too little appreciated by the friends of social progress everywhere. As a matter of fact the leaders of the Browning Settlement and other like centers of practical and progressive economic activity are serving to lead the slow-thinking and over-worked poor into the light of social justice by the majesty of truth glorified by love. And out of the ranks of those who are being thus socially redeemed and enlightened will come—will surely come—great leaders who will be veritable prophets of progress and apostles of social righteousness. No good work is ever lost, and least of all is such work as is being carried on in such soil as is found in Walworth.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR MAJORITY RULE.

THE contest for the overthrow of the rule of the few in this country is drawing to a climax. In the Legislature of at least eighteen States a contest has been waged, or is still being waged, for the submission of a constitutional amendment for majority rule—the addition to our representative system of a people's veto through the optional referendum, and a direct initiative by petition or by pasters attached to the official ballot at any election.

In twelve of these States the campaign has been actively conducted by organized labor and other non-partisan organizations. These States are Massachusetts, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Texas, California, Washington, Montana, Michigan, Rhode Island, and New York. The Grange took an active part in securing the system in Oregon, and has questioned candidates in Washington. The State Granges in Illinois and Rhode Island have declared for the system, and their legislative committees instructed to work with the legislators. In Massachusetts thirty-eight of the county and local Granges have petitioned the Legislature.

The other six States where the Legislatures have been considering the adoption of an amendment for an improved system of representative government are Maine, Michigan, North Dakota, Nebraska, Idaho, and Nevada.

The Missouri Legislature, after a long and hard battle by organized labor, the Missouri Direct Legislation League, and the National Federation for Majority Rule, has submitted to the people a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative. The provisions are that the direct initiative is to apply to the State constitution, statute law, and municipal regulations. The people's veto through the optional referendum is to

apply to all bills passed by the Legislature, except urgency measures, the usual appropriation acts, and bills where there is a two-thirds vote; also to ordinances passed by common councils and other municipal bodies. Missouri is the fifth State to vote on the adoption of a people's veto and a direct initiative. The vote will be taken at the next general election—November, 1904.

The first State in this country to adopt the system was South Dakota, in 1898, the popular vote being about three to two in favor of the reform. Two years later the people of Utah adopted the system by a larger majority, nearly two to one. The third State was Oregon, and the vote, taken last June, was eleven to one for the system—practically unanimous. Illinois is the fourth State. The question was voted upon last November, under a statute which empowers the voters of the State to ballot upon any question of public policy when petitioned for by ten cent. of their number. The question was, "Shall the Legislature submit a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative?" The vote was five to one in the affirmative, and in some of the counties as high as twelve to one. There was not much campaigning.

In Missouri, the fifth State to vote upon the adoption of majority rule, the Senate voted unanimously to submit the question, while in the House the only opposition was by the Republicans, who declared that the amendment makes it too difficult to use the people's veto and direct initiative. However, the labor leaders and the Direct Legislation League will accept the amendment, and will then use the direct initiative for striking out the excessive requirements. Without doubt the vote of the people on the adoption of the system as submitted will be practically unanimous.

The history, then, of these five States shows that in the West and central West the sentiment for an improvement in the representative system, by adding a people's veto and a direct initiative, is rapidly becoming unanimous. The time is ripe for a widespread campaign as to Congressmen and Senators. Already quite a number of the Congressmen are pledged to rules

of procedure for the optional referendum and direct initiative, and it has been found easier to pledge Congressmen than members of the Legislature.

In Massachusetts, Michigan, and New York, legislative action is pending at this writing. There is, however, little or no prospect of anything being done in New York at this session.

In Illinois, where the people by a five to one vote instructed their representatives to submit a constitutional amendment for a people's veto and direct initiative, there is, as yet, little indication that the instruction will be obeyed. Legislators are no longer the representatives of the people. In Utah two Legislatures have refused to enact a statute for putting into effect a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative, and the Chicago common council has disobeyed an instruction by the people for the referendum and municipal ownership.

The Legislatures which thus far have refused to let the people ballot upon a change in the legislative system of the State by adding a people's veto and direct initiative, are those of Colorado, Texas, Kansas, California, Washington, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, and Rhode Island.

One of the first to reach this decision was the Idaho Legislature. Two years ago an amendment was newly submitted, but in the last campaign there was no questioning of candidates, as in Missouri, and the monopolists won in the House by a close vote—22 to 19, three not voting. Those who killed the resolution were all Republicans, while of those who voted for the resolution nine were Republicans and ten were Democrats.

In Montana neither the Democratic or Republican party would place in their platform a pledge to allow the people a vote upon the adoption of majority rule. Organized labor, however, questioned the candidates, and afterward stirred the entire State. From seven to fifteen petitions were read daily in the Legislature for twenty days preceding the vote. The result was that *the decision of both the State conventions was reversed*. With two-thirds of the Legislature Republican, a resolution to permit the people a vote upon a constitutional amendment for majority rule *passed the House without open opposi-*

tion, and received in the Senate more than a majority, lacking, however, the necessary two-thirds—the vote of nine Senators being sufficient to defeat the measure. First, however, the great corporations “doctored” the amendment by requiring that the percentage of signatures must be secured *in a majority of the counties*. And the first resolution introduced could not be gotten out of committee, so two more were introduced. The Democratic Governor recommended in his message the submission of the amendment, and afterward was not permitted to go, even as a delegate, to the State convention.

Last summer there was organized the North Dakota Referendum League, which questioned candidates and supplied the press with referendum material. The Democrats placed in their platform a demand for a constitutional amendment, and a bill for the same passed the Senate by a vote of twenty to fifteen. In the House it received forty-nine votes as against forty-eight—lacking the necessary two-thirds. The failure was largely due to the fact that it was reported that the movement for a direct initiative was for resubmission of the Prohibition amendment. Of the hearing in committee Mrs. Katharine V. King, founder of the League, says:

“I argued along the line of truest conservatism; that soon a radical party will do something violently prejudicial to vested interests, unless there is a system whereby the people can make their will effective at the ballot box. Majorities are proverbially conservative.”

In Rhode Island there was no questioning of candidates. Governor Garvin, a Democrat, strongly recommended a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative, but the Senate killed the resolution by a vote of twenty-three to nine, with six absentees.

When the People's Party was in power in Kansas it worked for a constitutional amendment for majority rule, and nearly succeeded in getting the necessary two-thirds vote. Last year organized labor formed the Kansas Non-Partisan Federation for Majority Rule and questioned candidates, but, as there was insufficient time to interest the farmers, and all the Senate held

over, the resolution for the referendum and initiative was easily defeated.

For some years the people in the State of Washington have favored the referendum and initiative. Last year the Grange questioned candidates and introduced in the Legislature a constitutional amendment. "But," says a prominent Grange official, "we have no hopes whatever of securing its passage at this session. The railroad has this Legislature solid, and nothing of this nature will be allowed to pass. The Representative who introduced our resolution, writes 'Former Legislatures were calla lilies compared to this one.'"

In Colorado the railroads have been equally successful. Organized labor questioned the candidates, and so did the Direct Legislation League, while the Democratic State platform declared for the system, and so did the Denver Republican platform. But the direct initiative has been stricken out entirely, and the percentage for optional referendum raised to twenty per cent., and it is doubtful if even this will get through.

The strength of the monopolists, and their determined effort to prevent the adoption of majority rule, is most clearly shown in California, therefore the case is presented in considerable detail.

In 1898 the people of San Francisco adopted a new charter. It was prepared by a committee of one hundred business men, who placed in it provisions for a compulsory referendum as to franchises for city monopolies, and a direct initiative as to all questions upon petition of fifteen per cent. of the voters. The Legislature ratified the charter. Later the cities of Sacramento, Pasadena, and Alameda adopted a people's veto and direct initiative.

The referendum and initiative by counties was provided for a few years ago by the Legislature, but two years ago the Supreme Court of the State by a close vote declared the law unconstitutional.

Organized labor aided in securing these majority rule provisions. For years the California unions have been demanding a reform in the legislative system by placing in the people a veto

power and a direct initiative. At their annual convention last January a resolution was adopted directing the executive committee to prepare a constitutional amendment, and secure its submission by the Legislature.

During the summer, work along this line was begun in the southern part of the State, without knowing what organized labor had done. The California Direct Legislation League was organized; Dr. John R. Haynes, President, and George H. Dunlop, Secretary, both of Los Angeles. Dr. Haynes is a wealthy, popular, and busy physician, who was the soul of the struggle in securing the majority rule charter for Los Angeles. The league secured the formal endorsement of both the county conventions where Los Angeles is situated, and an effort was made to get the endorsements of the State conventions of both parties. This would have insured the submission of an amendment. The Democratic State convention adopted the resolution asked for, but the Republican convention refused it.

But this did not settle the question in the Republican party, for a new power in politics appeared upon the scene. At the suggestion of the National Federation for Majority Rule *it was decided to question candidates*. The California State Federation of Labor and the California Direct Legislation League took up the work. In a clear and concise letter explaining and embodying the issues, each candidate was interrogated in such a manner that he could not plead ignorance, while silence would place him under suspicion of being opposed to the people's rule.

The California Direct Legislation League issued a letter, somewhat similar to that of the State Federation of Labor.*

In this way the Republican candidates were interrogated after the State convention had refused to promise that the party, if placed in power in the Legislature, would submit a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative. As the result of the questioning *the action of the State convention was reversed*. Fifty of the seventy-four successful Republican candidates for the Legislature pledged themselves in writing that,

*In several States organized labor used a sixteen-page "Address and Questions" published by the National Federation for Majority Rule and supplied without charge.

if elected, they would vote for a constitutional amendment, the details of which should be as set forth in the demands of organized labor and of the Direct Legislation League.

The Democratic and Union Labor members—twenty Assemblymen and five of the newly elected Senators—were pledged by their party platform, and they have redeemed their promises.

But half the Senate held over, and it was here that the railroad magnates and other monopolists were able to defeat submission, as will appear by the following: For several weeks after the session began it was believed by the advocates of majority rule that there would be no difficulty in securing the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate, for the question did not touch the merits of the referendum and initiative. It was simply, Will the hold-over Senators recognize the people's right to ballot upon the proposed change in the system of government?—a mere right to self-government, expressly reserved in the Bill of Rights and publicly disputed by no one! "*All political power,*" says the California Bill of Rights, "*is inherent to the people. Government is instituted for the protection, security, and benefit of the people; and they have the right to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it.*"

Furthermore, while the campaign was in progress Dr. Pardee, the Republican nominee for Governor, wrote to an officer of the State Federation of Labor that he believed the tendency "to refer important questions of policy to the people is one that will prevail to a large extent in times to come, and I shall be glad," he said, "if it does so; for I have found that the people, after hearing a public question thoroughly discussed, can always be trusted to decide it with wisdom."

About the time the Legislature met at Sacramento there was held at Los Angeles the annual convention of the State Federation of Labor. It indorsed the amendments for the constitution prepared by the Direct Legislation League, and appointed a committee of three to coöperate with a committee from the League in arousing interest among the trade unions, other organizations, and the public in general. This committee sent a circular letter to each of the five hundred or more trade unions

of the State, with copies of a resolution ready for adoption indorsing the constitutional amendment for majority rule and requesting their Senator and Representative to vote for the submission of the same. In order that there might be no trouble in ascertaining the names of the Assemblymen and Senators, addressed envelopes were enclosed to each union.

And petitions were circulated, which, when presented to the Legislature, contained 22,000 names. The various organizations that passed resolutions to the same effect were said to represent 100,000 voters out of about 300,000 in the State. A delegate convention of forty farmers' clubs, representing the farming community of the seven southern counties of the State, unanimously asked for the submission of the amendment.

The situation in the State about the first of February was thus described by Mr. Preble of the legislative committee of the State Federation of Labor:

"So far we know of no opposition to the amendment, and, in view of the pledges received and the strength of organized labor in California, it seems almost incredible that representatives will have the hardihood to openly oppose it. We are sanguine of success, but are leaving no stone unturned to make assurance doubly sure."

But all the special interests of the State realized that their existence was at stake. They lined up their forces, and, in the face of determined threats by the legislative committee of organized labor and of the Direct Legislation League to defeat their reelection, fourteen of the Senators placed themselves on record as refusing to allow a vote by the people on a constitutional amendment for majority rule in city affairs—a permission which had passed the House by a vote of sixty-five to one. Thirteen other Senators coöperated by absenting themselves or not voting. This out of a total of forty, of whom twenty were hold-overs.

The Senate refused, also, to take up the question of allowing a vote by the people on an amendment for majority rule in State affairs, whereas permission had been granted in the House by fifty-five to four.

In short, the hold-over Senators and a few others denied the people of the State the right to self-government. This revolutionary action was taken while the entire body of organized labor was protesting, also a large number of farmers' organizations, and thousands of petitioners.

This demonstrates the length to which the monopolists have gone, and it shows just what the people have to meet. The people must do some effective campaigning before they can free themselves from monopoly rule—the rule of the few. It is the last great fight for emancipation. With majority rule installed the republic will be preserved.

What the campaign should be is clearly shown by the success in questioning candidates. We have seen how, in the early stages of the contest the action of the California Republican convention was reversed, and how final success in the State would have been won had it not been for the hold-over Senators. In Missouri, too, the action of the Republican State convention was reversed, but as the Democratic party declared in its platform for the submission of a constitutional amendment for majority rule the hold-over Senators, being largely Democratic, were brought into line. The absence, however, of specific details in the Democratic platform left the hold-over Senators and those unpledged to organized labor, free to insist on conditions that will almost nullify the system. The only portion of much use is the direct initiative as to the constitution itself. In Montana the action of both the Democratic and Republican State conventions was reversed.

The foregoing demonstrates the value of questioning candidates. *The organizations that do not make nominations CAN EASILY DETERMINE THE ISSUES.* This is the vital function. No candidate dares to openly oppose majority rule or several other issues that have been kept in the background owing to the monopolists' control of the two leading parties. Third party politics have been used with almost no immediate success, while the open sesame—the questioning of candidates—was within reach and untouched.

The Anti-Saloon League was among the first in this country

to discover the secret, and its remarkable line of successes is a tribute to the effectiveness of the plan and the capabilities of the managers. At the annual meeting of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, January, 1902, Mr. Isaac Taylor, of Kansas City, introduced a resolution for a Joint Committee on Direct Legislation, "the purpose of which shall be:

"To interrogate all candidates for legislative positions upon the subject of direct legislation, and to secure the pledges of candidates on this proposition and such other legislation as is demanded by the Missouri State Federation of Labor, and to make public such information, to the end that the next General Assembly may be composed of men who may justly conform to the wishes of the toilers in securing 'equal rights for all and special privileges for none.'"

This program was adopted a year ago last January. The writer, when the system came to his notice, realized something of its value, and through the National Federation for Majority Rule began sending to State Federations of Labor copies of the Missouri resolution, with changes suited to the conditions.

At the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor last November, representatives from the Washington State Federation introduced a resolution for a National system. It includes questioning candidates and bringing before the county conventions the demands of organized labor. This resolution was reported favorably and unanimously adopted. And there was introduced by First Vice-President Duncan a resolution commending the questioning of candidates in the several States, and providing that the system shall be used to secure the referendum and initiative in National affairs. This resolution was also adopted unanimously.

At the annual session of the Washington State Grange, held in June of last year, the Master of the State organization was instructed

"To appoint a Grange Committee in each county where there is an organized Grange. The duties of said committee shall be to interview the various legislative candidates and to persuade them to use their best efforts if elected to the Legislature to secure the passage of a bill to amend the State constitution,

providing for direct legislation, which shall be submitted to the people, as required by the State constitution."

Doubtless there are many other instances of a systematic questioning of candidates in this country. Recent investigations of political progress in New Zealand, by Prof. Parsons, shows that much of the success there has been due to questioning candidates.

Profiting by the past year's experience the system is being improved and extended. The county and State conventions of all the parties will be notified of the demand for the submission of a constitutional amendment. The questioning of the nominees will be completed much earlier in the campaign. The details as to majority rule amendments will be fully specified by enumerating some of the details, and for the balance reference will be made to the South Dakota system and that of federal Switzerland. Mass meetings have been successful in Chicago, and will be used freely if necessary. At the meetings held by candidates they should be questioned orally and repeatedly. In this way they will publicly commit themselves.

Instead of a formal *federation* for majority rule, local *leagues* of the *unorganized* are being formed, leaving organized labor, organized farmers, and organized business men each to do their own questioning and convention work, or to do it through a Joint Majority Rule Committee. *To stimulate action in these organizations is one of the chief functions of the local Leagues.*

The League is to be a pace-making organization, a permanent institution, just as nominating organizations are permanent. The men who run the party machines are interested in making a living from their profession; therefore the non-partisan organizations should determine the issues, and will do so. Conventions will be notified and nominees will be questioned. There is much work to be done and at once.

Ten States elect Legislatures this year: Ohio, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Mississippi. In each of these States the candidates for the Legislature should be pledged to give the voters an opportunity to ballot upon the termination

of monopoly rule. This can easily be accomplished through the combined action of organized labor, organized farmers, organized business men, and Majority Rule Leagues.

In all the cities and villages of the country where the referendum and initiative does not exist the system can be installed at the next election by questioning candidates. Ask them whether, if elected, they will vote for rules of procedure whereby the people may instruct their representatives in the city council. In this way the people in several cities have protected themselves. There is no need to wait and organize a successful State campaign, then wait two years to ballot on a constitutional amendment, and afterward wait two years more for the Legislature to provide by statute the details of the system. Cities that have liberated themselves are Winnetka, Geneva, and Chicago, all in Illinois; Detroit, Toronto, Vancouver, B. C.; Waco and San Antonio, in Texas. The Majority Rule Committee of the Texas State Federation of Labor has sent to each Central Union in the State a request to appoint a committee to present questions to aldermanic candidates.

Next year there are not only city elections, but in all but four of the States a Legislature is to be elected; while in national affairs a new House of Representatives is to be elected, one-third of the Senators are to be elected, and the remaining two-thirds can be instructed. Already a considerable number of Congressmen are pledged to vote for rules of procedure for the referendum and initiative. This year's battle for self-government in most of the legislatures is arousing public opinion, *thereby helping to carry Congress next year*. The trust question is the dominant one. And "strangely enough," writes the chairman of the questioning committee in Missouri, "we find it easier to pledge congressional candidates than legislative nominees."

Preparatory to sweeping the country—city councils, Legislatures, and Congress—the National and State referendum organizations are merging in a *Majority Rule League*, with National, State, and District Committees, and a League is to be formed in each community. Charters for the locals are being issued

upon application of seven or more adults. Here is congenial and effective work for those who have at heart the welfare of the race, and in so doing they will also be winning the love and esteem of the community. The most popular men in Chicago and other localities are those who are leading the majority rule movement. The pending elections and the importance of the work call for prompt action on the part of high-minded patriots.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

Washington, D. C.

A CONVERSATION

WITH NATHANIEL C. FOWLER, JR.

ADVERTISING, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.*

Q. Will you tell us something about the growth and development of advertising during the past quarter of a century as compared with the past?

A. Accurate figures are impossible. General opinion, probably not far from fact, places the volume of present American commercial advertising, including commercial printing, as fully a dozen times greater than it was a quarter of a century ago. Less conservative judgment would add from 50 to 100 per cent. to this estimate.

Advertising was born the day after the birthday of business, but commercial advertising, although always used, for business doing without it is impossible, was not recognized as a business necessity, or as an accomplice before and with business, until about fifty years ago; and twenty-five years later, or twenty-five years ago, advertising was by common acceptance taken into business partnership and recognized to be as much a commercial essential as is the raw material itself, its manufacture, and its sale. Then the business brain looked upon advertising as investment and not as expense. Before it had been consid-

**Editorial Note:* In the following conversation our readers will enjoy the views and opinions of the leading advertising expert in America. Mr. Fowler's position is unique. Unlike most members of the advertising craft, he has no connection with any advertising agency or printing house. His services are as ethical and professional as those of an attorney-at-law. He is, therefore, not prejudiced in regard to any special form or kind of advertising, but discusses the interesting and important subject as a statesman would discuss statescraft or a lawyer the various aspects of the legal profession. He is the well-known author of "Fowler's Publicity," the only encyclopedia of advertising ever published, and of a remarkably helpful and suggestive work entitled "The Boy and How to Help Him Succeed."—B. O. F.

ered more or less of an experiment and always as an expense—a luxury or a side-issue. To-day no successful advertiser considers advertising other than business investment, as much a real, tangible thing as is the factory or the product of the factory. Twenty-five years ago commercial advertising extended but little further than the daily and weekly newspaper, the poster, bill-board, and the out-door sign. To-day every known method of publicity is used, and advertising experts are discovering new ones with every sunrise. A half century ago, most of the advertisers advertised under protest. To-day the advertising appropriation is handled as a necessary part of business.

Substantially every American publication carries advertising matter. The annual grand total of the number of copies issued by these publications, including dailies, weeklies, monthlies, and other regularly issued periodicals, may exceed thirty-five hundreds of millions.

Assuming that there are one hundred advertisements, a conservative figure, in each issue of each periodical, there then would be not far from two millions of separate advertisements in every collective North American issue, and an aggregate number exceeding three hundred and fifty thousands of millions of impressions of advertisements during a single year.

If two hundred and fifty clipped advertisements piled together would make the thickness of an inch a year's advertising, placed sheet upon sheet, would erect a pile nearly one hundred and seventeen millions of feet high.

Place each copy of the advertisements appearing in all the publications during one year, end to end, and there would be an announcement ribbon of advertising paper one hundred and eleven thousands of miles long.

These figures are unverified, but they are the result of a most conservative and careful study on my part.

The progressiveness of America gives to American advertising a volume not proportionately approached by any other civilized nation, and multiplying the foregoing, as well as the following, figures by four will undoubtedly not be far from the statistical truth of the world's advertising.

There are more than one hundred thousand printing offices

in North America, and the advertising product of the printing press in catalogues, circulars, and other advertising matter, will probably double the periodical figures presented.

A most conservative estimate says that the business men of North America annually expend more than one hundred and fifty millions of dollars in newspaper and magazine advertising alone, and undoubtedly a sum equal to this is consumed for advertising printed matter.

The grand total of North American advertising, including printing, but exclusive of all books and the product of the press which is not pure and simple advertising, cannot be far from three hundred millions of dollars per year.

If my figures be correct, the cost of spreading printer's ink all over the face of the civilized world, including the printing of books and all other printed matter whether it be advertising or otherwise, but not including lithography, will present an annual aggregate not far from two thousand million dollars.

A statistician, with plenty of leisure, has calculated that the total annual circulation of all the periodicals in the world exceeds twelve thousands of millions copies. These combined editions would require over three-quarters of a million tons of paper; and, if spread out, would cover an area of ten thousand and five hundred square miles. If piled, one upon another, they would reach an altitude of five hundred miles.

Assuming that the average man gives fifteen minutes of his day to the study of his paper, or other periodical, the people of the world, each year, collectively occupy the equivalent of three hundred thousand years reading their papers.

This enormous bulk of advertising, and this tremendous volume of printed matter, undoubtedly has grown within the last twenty-five years to occupy a volume twelve times greater than it was only a quarter of a century ago. In nothing else has the world progressed so rapidly. To realize this let the reader turn to the advertising pages of the few magazines of twenty-five years ago and place them side by side with the magazines of to-day. Let him compare the size of the daily paper of a quarter of a century ago with the bulky Sunday paper of last Sun-

day. Let him hold in one hand the annual book catalogue of twenty-five years ago and in the other hand the catalogue of the books published last year.

Q. It has been suggested that the advertisers of the country are indirectly greatly furthering the cause of popular education, in that the magazines and periodical literature are one of the chief sources of popular education at the present time, and that these are very largely sustained through their advertisements. Will you give us your views on this question?

A. Comparatively few magazines or other periodicals, including the daily and weekly newspapers, could exist in their present quantity and quality without the income derived from advertising.

Advertising, then, is necessary for the support of our present periodical literature. I do not mean to say that the circulation of good literature is dependent upon advertising, for if all advertising were withdrawn, some literary publications would exist, but the same high quality could not be maintained at the present low subscription prices. Instead of from three to a dozen periodicals to a reader, each reader would subscribe to but one or two publications, and the circulation of literature and information would be naturally curtailed.

To-day, the reader can get what he wants at a very low expense, and this low cost would be impossible without commercial advertising.

Q. What is the tendency of advertising at the present time in regard to truthfulness and artistic merit as compared with the past?

A. So long as there is business, just so long will there be honest and dishonest business; and as advertising is a part of business, it will be neither better nor worse, neither more truthful nor less truthful, than is the business of its day. The truthfulness of advertising is on the same level as the business it represents, neither above nor below it. Misrepresentation and exaggeration have always been conspicuously associated with business, and naturally are found in advertising. I think that advertising, to-day, is not more untruthful than it was last year,

twelve years ago, or twenty-five years ago. I am rather inclined to believe that it is more truthful, not necessarily from choice, but because of the detective force of competition and the general higher grade of common intelligence. The artistic advertising of to-day compared with the advertising of twenty-five years ago shows as marked a difference as there is between the old-fashioned newspaper announcement and the beautiful water-color lithograph.

The best artists, for several years, have been employed by advertisers, and, to-day, comparatively few artists refuse commercial work. The expense of illustrating the advertisements in the magazine frequently exceeds the cost of illustrating the regular magazine pages.

Q. Do you regard the advertisements in and of themselves as of any value from an educational view-point?

A. Any printed matter, whether it be the rough circus poster, the prosaic railroad time-table, or the art catalogue of commodities, is educational. Advertising is more educational, to-day, than it ever was before, because there is more of it, because it is better written, because it is better presented. It has been said that the advertising pages of the first-class magazine present more information than do the contents of the magazine, and certainly the advertising pages chronicle the progress of commercialism.

Q. In your opinion, from a social point of view, does the educating which advertising does injure the public more than it benefits it?

A. I think that the benefits are ahead of the injuries. The advertising of first-class goods cannot be other than educationally beneficial. The liberal advertising of sanitary arrangements, health-foods, and other progressive commodities, has done more than is realized towards introducing to the people right methods of living. Probably the sanitary condition of our houses and the general healthfulness of our food are due to the advertising of the manufacturers of these articles as much as to any other influence.

The advertising of unnecessary luxuries, and of articles of

extravagance, has undoubtedly been considerably responsible for our unnatural ways of living.

The advertising of dangerous compounds, unhealthy foods, patent medicines, and the like, has probably done more towards injuring the health of the common people than has any other agent. If it were not for advertising the American people would not be a dosing people, nor would they be so constantly ailing, nor would they feel the necessity of everlastingly filling their stomachs with useless and injurious drugs and concoctions.

Advertising while lifting the people on the one side has undoubtedly degraded the people on the other.

The right kind of advertising, the advertising of the right kind of goods, is one of the great factors of civilization. The advertising of the wrong kind of goods, of things which people should not use or take, has been one of the most damning influences, and has probably done more harm than any one has realized. Advertising, then, is both an educational agent for great good and for great harm.

Q. Are the "Trusts" closing the advertising field?

A. One of the arguments presented by "Trust" magnates in favor of "Trusts" is that they reduce the cost of every department of the business; and, as advertising is a part of business, the formation of "Trusts" cannot do otherwise than materially reduce the volume of advertising.

Q. What in your judgment is to be the future of advertising?

A. The future of advertising will be a part of the future of business. As business increases, advertising will increase. As business becomes better, advertising will be better. If business becomes worse, advertising will be worse. Advertising cannot be separated from business.

Q. What will be its function in the dawning social organization?

A. When we become civilized, and true economy is practised and waste is reduced to the minimum, there will be very little business as business is now conducted, and consequently very little commercial advertising.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

THE CASE AGAINST THE TRUSTS.

I. THREE COUNTS IN THE INDICTMENT.

In this discussion we shall consider three leading counts in the indictment against the modern trusts and corporations: (1) Opposition of the people; (2) corruption of the nation; (3) the exploitation of labor; either one of which would afford ample justification for radical action on the part of a government that claims to be administered for the benefit of all its citizens. Nothing could be more essentially unrepblican or more reactionary than the permission of systematic exactions of excessive charges from the millions of our citizens for the abnormal enrichment of the few, through the enjoyment of special privileges and class laws or the evasion of National and State statutes. Moreover, the long toleration of such injustice—it matters not under what pretext—cannot fail to demoralize society as well as prove a source of National corruption. The withholding from labor of a rightful share of the wealth created is another immoral act that is as essentially unjust as it is undemocratic, and that cannot fail to foment an ever-growing discontent where education is as diffused as in our land—a discontent which, if not met by true statesmanship expressed in just and fearless action, will inevitably lead to a revolution such as no right-minded person desires to see inaugurated; while the corruption of the government and of public opinion-forming agencies by corporate interests is a supreme and deadly menace to free institutions. Therefore this question is one to which no voter can remain indifferent.

This month we shall confine our attention to the injury sustained by all the people through trust or monopoly exactions, and in our next issue the subject of the corrupting influence of the corporations and trusts upon the nation or government will be noticed at length.

II. OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE.

To even briefly point out the devious methods employed by various trusts and corporations to annually extort scores of millions of dollars out of the pockets of the consumers by virtue of the monopoly interests enjoyed, which place the people at the mercy of the monopolies, would require a volume. We therefore confine ourselves to typical illustrations, and in selecting these we will take the Standard Oil Company and the Coal Trust. The former is taken because for a long time it has enjoyed the distinction of being the wealthiest and most powerful trust in the United States, and also because it has recently given the people an impressive illustration of trust methods; while the evils and oppressions of the lawless Coal Trust, rendered possible by its refusal for nearly six months to arbitrate its grievances, have occasioned such misery among millions of our people, have caused so many deaths and so much acute suffering, and the transfer of so many millions of dollars from the pockets of the many into the pockets of small groups of greed-dominated individuals, that it needs no long citation of facts to prove how the people are robbed and oppressed by this trust which, according to ex-Attorney General Richard Olney, has for years been the "most unblushing and persistent of law-breakers," and of which he said: "For years they [the operators constituting the Coal Trust] have defied the laws of Pennsylvania, which forbid common carriers engaging in the business of mining; for years they have discriminated between customers in the freight charges on their railroads in violation of the Interstate Commerce Law; for years they have unlawfully monopolized interstate commerce in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law."

For several decades the Standard Oil Company was the richest corporation in the New World. In spite of its enormous expenses for lobby work and corrupt practises, as revealed in the Congressional and State investigations, it has made its large stockholders many times millionaires, while its stock has regularly paid princely dividends. As master of the oil trade it was in the full tide of prosperity, earning enormously on its gigantic sales, when the coal famine opened.

At that time oil was wholesaling in New York at seven and one-half cents a gallon. When, however, the price of coal rose from five and six dollars a ton to from nine to fourteen dollars a ton, and the poor through the iniquity and oppression of the trust that rendered this outrage possible found themselves un-

able to procure one of life's prime necessities in northern climes—and a necessity for which nature had provided most liberally for the benefit of all her children—they turned to another of God's great gifts to His people—petroleum.

At seven and one-half cents a gallon—the price at which it sold up to September 20, 1902—the poor were able to enjoy a measure of heat. But the helplessness of the millions was the opportunity for the robber Oil Trust, whose long history is probably the blackest of that of any corporation in America. The price of coal oil was advanced a cent a gallon. This meant millions of dollars wrung from poverty to further enrich multi-millionaires. One cent a gallon increase, however, did not satisfy these modern cormorants of capital; and so another advance was made and then another, until on December 20th the wholesale price of oil had risen to eleven and one-half cents—an advance of four cents on every gallon sold at wholesale. Thus, while the poor were buying their oil in September at nine and ten cents a gallon, by the latter part of December they were paying thirteen and fourteen cents in and near the great metropolitan centers.

On December 20th the *New York Journal* published a table showing what this increase of four cents a gallon meant to the Standard Oil Company, based on the annual sales of oil for the last year. According to this table the refined oil sold by this company for the year was 2,337,000,000 gallons:

Value of same at 7½ cents a gallon.....	\$175,312,500
Value of same at 11½ cents a gallon.....	245,437,500
Increased profits per year.....	93,500,000

Here we find one of nature's most beneficent provisions for the people, and which should be the property of all, being controlled by a small handful of men so as to not only make multi-millionaires, but by being employed as an instrument of oppression in the hour of the people's need and misery, to extort more than ninety million dollars in excess of prices that were yielding many millions of profits prior to the hour when the helpless poor became a further prey to the Oil Trust's rapacity.

Now let us turn to the Coal Trust. For years the great coal-carrying railroads of the anthracite districts were waging a war against the owners of the large coal fields, with the single object of acquiring these enormously rich treasure houses of nature, which, like the water supply, should be the property of all the people. The laws of Pennsylvania made it unlawful for

the railroads to directly or indirectly operate the coal properties; but to such an extent have the corporations debauched the government of the Keystone State that these lawless monopolies felt no fear in defying the laws; and controlling the great commercial highways, it was an easy matter to gain a practical monopoly of the great coal fields. The so-called independent operators that remained, being entirely at their mercy, became thoroughly complacent—humble, in fact, as Uriah Heap—because they knew they had to acquiesce with their virtual masters or surrender their possessions at a great sacrifice.

Then the consuming public began to experience some of the boasted blessings of monopoly, when that monopoly or trust is operated by a private corporation like the Coal Trust, the Oil Trust, and the Beef Trust instead of by the people, like the Post Office.

In the spring of 1901 the local coal combine of Boston sent out a circular letter to the consumers, stating that owing to the advanced prices of coal, due among other things "to the consolidation of railroad companies bringing coal to tide water," the price of coal would be increased on the tenth day of May ten cents per ton, and "there will be," the circular continued, "a further advance of ten cents on the first day of June, July, August, and September, making the wholesale price of coal September first fifty cents per ton higher than during April."

Interstate Commerce Commissioner Prouty is reported to have recently pointed out that "If the anthracite coal combine advances the price of that commodity to the consumer one dollar a ton, it levies upon the poverty of the country, which uses that coal, a tax of fifty million dollars annually in favor of the wealth which engineered and profits by that combine." Thus it will be seen that the arbitrary advance of fifty cents a ton meant twenty-five million dollars or thereabouts taken from the pockets of the people by the Coal and Railroad Trust.

Coming down to the recent struggle and the resulting coal famine, we find the miners asking for a small advance in wages—an advance that the American people would have cheerfully paid in the increased price of coal—but the insolent and arrogant trust not only refused the demand of its great army of slaves, but refused to arbitrate the question, though none knew better than Mr. Baer and his associates that that refusal would mean untold misery to millions of people, and in all probability the most terrible death to scores of the poor. The spirit of brutal despotism has seldom been more flagrantly in evidence

than in the action of the lawless Coal Trust. What did it matter to the multi-millionaires who constitute that organization that mothers and tender children should freeze to death for want of fuel—as they have in numbers of instances during the past winter? What did it matter that twenty million people, the majority of whom need every cent of money they can earn, should be compelled to pay five to eight dollars a ton for coal more than the already exorbitant rates that the trust has been levying during recent years? They knew that they were in possession of the great storehouses of nature's fuel, from which the people must in part at least obtain their heat or they would freeze to death. They knew they had nothing to fear from the subservient government of Pennsylvania and the emasculated administration at Washington. Hence they felt secure and confident that, come what would, they could sooner or later make up all losses suffered during over five months of idleness by further plundering the people. And as a result of this blighting curse of a monopoly or trust in this one of life's necessities, the consumers of coal the past winter were compelled to pay from five to eight dollars a ton more for their coal than they would have paid, even under the exorbitant rates that prevailed before the trust determined to reduce its slaves to complete and abject submission.

And what is more, the American consumers of anthracite coal during the past winter have paid at least three times as much as they would be to-day paying if the government owned and operated the coal mines and the railroads.

A few years ago, before the Coal Trust became the master of the situation, we secured our furnace coal in Boston at from \$4.25 to \$4.50 a ton. During the greater part of the past winter we were compelled to pay from \$10 to \$14 a ton for the same coal. If, as Interstate Commerce Commissioner Prouty observes, the advance of a dollar a ton on anthracite means fifty million dollars from the pockets of the people, it is easy to see how the people would save hundreds of millions of dollars through governmental ownership and control of the mines and the coal railroads.

The above illustrations of the shameful oppression of the trusts are typical, and the extortion extends down to the smallest items and necessities in daily use that are controlled by trusts. Thus, according to government statistics, the annual value of the factory product of pins and needles controlled by a trust is a little over thirty million dollars above the total cost

of production. Another illustration is found in so simple a thing as borax. Here, through the tariff, the borax trust is able to charge five cents more on every pound of borax than the people of England pay for the same article. Thus every time the family uses ten pounds of borax it pays a tax of fifty cents, not to support the government, but simply to enrich a trust powerful enough to obtain a permission from the government to take from every consumer of borax five cents on every pound used, in excess of a reasonable price.

If no other count could be proven against the trusts controlled by private interests than this oppression and despoilation of the people through brigandage, sometimes law-bulwarked and sometimes in defiance of law, it would be a sufficient reason for the prompt enactment of statutes by which the benefits of coöperation or combination should go to enrich all the people instead of the few. This, however, is but one of the moral crimes that are justly charged to the corporations and trusts.

* * *

THE VISION THE LIFE OF A NATION.

The story of civilization bears eloquent testimony to the truth of Solomon's words when he declared that "where there is no vision, the people perish."

The moral virility sustained only by spiritual ideals is essential for permanency and enduring power and glory in a civilization, nation, or people, as is oxygen necessary for physical life. And in proportion as people turn from the higher to the lower; in proportion as they turn from the fundamental ethical verities of justice, freedom, and fraternity, or that all-comprehending love embraced in the commandments, Thou shalt love the Lord God (or the all-pervading Life) with all thy heart, soul, and being, and thy neighbor (the individual life that surrounds thee) as thyself; in proportion as they place the gratification of animal appetites and desires and egoistic ambition above the demands of conscience and the obligations imposed by the law of solidarity—they lose in all those elements that give power, persistency, and virility to life and enable a people successfully to withstand the shocks that come from within and without.

The vision, the ideal, the whole-hearted yielding to the lofty

demands of the soul—the exaltation of love—the passion for justice—the tender out-gushing sympathy for all less happily circumstanced ones—the insistence upon the same freedom for others demanded for self: herein alone lies the path of life and glory. But any treason to the vision, any turning aside from the ideal, any attempt to substitute personal desires, egoistic ambition, or lust of the appetites for the vision that lights the soul and beacons civilization along the highway of progress, leads to defeat and death.

The virility, strength, and life-sap that made the great Republic at once the leading moral world-power among the nations of the earth—the greatest inspiration to the apostles of love and liberty the world over and the wonder of all peoples—lay in the moral vision and the passionate acceptance of the great fundamental ethical truths shadowed forth in the Declaration of Independence.

To turn from this real dominion over the imagination of earth, this true leadership, and to descend to attempts at forcible annexation and wars of subjugation, was to betray the Christ principle in the world's government as Judas betrayed Jesus—for material gain. It was to be guilty of the greatest apostasy recorded in the annals of the nation. It was to repudiate the vision to grasp the clod.

And what is true in regard to national recreancy as it relates to other peoples is equally true touching oppression at home. The granting of special privileges to the few was the denial of equal opportunities to all. The failure to safeguard and protect the rights of the weakest was to deny the sacred trust imposed by civilization on her most favored child. The supreme peril of the great Republic lies in the solemn fact that the vision is being eclipsed by greed for gold, passion for physical dominion, and the exaltation of egoistic ambition. An early recognition of this fact means national salvation. Indeed, such is the potency of the moral verities, such the universality of the divine spark in the soul of man, that, though the children of the vision or the ideal be for some time in a seemingly hopeless minority, they must and will triumph, provided they unite and consecrate life's noblest efforts on the altar of truth, covenanting with one another and with the Infinite that so far as lies in their power they will reinstate the great Republic as the moral leader of earth, as the noblest exponent of justice, freedom, and fraternity in the family of civilization.

Let no one despair. The battle between the vision and the

clod—between justice, liberty, and fraternity, and gold, physical dominion, and personal ambition—has only just begun; and though the opening contests have been won by the materialistic power, though the enemies of the vision are working in church, university, and press as did the Tory enemies work throughout the cities and hamlets of the colonies in the old days, all that is needed is the moral awakening that time and again has saved nations. Let the old-time spirit of Israel's prophets appear again. Let the fervor and the courage of a Samuel Adams and a John Hancock, the breadth of thought of a Jefferson, and the spiritual enthusiasm of a Mazzini touch the heart and the brain of our young men and women; and lo! the vision will have returned, reenforced by that moral power which is called into life in moments of deadly peril.

It may seem much to say, and yet I believe it to be a profound truth, that at no time in the history of civilization did each individual possess so great an opportunity effectively to battle for God and triumphant humanity as to-day. At no time has truth called more earnestly than at the present for her children to rally around the vision and save from deadly peril, not the Republic alone, but the cause of freedom and justice embodied in the dream of pure democracy.

* * *

TWO NOTABLE REFORM VICTORIES IN OHIO.

The recent elections of Mayors Johnson and Jones, in Cleveland and Toledo, are among the most notable and significant triumphs for the principles of sound democracy as opposed to class rule and government by the corporations that have occurred since the capitalistic and imperialistic reaction of the past decade.

I. MAYOR JOHNSON'S REELECTION.

In the election of Mayor Tom L. Johnson Senator Hanna experienced the first signal Waterloo in his political career, the defeat being especially humiliating to one who probably to a greater extent than any other American politician trusts in the power of corporate wealth to achieve victories over the early and noble idea of our republic and the palpable interests of the people, because he had made it his own fight and had brought

to bear upon it all the power and resources at his command to overwhelm the man who had struggled to secure just taxation of corporate wealth and the benefits of public utilities for all the people instead of the exploitation of the people for the financial benefit of greedy public service monopolies. The contest, moreover, was of particular interest to the Ohio Senator, inasmuch as his political prestige and his pocket-book were both concerned, he being a large stockholder in one of the street railway corporations. To compass his ends a tremendous effort was made by Mr. Hanna and his rich and powerful associates and aids to secure the support of the labor unions. The machine republicans were also reinforced by the graft-hunting and Bourbon democrats. The beneficiaries of corporate wealth and special privilege were enlisted under the republican banner; and the "unco' good" of the churches, who make long prayers and pose as pillars of society while devouring the sustenance of widows and orphans and preying on the public, also joined in the ever-swelling refrain against the mayor who had proved himself at once brave and most loyal to his high trust and the interests of all the citizens.

Wealth—unlimited wealth—was marshalled against Mayor Johnson. The corporations believed him their most dangerous foe. They knew him to be unpurchaseable and thoroughly acquainted with their methods. Furthermore, they understood that, so far as lay in his power, the people should no longer be compelled to bear the burden of millions of dollars of taxes that should be paid by the corporations, who in turn were plundering them in various ways.

With all his resourcefulness and power of generalship; with his wide experience as chairman of the Republican National Committee, and the prestige it gives him, and with the command of so many forces lined up against Mr. Johnson, Senator Hanna was confident that he could ride down and overwhelm his opponent. "Republicans are amazed at the result," telegraphed the *New York Herald's* correspondent on the night of the election, "because they regarded the defeat of Mr. Johnson as absolutely certain."

Instead of being defeated, the popular mayor was elected by 5,985, or within fifteen votes of six thousand majority. And what is more, when two years ago Mr. Johnson was elected mayor the Republicans carried the rest of the ticket by four thousand majority. This year the entire Democratic ticket was elected by majorities greater than the Republican majority of

two years ago, and twenty-three out of a total thirty-three councilmen are also Mr. Johnson's supporters.

This election gives new emphasis to the claim that the people are sound at heart; that they are intensely and truly democratic and loyal in their support of progressive principles. They only need clear-sighted, able and fearless leadership to overcome even the combined power of corporation-owned and controlled party machine forces and the great wealth so lavishly expended by the trusts, monopolies, and corporations to secure reactionary class supremacy in government.

The victory of Mayor Johnson is not only a victory for all the forces of municipal progress, but it is a triumph for progressive democratic principles over the baleful, corrupt and reactionary political policies that have so largely prevailed during recent years in national, state, and city affairs.

II. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAYOR JONES'S GREAT VICTORY.

The recent reelection of Mayor Samuel M. Jones, one of the special contributors to the ARENA, to the chief magistracy of Toledo has a nation-wide political significance in that it is the most signal individual triumph of a representative of the rapidly growing popular opposition to the autocratic rule of the political boss and the partizan machine, dominated and governed by corrupt corporations and reinforced by a daily press which is at once controlled by the trusts and monopolistic influences and is the servile tool of the political boss.

This year the politicians who manipulate the Republican and Democratic parties of Toledo determined to overthrow Mr. Jones, popularly known as the "Golden Rule mayor," and designated by himself as "the man without a party." The mayor had proved superior to the multitudinous temptations, direct and indirect, put forward by various self-seeking influences as well as by political parties and beneficiaries of special privileges. He had faithfully and honestly striven to carry out the principles of the Golden Rule in his official life, and he had been inflexibly honest. When the time for nominations came the Republican and Democratic machines decided to break the rule of the simple republican.

It is probably true that, recognizing the confidence of the people in the man who had three times been elected mayor of the city, either party would have been glad to have nominated him if he would have consented to be a machine nominee, with all that that has come to mean.

But Mayor Jones is nothing if he is not an independent, conscience-guided, and incorruptible patriot. He positively declined to be the creature or even the representative of the partizan machine, and so the fiat went forth that he must be politically slain. The noble apostle of the Golden Rule was denounced roundly by the boodlers and venal champions of the corporations seeking graft, as well as by the politicians who by making politics a trade become rich in devious ways. All these parties suddenly became aware of the fact that the best mayor Toledo had ever had was a "dangerous" character. The most notorious political demagogues,—taking a hint from the thief who after stealing a large bundle of bank notes from the cashier's desk in a populous city at the noon hour, ran onto the thronged sidewalk and having securely hidden his booty under his coat, joined the bank attachés in their cry of "Stop thief!"—began shouting aloud that Mayor Jones was a demagogue. The fact that he could not be corrupted; that he would not betray the interests of the city and the demands of the higher law, and that he sought to translate the Golden Rule into the rule of life, was to them incomprehensible.

But a still greater mystery lay in the fact that this simple patriot, this pure-minded man of ideals, held such a marvelous sway over the brain and heart of the people. Surely a man who could ignore corporate interests and the political machine, and win, must be dangerous. Regular candidates were nominated and a vigorous campaign inaugurated, while Mr. Jones was petitioned by three thousand voters of the city to again stand for mayor. He accepted the trust in a brief letter of less than seven hundred words. The copy of this letter, which surely was legitimate news in which the public of Toledo was interested, was given to all the daily papers. Only the *German Daily Express* would print it as news. All the other dailies refused. The *Democratic Bee* and the so-called *Independent News* consented to insert it as a pay advertisement; while the two machine republican papers, the *Blade* and the *Times*, even refused the use of their columns at advertising rates, so anxious were these journals to keep their readers in ignorance of Mayor Jones's candidacy and to curry the favor of the corporations and the corporation-controlled machine. In order to bring the matter before the electorate, where Mayor Jones was content to let it rest, he published his last message to the council and his letter of acceptance in pamphlet form and personally addressed the electorate in a purely democratic manner.

The people, thus given the opportunity to choose between the wealth-bolstered, corporation-controlled political machines and the true-hearted democrat who had demonstrated that he was a faithful steward, elected him by an overwhelming majority. This victory should give inspiration to every friend of freedom. The corporation-owned party machines of to-day are the reverse of democratic or republican in spirit and in operation. They are aristocratic; they belong to the government of classes, and are out of harmony with the spirit of republican institutions. They must be relegated to the rear by an enlightened, conscience-guided electorate.

* * *

THE LONDON *TIMES* AS A TOOL FOR PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS.

That part of the American press that is either owned or subsidized by the trusts and corporations has of late been giving wide circulation to a series of papers which have appeared in the *London Times*, devoted to special pleading in favor of private corporations owning and operating the immensely valuable public utilities of the municipalities, which in America are proving such a veritable Klondike to the small groups composing the corporations that realize fabulous revenues which should rightly go to reducing taxes on the one hand, and to making parks and playgrounds and building libraries and museums for the benefit of all the people on the other.

These papers were nothing less than briefs for interested parties, abounding in statements of half truths from which wholly fallacious conclusions were cunningly drawn—conclusions that would have been too palpably absurd to be advanced if the whole case or the essential facts involved had been stated. They were filled with the familiar juggling with facts and figures, with the plausible sophistry based on false, misleading, or partial statements, and with other exhibitions of mental gymnastics so commonly employed by craft and cunning at the behest of great wealth and for the purpose of robbing the people of their rightful property by diverting to private purses funds that in the very nature of the case should enrich and benefit the community sustaining the public utilities.

The fact that these papers appeared in the *London Times* was

seized upon by the special pleaders for the corporations on this side of the Atlantic as conclusive reason why the growing demand for the municipal ownership of natural monopolies in America should be ignored and our cities continue to be denied the enormous benefits now being enjoyed by Glasgow, Birmingham, Liverpool, and other populous cities in Great Britain. The men who held stock in corporations like the Boston Elevated Railroad, for example, whose net earnings last year amounted to \$3,456,395, were loud in their demands that the London *Times'* denunciation of municipal ownership be taken by the people as a final and authoritative utterance. The fact that the *Times* has for generations been the voice of special privilege and oppression; that it has bitterly fought the extension of freedom, the enlargement of the rights of the people, and the introduction of measures which would secure to all the people benefits hitherto enjoyed by the few; and, finally, that it has long been what it is to-day—reactionary and Bourbon in its spirit—was not only carefully ignored by those who represent the stockholders of public service corporations, but the further fact that these special pleadings were inspired by corporations greedy to seize upon public utilities not already in the hands of the people for their further emolument, and the fact that the *Times'* articles were merely the extension of American methods by which great dailies in this country, owned and controlled by corporate wealth, have betrayed the interests of city, State and Nation and of individuals at the behest of their masters, were naturally enough entirely ignored by the editorial writers and other special pleaders for the corporations who sought to deceive the American voters by enlarging on the importance of the *Times'* contributions.

Perhaps it is not surprising that those who are dependent upon the favor of the corporations for daily bread should lend themselves to the tactics of the hired attorneys and seek to aid in so deceiving the electorate that it permits public franchises, worth to the community untold millions of dollars, to pass into the hands of the few; for we are living in a time when the moral ideals of city, State and nation are at a low ebb, especially when they relate to political and commercial life, but it is high time that the voters should awaken to a realization of the true position of the editorial special pleaders for corporate greed. In almost every instance behind the pen that pleads for private ownership of public utilities stands the man or men already immensely rich through the enjoyment of franchises which by

right belong to the people, and who are now hungry for more princely gifts of like nature.

Even the great London *Times* was, it seems, no exception to this almost invariable rule, as will be seen from the following cable despatch sent from London on the twentieth of last October to the New York *American* and containing a summary of the London *Daily News*' exposure of the source and animating cause of the *Times*' papers:

London, Monday, Oct. 20.—The *Daily News* publishes a special article giving the details of a momentous intrigue, elaborate in its ramifications and audacious in its strategy. It suggests that the series of articles appearing in the London *Times* on "Municipal Socialism" were inspired by a trust comprising a ring of Anglo-American capitalists backed when necessary by the Pierpont Morgan exchequer, under the name of the British Electric Traction Company.

The managing director of this company is Emile Garche, of London, and it has a capital of £25,000,000, which it has distributed over one hundred allied undertakings all over the country, which pays 9 per cent. to the British Electric Traction Company, which holds debentures in the trust company, and is owned by 250 shareholders. One-fifth of the amount paid up paid from 35 to 55 per cent. while on the founders' shares the dividend has ranged from 1,000 to 1,800 per cent., the largest holder being J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr.

The trust's latest catspaw is the Industrial Freedom League, which includes Garche among its financial supporters. On the council also are J. S. Morgan & Co. and other directors and shareholders in the foregoing companies, and Mr. C. F. Moberly Bell, who is the manager of the *Times*.

The article points out how the *Times* articles quoted pamphlets by Garche and others all interested in the companies named. Garche is also said to have written a chapter in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* on the industrial development of electrical enterprises. The *Daily News* says that "a league exists to Americanize our municipal methods and traditions," and asks, "is England to turn at the bidding of the *Times* and the British Electrical Traction Company from the safe paths of coöperative municipal effort and deliver itself bound and helpless to the Pierpont Morgans and their trusts?"

AND THE PEOPLE MUST PAY FOR IT ALL.

Some time ago when the Interstate Commerce Commission was putting some vexatious questions to Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, the latter gave as the reason for his purchasing the control of the Louisville and Nashville R. R. from Mr. John W. Gates, that he feared the railroad interests would be injured if the road remained in Mr. Gates's control. Mr. Morgan's exact words were: "I did not consider him a safe man. I thought the railroad interests would be injured if he were at the head of the system. My idea was that he was a dangerous man."

This reply seemed to give Mr. Morgan's apologists and special pleaders great satisfaction. How fortunate, they urged, for the American people that there was a Mr. Morgan to save the great railway interests from dangerous men.

As is often the case in this unfeeling world, a pretty tale is marred by the brutal introduction of quite another version. So, unhappily for the philanthropic Wall Street magnate, Mr. Gates was summoned before the same commission, and in reply to a query as to Mr. Morgan's reason for wanting to secure control of this great railway system the Western magnate answered in these brutally frank words: "It was Mr. Morgan's intention to organize a Southern Securities Company in case the Northern Securities Company was legally sustained. He then intended to sell his stock to the holding company at \$170 per share."

Inasmuch as Mr. Morgan had bought the stock from the dangerous Mr. Gates and his friends for from \$130 to \$150 per share, or for a total of \$43,860,000, and intended to sell it for \$170 a share, or for \$52,020,000, by the transaction it will be seen that he expected to pocket \$8,160,000 in the gamble—quite a handsome sum for philanthropically protecting the railroad interests at the expense of the American producing and consuming public (for let it never be forgotten that the dividends on all the fictitious as well as the real railroad values come out of the pockets of the people).

But Mr. Gates's interesting observation touching his philanthropic brother magnate is only a part of the story in which the American voter has a vital interest. In the course of his narration relative to the purchasing of the control of the Louisville and Nashville R. R. as given before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mr. Gates said:

"Early in March I realized that L. & N. was a good stock to

buy. I learned that certain construction accounts had been carried on the books as running expenses. This would naturally give a false impression of the value of the road. It was deceptive bookkeeping, and it became apparent to me that a good block of money could be made out of the road.

"Louisville and Nashville was then selling around \$105 a share. I spoke with several of my friends concerning the advisability of taking up the stock of the road, and we formed a pool and went out after the stock.

"We bought Louisville and Nashville until we had 206,000 shares actually in our possession and another 100,000 shares in the possession of a brokerage firm under our control."

By this time it appears that Mr. Morgan's attention had been attracted to the possibilities offered him if he could organize a great Southern railway trust whereby traffic could be placed completely under the control of a small group of commercial barons whose appetite for control of public utilities grows by what it has long fed upon, and who have brought the art of bleeding the public almost to an exact science. Visions of the acquisition of eight million dollars in a preliminary gamble floated before his brain. He became solicitous for the railroad interests. In Mr. Gates he beheld a dangerous man—because it seemed apparent that he also realized the enormous value of the great railroad interests. Surely it was not safe to allow these immensely rich railway interests to remain in the hands of another man when there was the strong probability that the very pious and philanthropically inclined Mr. Morgan might realize many millions of dollars by their control. Accordingly this "safe" man, who had successfully organized the great Steel Trust, which is accumulating millions upon millions of profits for dividends on its inflated values, through charging American consumers from six to eleven dollars a ton more for steel than the same trust sells it for at a profit to foreign purchasers, sent post-haste to the "dangerous" man, for Mr. Gates in his testimony said: "I was awakened one night at the Waldorf-Astoria by Charles M. Schwab, who told me that Mr. Morgan wanted to see me the next morning at his office."

Mr. Gates hesitated about going to Mr. Morgan's office, because he feared the publicity the newspapers would give the matter; but finally meetings were arranged which ultimately resulted in Mr. Morgan's paying \$130 a share for one-third and \$150 a share for two-thirds of the stock held by Mr. Gates. This was \$7,140,000 more than had been paid for the stock.

It will be noticed from the above testimony that there had been deceptive bookkeeping carried on by the railroad officials, by which construction accounts had been entered as running expenses. This dishonest bookkeeping afforded a splendid opportunity for gamblers to make fortunes, or rather the favored gamblers to whose attention the shameful facts were brought. In this instance Mr. Gates was the favored party.

The special pleaders for the railway corporations are always boasting, in spite of the constant wrecking of railroads, of the splendid business management of the railways under private ownership and are insisting that under public control there would be danger of corruption and mismanagement. Yet under a democratic government in which the people were given the opportunity of government through the initiative and referendum, such shameful and dishonest action as the above would not occur, or if it should happen, the people would quickly administer punishment to the guilty parties. Even under governmental ownership in autocratic lands, like Germany, for example, who imagines for a moment that any such shamefully dishonest conduct as that to which Mr. Gates incidentally referred as a small and innocent fact would be tolerated?

But this is not all. Mr. Gates realized over seven million dollars on his gambling experiment. Mr. Morgan proposed to sell the stock he had purchased from Mr. Gates at a figure which would give him over eight million dollars in profits. He was to organize a Southern Securities Company, or a great railroad monopolistic trust, with an inflated capitalization that should more than cover the enormous profits which the "dangerous" man had realized and which the "safe" man hoped to realize; and on this inflated capitalization the people would be compelled to pay dividends, *i. e.*, the farmers and other producers, the traveling public and the consumers, would have the additional burdens to bear which would represent the dividends on the watered stock or fictitious values. Thus in the last analysis it is clear that the bread-winners of America would have been plundered of their millions to augment the already dangerously over-rich Morgans, Gates, and their confederates; for we cannot harbor the thought that the "safe" and solicitous Mr. Morgan would allow any railroad over which he exercises a guardian's care to be wrecked after the once popular methods in vogue during the time when the late Jay Gould was the most prominent gambler in Wall Street.

When will the American people arouse to the majesty of

awakened freemen and put a stop to this most demoralizing species of gambling? When will they demand, not only for the sake of posterity, but for the sake of their own pockets and the pockets of every producer and consumer, that the masses shall no longer be bled to pay dividends on water, and that the millions now being extorted from them shall be saved through popular ownership and control of the railways? When they do this not only will freights and traveling expenses be greatly reduced, but the most fruitful source of governmental corruption will be removed.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

TRUTH. By Emile Zola. Translated by Ernest A. Vizetelly. Cloth.
Pp. 575. Price \$1.50. New York: John Lane.

I.

"Truth" is the third of the proposed four social gospels in which M. Zola designed to set forth what he believed to be the great fundamental verities upon which the advance of civilization and the happiness of humanity depend. It is a noble and a very important contribution to twentieth century fiction, dealing in a convincing manner with the question of popular education or the dissemination of knowledge. The power of truth and the degradation, misery, and blighting influence, as well as the futility in the long run, of all attempts to ignore truth, silence reason, and stifle justice, are emphasized in such a manner as to deeply impress the thoughtful reader. A special interest attaches to this work because the Dreyfus case serves as the basis for one of the chief narratives in the romance, and also because this novel is the last word from the great Frenchman's pen.

II.

In the opening chapters of "Truth" the reader is brought face to face with a shameful murder. A little hunchbacked boy, nephew of the Hebrew teacher of the communal or free school in the little town of Maillebois, has been brutally killed. The crime was committed by a priest whose passions and abnormal appetites have too frequently led him to commit great evils. Two brother priests arriving on the scene of the murder succeed in suppressing evidence that points to the real criminal being a member of the faculty of the religious school; and to save the scandal and injury which would result to the Church if suspicion should settle over the Brothers' School, the priests, led by a prominent Jesuit, throw suspicion upon the Hebrew teacher of the communal school, the double motive being to save themselves and to destroy the free schools against which the Roman Church has waged such relentless war, especially during the last thirty years.

Racial prejudice is quickly aroused by the multitudinous members

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

of the religious orders and the press, so largely controlled by Jesuit influences. The Jews are denounced as having sold France to Germany, and numerous other absurd tales are scattered broadcast such as were employed with such telling effect when the reactionary French army, the Church, the monarchists, and the conservative press created a nation-wide wave of emotional insanity during the Dreyfus agitation that for a long time engulfed reason and made the people blind to the sacred demands of justice, truth, and fair play.

The result in the case of Simon, the Hebrew teacher, is similar to the fate of Dreyfus. He is illegally convicted and is transported. A communal teacher, Marc Froment, the real hero of the book, and the unfortunate Jew's brother set to work to establish the innocence of Simon. This arouses the alarm and deadly hate of the Church, and a life and death struggle ensues covering many years, during which Genevieve, the wife of Marc Froment, comes under the influence of a reactionary grandmother and of the priests. The old convent religious teachings are revived, and she quits her husband, whom she dearly loves, just when he most needs her support.

The chapters describing the machinations of the Church and the religious or Brothers' schools to gain political ascendancy and to destroy the free or communal school system of France while fomenting a reactionary spirit, are vivid, powerful and convincing in their simple realism. It is the old battle of darkness against the holy candor of dawn; of superstition, blind authority and dogmatic oppression against knowledge, free thought, truth and justice.

The Dreyfus case enters largely into the story of Simon, as will be readily seen by those who follow his illegal conviction, his transportation, the agony of his long years of suffering, the revision of the case by the Court of Cassation, the return of the prisoner, the new trial in one of the most reactionary towns in France, before a reactionary judge and prosecutor, the second conviction notwithstanding the overwhelming proof of innocence, and the pardon of the victim. So also in the aftermath. The apparent temporary triumph of the reactionary power is very brief, for the republic has at last become alarmed. Her very life is threatened. She finds that the Roman Catholic schools throughout the length and breadth of the nation are in the hands of monarchism and reaction—the deadly foes of free thought, free government, and popular or secular education; and as a result the government takes strong and vigorous action looking toward strengthening the public schools and saving her own existence by the suppression of the institutions that for thirty years have carried on a relentless war against the republic.

After the pardon of Simon, Marc Froment's wife, who has become convinced of the innocence of the victim and of the righteousness of her husband's action, returns to the old home, and happiness again reigns at the little fireside; and as the years pass the great cause of free and secular education steadily grows. The children of to-day become the free, independent, truth-fearing and justice-loving citizens of

to-morrow, and the breath of freedom and a lofty humanitarianism begins to permeate the vitals of the once decrepit republic.

The closing chapters of the story present a beautiful picture of the sunset time in happy lives. The great work to which the hero has given his life is crowned with success, and the silver of age that crowns the father and mother has brought with it the rich fruition that comes only to those who unswervingly follow the light. The whole scene reminds one of the eventide, when the heavens are aflame with glory and the earth is golden with the sun's last rays.

III.

M. Zola's great purpose in this novel was to boldly emphasize the eternal majesty and persisting vitality of truth, which may be defeated, crushed, and apparently overthrown, yet in the course of time is sure to arise vindicated; while the powers of darkness, though retarding the emancipation of humanity, blighting the happiness of life, and degrading and besotting the nation in precise proportion as they succeed in retarding truth, yet in the end must inevitably fall before the divine and majestic mistress of progress and handmaid of emancipation. He strives further to teach a lesson which is perhaps the most important truth for present-day society to digest and assimilate, and that is that the hope of civilization lies in a popular education which shall so emancipate the mind from emotionalism, hysteria and prejudice that it shall be able to make reason based on truth and justice the arbiter in all questions that arise in life. The only education that is safe is one which shall create a passion for justice and truth that shall guide the reason and judgment and subordinate the influence of prejudice, passion, and all considerations of expediency and policy. Until such education obtains, no people or civilization will be immune from waves of emotional insanity which crush reason and set at naught the demands of truth, right and justice, leading to the perpetration of frightful crimes—such, for example, as the Dreyfus case. So long as truth and justice are subordinated to anything, and so long as reason is denied mastery over the promptings of passion, the people at any moment may be lashed into a frenzy amounting to general dementia. This emotional insanity may be produced by subtly influencing the public imagination, as, for instance, by appeals to religious prejudice prompted by the pernicious interests of some class, by personal ambition, or by other essentially narrow, low and unworthy motives. It may be the work of the church, of the army, or of other reactionary influences acting in concert, as in the Dreyfus case; or there may be rich and powerful corporations in the shadow, stimulating a sensational press and other public opinion-forming organs which serve to create a panic in the public mind which eventuates in the perpetration of crimes against freedom and justice.

M. Zola believed that the hope of France lay in the triumph of secular and compulsory education. He had all faith in the triumph of

truth, justice and fraternity if the reason could be emancipated. And it should be remembered to his eternal honor that he, more than any other Frenchman, called France back to a sense of justice in the affair of Dreyfus, and he more than any one else compelled her to realize the deadly peril that confronted the republic through the reactionary education of the religious schools during the past thirty years.

This book is a luminous exposition of how the truth is slowly triumphing over religious superstition and reaction in France. To us the fatal flaw in the work is found in the fact that M. Zola, as is the wont of reformers, has gone to an extreme that in a measure obscures his vision. While the reactionary influences were closing the door to the larger truth of the present, M. Zola failed to see the truth that the past possessed, because that truth was well-nigh obscured by superstition, gross idolatry, self-seeking, falsehood, and hypocrisy. Seeing all this, seeing the general indifference to justice and the cause of virtue, and beholding the hostility to mental emancipation, he failed to see the spiritual verities which have persisted throughout the ages and which are to civilization what oxygen is to physical life. Emotionalism stimulated on the lower plane becomes a species of insanity that is degrading in its influence; but when emotion finds expression on the higher plane of being, we have spiritual exaltation which blossoms forth in the most glorious manifestations of truth, justice and love, finding expression in the Sermon on the Mount, in the Golden Rule, and in the lives of the vast majority of the noblest and best men and women who have enriched the civilizations of all ages. This stimulation of the emotional nature on the higher plane has also bequeathed to humanity much of its richest treasure. In art it flowers in the genius of Phidias, Michael Angelo, and Raphael; in music, in Beethoven and Wagner. The spiritual side of life was in reality the very fount from which Zola was drawing his inspiration when he thundered against the crimes of the Church, the army and the reactionary press. It was the source from which his passion for truth, love, and justice sprang; but the recreancy of the Church, its crimes, and its apostacy from the teachings of its founders and the great spiritual luminaries of the ages, led M. Zola, as before it led Voltaire, to see in reason man's sole and only hope of deliverance.

This volume is very rich in sayings that are pregnant with vital truths and helpful suggestions. It is a book that merits and should receive the widest circulation among the most thoughtful and patriotic of our people.

GREEK AND ROMAN STOICISM AND SOME OF ITS DISCIPLINES. By Charles H. Stanley Davis, M.D., Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 269. Price \$1.40 net. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Co.

Several years ago, after an evening's discussion on the philosophy of Stoicism and the lives and characters of some of its noblest representatives, I was urged by some friends present to prepare some papers dis-

cussing Stoicism and some of its leading exponents, because, as one of the party observed, "the present-day Christian world seems to be strangely ignorant of the principles of Stoicism and of the lives and practices of the greatest Stoics." Acting on this suggestion I prepared a series of articles, one embracing the lives and teachings of Socrates, who though antedating Stoicism as a philosophical system, embodied in a large way the essential ethical teachings of this noble sect. This paper appeared several years ago in the ARENA. Later, for the Greenacre Summer School of Philosophy I prepared and delivered papers on the lives and teachings of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and of the slave Epictetus, and for the Massachusetts Metaphysical Club a paper dealing with the philosophy and ethics of Stoicism. I am, therefore, in a position to especially appreciate this extremely able and valuable work by Mr. Davis.

The author is a thinker well qualified to clearly present his subject and one who possesses a charmingly interesting style—something very important but unfortunately very rare among those who attempt to elucidate philosophical concepts. The book is a distinctly important contribution to the literature that makes for high thinking and worthy living. It not only acquaints the reader with the beliefs, teachings, and lives of the greatest of the Stoics, but it shows how the philosophy was in a real way the John the Baptist which prepared the Roman world for the exalted ethics of the Great Nazarene. The fundamental ethical truths are the same yesterday, to-day and forever, and they have been given to the world more or less clearly in all great periods of humanity's history, though perhaps never so luminously (save in the teachings of Jesus and his apostles) as in the philosophy of Stoicism and in the Upanishad and other of the greatest religious books of India.

There are in this volume fourteen chapters, in which the author discusses "The Greek Religion;" "Greek Philosophy;" "Socrates;" "Founders of Stoicism;" "Doctrines of Stoicism;" "Roman Stoicism;" "Roman Jurisprudence;" "Relation to Christianity;" "The Lives of Epictetus, Seneca and Marcus Aurelius;" together with extended selections from the writings of the above philosophers.

This is a work which every thoughtful parent and teacher should not only carefully peruse, but bring before the serious attention of their children and pupils, for no one can read its pages without having his moral nature materially strengthened and his ideals exalted.

MILLIONAIRE HOUSEHOLDS AND THEIR DOMESTIC ECONOMY. By Mary E. Carter. Cloth. Pp. 303. Price, \$1.40 net. New York, D. Appleton & Co.

This volume is in a certain sense a practical handbook for young wives of wealth, discussing as it does in the minutest details and in a painstaking way the various duties of each individual employee in the care-taking of modern mansions. Incidentally the reader obtains

glimpses of the luxurious and too frequently butterfly life of our very rich who delight in the name of the "smart set."

Were this all that could be said of the work, it might be a valuable guide or handbook in the same way as a reliable cook-book is invaluable to the young wife whose faulty education has failed to supply her with that thorough training in domestic economy which should be a part of the curriculum in every girls' school throughout the republic, and yet it would merit no special word of commendation in these pages.

But Mrs. Carter is a woman of very superior mind and of high moral ideals, and she has invested the volume with so much of her own fine spirit that it cannot fail to give a distinct moral uplift to the rich young wife who seeks information from its pages; and it will tend to make the parvenue pause in her thoughtless arrogance, while her better nature—the divinity that is resident in every one—will sanction the quiet but thoughtful pleas for justice, for consideration, and for a broad spirit of humanity in dealing with employees that will not only make the young matron's pathway much easier, but will serve to refine, ennoble, and enrich her life. To fully appreciate the spirit of the work one must read it from cover to cover, but something of this rare quality may be gathered from the following paragraphs on "Ideal Living:—"

"Is ideal living possible? Yes, and no. None live up to the ideals of to-day. If it were otherwise they would cease to be ideals—for true ideals have their inception and abiding place in the mental realm, and are the fruit of aspiration and always beyond immediate realization. Every ideal actualized opens a vista disclosing fresh visions beckoning us on and on, higher and still higher. Therefore none of our present-day life can be, to those living in it, ideal. Much of it may be the actualization of some of our ancestors' unrealized hopes and dreams, regarded by many of their time as Utopian or absurd.

"Even upon the material plane we now have in our every-day common experience what would have been pronounced visionary and impossible of fulfilment a hundred or even fifty years ago.

"May we not reasonably expect spiritual development to keep pace with material progress? Should it not do so? The first ocean steamer that crossed the Atlantic is said to have carried over upon its initial trip a newly printed book, the type scarcely dry, written by a wiseacre of that time to prove conclusively—to his own satisfaction—the impossibility of such a trip. His strongest argument against Atlantic steamship navigation was the supposed impossibility of carrying enough coal on board the vessel for such a long voyage. Who reads or cares about that book or its fossilized author now?

"Is it not true that only those who are possessed by ideals and are striving for their realization may be said to live or to have life? Others simply exist, vegetate. Without its idealists the world would long ago have stagnated. 'Where there is no vision the people perish.' Ideals are vivifying influences, the breath of life for men and women and nations."

The last eighteen pages of the volume are given to a fine collection of thoroughly tested recipes. The work is one of the handsomest specimens of American book-making of recent years.

THE SOCIALIST AND THE PRINCE. By Mrs. Fremont Older.
Cloth. Pp. 309. Price, \$1.50. New York, Funk & Wagnalls
Company.

This story, doubtless suggested by the great anti-Chinese agitation which convulsed San Francisco several years ago, chiefly concerns the persons of a labor leader who possesses great personal magnetism and power as an orator and organizer, an Italian prince consumed by the grand passion, and the erratic, ill-balanced and morbidly emotional, though dashing daughter of one of the high-priests of plutocracy. The latter is an amazing character even in fiction, though in spite of the exaggerations of the creation it is in a certain sense typical of the unhealthy product of the mushroom aristocracy who has been born and reared in an atmosphere of artificiality. She alternately falls in love with and promises to wed the Italian prince and the labor orator, and is the cause of a duel that almost cuts short the love-making of the former, while it ruins the political prestige of the agitator.

It is a rather bright story. The author possesses a charmingly easy style, though the introduction of numerous slang expressions on the part of the leading characters detracts from the grace of the work. Her descriptions, though frequently spirited, do not as a rule impress us as being convincing. Indeed, one has only to compare "The Octopus," that other California novel by a young American author, with this first book by Mrs. Older, to realize the difference between genius and mere cleverness. Mr. Norris's book is distinctly great. In it colossal typical characters are so presented that it is impossible for the reader to escape the feeling that he is reading about real men of blood, bone and passion. But with Mrs. Older's chief creations it is different. They are clever, but to us they lack that indefinite, subtle quality that differentiates characters in fiction as does the breath of life differentiate a man from his effigy. Then again, the author displays the same looseness in the employment of differentiating terms that marks the modern newspaper paragrapher. What would be thought of the accuracy of a writer who characterized Confucius as a Christian because the Chinese philosopher who antedated the advent of Christ many centuries, voiced the sentiments of the Golden Rule and other ethical theories taught by Jesus? Yet here is an author who at all times designates one of the chief characters as a socialist, when she is speaking of a person who does not from first to last voice the philosophy or theory of socialism. "The Chinese must go; if not by the ballot, then by the bullet." This is the keynote of his harangues. Yet what has that to do with socialism? True, he appeals to the workingmen and asks them to unite at the ballot, and in this particular he is almost as urgent as is the republican defender of protection in his frantic appeals to labor to unite and support his party in the hope of a full dinnerpail. But what has this to do with socialism? Indeed, there is nothing to indicate that Paul Stryne, the hero and so-called socialist, has ever become acquainted with the works of Karl Marx or any socialistic authority; but

by his own confession the life of Napoleon Bonaparte has more than aught else been an influencing factor in his career. This shows how thoroughly the term "socialists" is a misnomer. Such ignorance or looseness of expression is inexcusable in a penny-a-liner. But what shall we say when a novelist insists on holding up as a representative of a great social philosophy a character who appears to be entirely unconscious of any of the cardinal tenets of that philosophy?

These defects seriously mar the first book of a new writer who promises better things, and whose work is in many respects superior to many of the American novels of the day.

WHAT MANNER OF MAN. By Edna Kenton. Cloth. Pp. 292.
Price \$1.50. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

In "What Manner of Man" the author has departed widely from the beaten track, both as regards the plot and the location of the scene of the story. Much of the action takes place on a wild, rocky island off the northern coast of Scotland, which owns no allegiance to any king other than The Rohan,—the last descendent of a long line of rulers whose will has for centuries been absolute law to the rough fishing folk of Eilean Rohan.

The plot deals chiefly with the beautiful daughter of The Rohan, Clodah, and Kirk Thayer, a famous artist who sees the girl by chance while on a summer cruise in the northern seas, and who instantly determines that he must have the child as a model for a picture upon which he has long been working. To accomplish his purpose he marries the innocent trusting girl, taking her to London, where he has his studio. The story of Clodah's gradual awakening to the fact that he cares for her only as a model for his cherished picture, her flight to her father's home, and Kirk's too late remorse at having tortured a human soul that he might portray its agony upon his canvas, is all told with a dramatic power which lifts the book above the average level of present-day novels and marks the writer as a woman who might give the world a work which was of real value, if she chose to look upon the normal and healthy rather than the morbid side of life.

With all its power and its charm of style, the book is so thoroughly gloomy and depressing that to our mind it can serve no good purpose. In an age like our own, which presents so many essentially tragic features, the people need more restful and encouraging books. Tales of gloom and darkness are only of value when they convey some great historic fact or impart some needed ethical lesson. "What Manner of Man" does neither.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A WORD TO OUR READERS:—With our next issue we open the twentieth volume of the ARENA. During the past six months we have received many letters from old subscribers expressing interest in what some of them affectionately term their "old friend, the people's review." "There is again," says one of these well-wishers, "a moral enthusiasm about the ARENA that was so conspicuous a feature of the magazine during the first half of the last decade, when the ARENA was almost a Bible to tens of thousands of our people." It is our desire and determination to make the ARENA in the future much better and more helpful to our readers than at any time in the past. It is a source of great pleasure to us to know that the great ARENA family is not only steadily growing, but that its members are coming again into that sympathetic relation which existed when the ARENA was being read by over one hundred thousand of the most thoughtful Americans every month. The management of this magazine is more determined than ever to make the ARENA in every way worthy to be the foremost and most authoritative voice in magazine literature *for progress and the conscience element in our political, social and economic life*. But in this work, as in other enterprises, if the greatest measure of success possible is to be attained, there must be earnest, hearty coöperation among all those interested in success; and we ask all our friends to show their appreciation by circulating the ARENA during the summer months among their friends and calling attention to those papers that especially interest them. In this way the more thoughtful men and women of each community will become so well acquainted with the ARENA that many of them will ere long join the great family of its subscribers. We also should be pleased to receive communications from friends with suggestions and criticisms. In this way editors and publishers frequently receive great assistance in their efforts to meet the needs of the people, while the various members of the magazine circle are also thus brought into closer and more sympathetic relations. The ARENA, more than any other original review of opinion, depends upon the support of the subscribers for its success; and at a time like the present, when the basic principles of true democracy are being so subtly and persistently assailed by strong reactionary and essentially unrepblican influences and by the representatives of special privilege and class interest, it is of the utmost importance that the friends of democracy, justice and social progress possess an ably sustained magazine that can always be relied upon to courageously defend the fundamental principles of free government.

ABUSES OF INJUNCTION:—Those who have followed with critical interest and patriotic concern the steady and systematic advance of corporate wealth in the United States, and its efforts to thwart or render innocuous all measures proposed to curb its unjust and unrepugnant encroachments in evading the penalty of law-breaking and in successfully securing extraordinary powers from certain judges, in the way of injunctions levied to prevent the wage-earners from exercising hitherto unquestioned rights, will be impressed by the many points of similarity between the action of the modern commercial feudalism and that of King Charles I. and his councillors at different periods when that king undertook to destroy popular rights and establish an odious despotism. Perhaps nowhere did Charles sin more heinously than in making the judiciary abuse its sacred functions and become the creature of his despotic desires; and certainly to-day there are few things that have aroused more intense feelings of bitterness and resentment on the part of millions of thoughtful Americans than the recent action of certain judges in forbidding acts that are regarded by leading jurists, lawyers, and other thoughtful citizens as being lawful and proper.

We have arranged for a series of short papers for early issues of the *ARENA* in which eminent progressive thinkers and authorities will discuss "The Abuses of Injunctions." This series is opened in the present issue by a paper of great value from the authoritative pen of Judge Samuel Seabury, of New York City. It is an eminently judicial, temperate, yet outspoken contribution to the literature of protest and cannot fail to do much good for the cause of pure democracy. Judge Seabury will be followed by Mr. Ernest Crosby and the Hon. Clarence S. Darrow, who will further point out the evils and dangers of the present abuses.

MR. POWELL'S PLEA FOR A SANER LIFE:—Mr. E. P. Powell, the well-known author of "Our Heredity from God," "Nullification and Secession in the United States," and other standard works, and one of the old and most valued contributors to the *ARENA*, discusses in a luminous manner in this issue the insanity of urban life and the rational solution of one of the gravest problems that confronts us. This essay is one of the most thoughtful and suggestive as well as inspiring magazine articles we have read in months.

IMPORTANT ECONOMIC DISCUSSIONS:—In this issue we give a brief paper prepared by Walter S. Logan, one of the foremost representatives of the legal profession in New York City and a former president of the New York Bar Association, on "The Right of the Laborer to His Job." This paper was delivered before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, but was necessarily only heard by a very limited audience; and at our solicitation the author has carefully edited it for the *ARENA*. "The Right of the Laborer to His Job" is an extremely important contribution to present-day social discussions. It is, indeed, a hopeful sign of the times when leading lawyers in the Empire City thus boldly and ably champion the cause of the bread-winners.

Next month we shall present a brief discussion by the Governor of Rhode Island on "The Remedy for Bribery," in which this crying evil is thoughtfully and suggestively discussed.

Another very important economic discussion which will appear in our next issue is a debate which recently took place under the auspices of the Boston Economic Club between Mr. Eltwed Pomeroy, President of the National Direct Legislation League, and Hon. William F. Dana, of the Massachusetts Legislature. These discussions were not taken down stenographically, but were such able presentations of the arguments for and against the popular initiative that we arranged with the speakers to reduce them to writing for our readers. The presentation will be the most complete discussion of the pros and cons of this vital question that has appeared in many months.

CLEVELAND'S GREAT MUNICIPAL VICTORY:—Professor Edward Bemis enjoys a nation-wide reputation as a fearless and progressive yet careful social and economic thinker who has ever placed the good of the commonwealth above all personal considerations. His paper on Mayor Johnson's election prepared for this issue of the ARENA will deeply interest all friends of municipal progress and higher civic ideals.

THE SUPREME ISSUE IN THE REPUBLIC:—All political issues dwarf before the question of preserving the essential principles of democratic government. With Majority Rule, or the direct initiative and referendum, in active operation, the underlying principles of free government will be established and the reign of corrupt corporations, venal lobbies, and unprincipled political bosses will be overthrown. Majority Rule will not cure all the evils of the body politic, but it will overthrow the most deadly peril that confronts a republic. It is the first and most important issue before the American people. For this reason careful attention should be given to Mr. Shibley's record of the year's battle for free government or the people's rule. The chairman of the National Federation for Majority Rule is doing a work of inestimable value to the cause of republican government, and a work in which every reader of the ARENA should be actively enlisted before another election arrives. It is no partisan measure. It is simply the battle of the people against corporate greed and reactionary influences which in effect are destroying the ideals and the principles of popular government.

TWENTIETH CENTURY EDUCATIONAL CENTERS:—In this issue President Miller, of Ruskin University, and one of the associate editors of the ARENA, contributes a thoughtful paper on progressive education and its new center—that of Ruskin University. Nothing is more needed than free, untrammelled, progressive educational centers where our young men and women will be trained to become original thinkers and where the heart and the hand will be developed as well as the intellect trained; and Ruskin University promises to make these distinguishing features of its work. In this connection our readers will be interested to know that Prof. Thomas E. Will, formerly president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, and Professor Ross, late of Ruskin University, together with some other progressive educators, have just opened a Socialist college at Wichita, Kansas, in which the principles of scientific Socialism will be ably and thoroughly taught in connection with the regular college curriculum.

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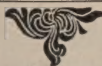
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